UPON THY HOLY HILL:
A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE EARLY VERNACULAR CHURCH
ARCHITECTURE OF THE SOUTHERN INTERIOR OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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Date April 25, 1977.
This thesis is an examination of the early vernacular church architecture of the southern interior of British Columbia. The thesis addresses several main tasks, examining the location, form, origins, and intrinsic meaning of early rural churches. After an introductory statement discussing purpose, theoretical foundations, and methods, the study identifies the agents of organised religion in early British Columbia, examining their backgrounds, beliefs, aims, and achievements. This initial section concludes by discussing the geography of denominational strengths that emerged in British Columbia as a result of inter-denominational rivalries.

The thesis then considers the theme of church construction. Dates and places of church construction are identified and regional and temporal patterns are explained as functions of denominational geographies of strength, as well as of the province's history of settlement and economic development. This section illustrates the province's transmogrification in the 1890's from a realm primarily of Indian churches to one in which European churches predominated. The next section of the thesis describes and classifies the visual characteristics of the southern interior's churches; temporally and regionally and according to denomination.

Subsequent chapters identify the ideological, techno-
logical, and stylistic forces that diffused from Europe and eastern Canada to mould the early churches of British Columbia. Concern focuses on the issue on innovation and tradition in the frontier setting. The thesis concludes with a discussion of church and society in the pioneer province. The chapter includes an assessment of the role played by organised religion in the lives of early British Columbians.

It discusses the image of the church (both as building and as institution) and concludes by comparing events in British Columbia with those of the wider world.

The study suggests that the early churches of the southern interior were among the province's most conservative buildings. The churches of the area were generally built according to the liturgical and artistic traditions of Europe and eastern Canada. Evangelicalism, Tractarianism, the Catholic Revival, and neo-Mediaevalism largely influenced their form. With few exceptions, pioneer churches responded only slightly to the altered conditions of frontier life. For the most part, early settlers longed to recreate the church architecture and religious life they had known in their homelands. In frontier British Columbia, building dimensions might be reduced, floor-plans might be simplified, superfluous embellishments might be discarded, and unessential furnishings might be temporarily discarded, but builders generally strove to retain as much architectural authenticity as conditions permitted.

At the same time, however, the province's builders
were quick to master the technological innovations of the North American frontier. Churches were built not with the pre-industrial log and stone technologies of Europe and eastern Canada, but with industrially-produced materials and modern technologies. Although much of the southern interior long remained wilderness, it must be borne in mind that the area was settled during an industrialising age. Most of the province's lumber and other building materials were mass-produced in factories and mills (though craft was not entirely dormant). Further, though British Columbia was a distant and not altogether significant component of a far-flung empire, she was at no time severed from the influences of the wider world. Efficient transportation and communication systems facilitated the flow of goods and ideas from San Francisco, Montreal, London, and Paris. Although the role, dogmas, and stature of organised religion and the form and arrangement of churches remained traditional, the technology through which churches were built and furnished was very often fully modern.
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Plate 1. "Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle: or who shall rest upon thy holy hill?"

-Psalm 15
Chapter 1

Introductory.

This thesis constitutes an examination of rural, vernacular church architecture, a significant component of the relict cultural landscape of the southern interior of British Columbia. The churches of the southern interior are mainly simple, but picturesque wood-frame buildings. In early British Columbia churches were central to the lives of the majority of the population. The church as structure and as institution filled both religious and secular needs in its community. Few towns or villages lacked some sort of church, even if it were only part of a hall or schoolhouse. Many settlements had two or three. Most Indian villages had but one church, generally at the centre of the village or on a hill-top nearby.

To the casual observer, the churches of the southern interior are among the province's most appealing historic buildings. To their congregations (if they have any, for several churches have all but been abandoned), they are often buildings fraught with memories and meaning. To the historical geographer, early vernacular churches are revealing social documents. By studying them one can gain important insights into the nature of British Columbian society, including its relations with the local environment and the outside world. It is the intent of this thesis to examine the evolution of
the church architecture of the southern interior in each of its major aspects: location, form, origins, and underlying meanings. Particular attention will focus on the transfer and adaption of derived (mainly European and eastern North American) liturgies, tastes, and technologies.

The study of rural church buildings provides a particularly useful vehicle for the examination of relationships between immigrants and their new social and material environments. The church was a social building: the product of the views of aggregates rather than of individuals. It was a representative structure, reflecting the values (both active and fossilised), heritages, and ambitions of a whole community. The church was not imposed, but was rather, a structure coincident with the beliefs of its congregation. While one of several members in the church community might at one time exert more influence than the others, co-operation and agreement between congregations, mission authorities, clergymen, and ecclesiastical superiors was essential and seldom lacking.

The church was a structure in which a number of actors and forces competed and found resolution. British Columbia's early rural churches developed in response to ideological, technological, and environmental forces. Migrants into nineteenth century British Columbia were thrust into an awe-inspiring wilderness; into a vast, unfamiliar, and often hostile environment; into an essentially pristine milieu. Much investigation of early North American buildings has seized upon this image of wilderness and has emphasised the
role played by environmental forces in tempering traditional architectural practices. The settlers of British Columbia, however, were the offspring of an industrialising age in which learning and technological power proliferated. Theirs was an age of increasing mechanisation, mass production, efficient transportation, and standardisation. The age was one of intellectual, religious, and social upheaval. It was a time of mass trans-continental migration, political reform, and empire building. The modern intellectual and technological context from which the settlers of British Columbia emerged played a significant role in shaping the religious buildings of the province. The chapters that follow will suggest, as far as is possible, the variable strengths of these forces—across space, through time, and between denominations. In answering the questions "why were the churches of the southern interior built where they were, what forms did they assume, and why did they assume those forms?" one does more than decipher building patterns. One also gains insights into the nature of an early immigrant society, its material and technological setting, and its values, beliefs, and aspirations.

The thesis covers the years 1858-1925, a period when most of the southern interior was settled and supplied with churches. The year 1925 is a convenient termination date, since it represents the date of church union (when the relations of several denominations underwent notable changes). Further, most of the province's "first generation" of churches were built by 1925. Only the four main denominations of the
province are considered (Anglicans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and Methodists), for the impact of lesser sects was far too minor to warrant full examination. The study emphasises the territory lying east of the Fraser River to Alberta, and south of the Thompson River to the American border. The area was chosen because it contains several physiographic, economic, and social sub-regions (which might affect church architecture), and because its relatively compact size lent itself to fairly intensive field investigation (during the summer of 1974 over 95% of the old surviving churches in the area were visited, photographed, and measured-- about 160 buildings. Considerable archival research followed).

The character of immigrant society and settlements is an important theme in the study of North American historical-cultural geography. Much work has concerned itself with the leavening effects of the new land and of new, altered social conditions. Questions of cultural transfer, of modernisation, and of adaption; and of consequent landscape evolution have been themes central to the sub-discipline. Rural vernacular buildings such as the church constitute a set of material cultural distillates useful in the examination of such processes. Surprisingly, few geographers have examined churches in this light.

Geographers have long realised that relict cultural landscape and vernacular buildings in particular (the ordinary, humble structures built by the bulk of the population),
are major sources of information in historical-cultural geographic studies. An "interpretable record of historical events and cultural processes imprinted on the land," vernacular architecture has commonly been examined from a man-land perspective; as an element of landscape resulting from the interplay of man and milieu, as a feature contributory to the character of regions. Thus, for example, there exists in the géohistoire of the French School a tradition of systematic investigation of regional building types. Studies by the French School treat buildings as artifacts of human activity emerging within particular spatial, temporal, and social contexts. A similar literature exists in Great Britain.

Interest in vernacular architecture has also been expressed by geographers in North America, most notably by the Berkeley school of historical-cultural geography, and by a group of settlement morphologists in the eastern United States. Essays by Sauer, Kniffen, and Glassie have called on historical geographers to recognise the centrality of buildings to studies of regional landscape history. Despite such pleas (voiced repeatedly in the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's), little relevant research was immediately forthcoming, and the vernacular architecture of North America until recently remained a virtually untouched field.

The situation was particularly marked in Canada, where until the early 1970's, neither polite nor vernacular architecture had been subject to much scholarly investigation.
As one writer reported the situation in 1972, the study of Canadian building "(is) just now reaching adolescence in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, retains its infancy in the Maritimes, and still occupies the delivery room out west." Only in the last few years has the situation begun to improve. Several grand, though not necessarily incisive works have recently appeared on the popular market. Principal among them are Ontario Towns, Rural Ontario, and the Barn. Two studies of religious architecture have joined them, Hallowed Walls and Pioneer Churches. Of all these volumes, only Hallowed Walls has a scholarly bent. Work by historical geographers has been less voluminous, somewhat more low-keyed, and rather more analytic. Important Canadian studies include John Mannion's examination of Irish settlements in eastern Canada and Peter Ennal's investigation of nineteenth century Ontarian barns.

Despite this increased research, the scholarly study of Canada's religious vernacular architecture still remains a neglected field. Indeed, until recently few geographers anywhere have attempted to explore the interface between their discipline and the study of religion. Sopher's survey is perhaps pre-eminent in a sparsely populated field, and work in Landscape has been sensitive, albeit somewhat superficial. Yi-Fu Tuan's Topophilia contains some interesting observations on the relationship of architecture to religion, but does not thoroughly pursue the theme. This gap in the literature is not easily explained. Many geographers have doubtless con-
sidered churches polite rather than vernacular buildings.
Humble parish churches, however, are equally as vernacular as any barn, stable, or farmhouse. Like domestic and agricultural buildings, vernacular churches are the humble products of ordinary people, reflecting the collective needs, skills, and ambitions of their builders. They are structures worthy of geographic analysis.

For embryonic communities attempting establishment in the British Columbian wilderness in the latter nineteenth century, churches acted as rooting devices. They were meaningful structures about which people oriented themselves. A church hearkened back to a place of origin, providing a sense of continuity and security. It offered spatial, temporal, and social roots; giving perspective to the new life in the new land. The church provided a haven of sacredness and eternity in an assymetrical, unfamiliar, profane, and disquieting realm. At the same time, however, it underwent change. Settlers from a variety of places and adhering to a variety of beliefs migrated into early British Columbia, met, exchanged ideas and elements of material culture, and ultimately produced new landscape fusions of their own. Communities were upheaved, fractured, scattered, and joined together into new unities. Many settlers learned new technologies and architectural styles and reconciled themselves to the constraints of the new environment. The province's early churches reflect these processes. The act of transfer into a new set of material and social conditions found resolution in
altered landscape structures, in this case the rural Christian place of worship. Before the architectural fabric of the early churches of the southern interior can be discussed, however, it is necessary to examine first the distribution of denominational strengths and the geography of church construction. The chapter that follows identifies the main aims and activities of the province's four major denominations, and suggests how inter-denominational rivalries led to peculiar patterns of church construction.
Chapter 2

Inter-denominational Relations

The Earliest Roman Catholic Missionary Activity

Christian missionaries first came to British Columbia in 1789. Although two Franciscans had accompanied Juan Perez on his voyage of discovery in 1774, none of the party set foot on land.¹ Fifteen years later, Don Estevan Jose Martinez, his two chaplains, four Franciscans, and a Spanish crew participated in the first Christian mass at Nootka, and "planted the cross with proper devotion."²

No evidence exists of a Spanish church building at Nootka. Though Howay could "scarcely conceive of Spain's forming any sort of settlement and omitting to provide for the spiritual welfare of its inhabitants," two plans of the garrison survive (1791, 1792), and neither includes a church.³ The Spaniards may well have established a small chapel in part of a building, but there is no direct evidence. The short-lived Spanish presence at Nootka (1789-1795) probably had little influence on the religious systems of adjacent native Indians.

Russian missionary work (beginning at Sitka in 1834) was confined to a restricted part of Alaska, but Russian Orthodox teachings diffused to British Columbia at an early date. Their impact was probably felt by the Tsimpsean and Haida tribes. The Tlinget of Alaska undoubtedly provided the mechanism of transfer,
carrying Orthodox teachings to the Queen Charlotte Islands and the Skeena River system. At the same time French-Canadian missionary activity in what is now the province of Alberta, and Jesuit work along the banks of the lower Columbia River, probably influenced nearby Indians in British Columbia's southern interior and lower coast. While these early contacts did not make Christians of the natives, they did create a current of doubt in Indian culture that later missionaries were to seize and build upon.

The Roman Catholic evangelisation of British Columbia began in earnest in 1838, when two priests from St. Boniface, Fathers Blanchet and Demers, journeyed overland to serve throughout the Columbia district. The priests found the natives receptive to instruction. After a forty-five day campaign among the Indians of the lower Fraser Valley (in the summer of 1841), Demers declared that he had baptised some 765 people, 350 of these near the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Langley. In the following spring Demers began a second foray into British Columbia's southern interior, returning to Fort Vancouver a year later. Demers maintained that his missionary venture had been highly successful. Although he lamented the moral condition of the Indians ("it is not to be wondered at if they outdo even animals by the infamy of their conduct"), Demers had baptised many. He had induced the Indians to build small, rustic churches at Fort Alexandria, Williams Lake, and Fort Kamloops.

Thirty years later, Protestant ministers would question the thoroughness of these early conversions to Roman Catholicism.
In 1861, Anglican missionary J. B. Good expressed regret that "some years ago a Romish priest... baptised the children by wholesale- taught the people a sort of liturgical service and constituted an Indian chief- a sort of priest & set him over them." Similarly, historian F. W. Howay doubted the veracity of Roman Catholic claims: "The successes of the early Catholic missionaries as given by themselves are so sudden and so great that a certain degree of suspicion of their reality is naturally engendered." The priest preferred to believe the best of the Indians, baptising them after only a very few weeks of instruction. When the Jesuit priest Joseph de Smet visited the Indians of British Columbia in 1845 and after, he "encountered no active resistance to his designs," and "went away with the consoling impression that he had abolished all that he had spoken against."

Undoubtedly, the priests were misled by the enthusiasm of their native audiences. Although the Indians may have greeted the missionaries amicably and may well have listened attentively to their exhortations, their conversions were probably only superficial. By the early 1840's, North-West Indian culture had reached a critical stage in its development. The response of British Columbia's Indians to the ministrations of the Roman Catholic clergy was very much influenced by the natives' own religious uncertainty. Debilitating smallpox epidemics (in the 1780's and 1790's, and in 1836) had decimated and demoralised the native population. The advent of fur traders from eastern Canada (from 1793), the emergence of prophet cults, together with
continued periodic smallpox epidemics, dealt "crippling blows" to the Indians' confidence in their own institutions and belief systems, and created a vacuum that missionaries were eager to fill.

When Demers and Blanchet arrived among the tribes of the Cordillera, native cosmologies had already suffered severe shocks. Indian religious systems had proved to be fallible and could not adequately meet the challenges presented by the coming of Europeans. As a result, native prophets emerged by the late 1820's and foretold the coming of "black-robed" priests. Selected elements of Christian ritual—public prayer, confession, and the making of the sign of the cross—became popular among several North-West Indian tribes. However, the old religious beliefs of the Indians had not been destroyed. While the Indians were ready and willing to listen to the missionaries, and would sometimes adopt the outward paraphernalia of Roman Catholicism, they were seldom prepared to abandon their traditional ways of life. It was not until after 1858, when Roman Catholic missionary efforts intensified, that significant numbers of British Columbian Indians became truly Christianised.

Catholic Missionary Intensification: The Work of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate

The year 1847 saw the beginning of changes in Roman Catholic territorial organisation which had important implications for the evangelisation of British Columbia. Father Norbert Blanchet was made Archbishop of Oregon City, with Father Demers as his suffragan (deputy) and Bishop of Vancouver Island.
consecrated in 1847, Demers did not reach his see city of Victoria until 1852. In August of that year he arrived by canoe at Cadboro Bay, symbolically "prostrated himself and kissed the pebbly beach; then rising, he knelt on a log, and in the name of Catholicism, for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls, he took possession of the heathen land."\textsuperscript{21}

The opening of the British Columbian mainland (from 1858) to miners and settlers hastened a further change in Roman Catholic episcopal organisation. In 1863 the British Columbian mainland, together with the Queen Charlotte Islands, became a vicariate-apostolic with Louis d'Herbomez, O. M. I., at its head.\textsuperscript{22} Demers retained control of the Diocese of Vancouver Island. In 1890 the vicariate-apostolic was raised to diocesan status (Diocese of New Westminster)\textsuperscript{23} and in 1908 achieved archdiocesan rank (Archdiocese of Vancouver).\textsuperscript{24}

The separation of the mainland from Vancouver Island placed most of British Columbia under the pastoral care of d'Herbomez's Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Oblate missionaries had first come to the Pacific North-West in 1847, in response to an appeal from Archbishop Blanchet.\textsuperscript{25} The order first concentrated its efforts among the Indians of Puget Sound and in the interior of Washington State. Its efforts in Washington were somewhat hampered by the hostility of the Indians and by clashes with the government. By 1858, the Oblate Council recommended an almost complete withdrawal from American territory and the establishment of an Oblate mission at Esquimalt.\textsuperscript{26} Oblate missions were established on the mainland in 1859 (Immaculate Conception Mission at Okanagan Mis-
sion on Okanagan Lake), in 1860 (St. Charles Mission at New Westminster), and in 1861 (St. Mary's Mission at Mission). With the establishment of the Vicariate-Apostolic under an Oblate bishop, missionary activity among the Indians of the southern interior intensified.

D'Herbomez's nearest ecclesiastical superior was the non-Oblate Archbishop of Oregon, but if the Vicar-Apostolic of British Columbia received instructions from anyone, it was from the Oblate Superior General in Marseilles. British Columbia's Oblate bishops were, in fact, very much free agents, though obviously working within the terms of reference to which they had acceded at the time of their appointments. Because of their isolated situation and relatively independent status, the Oblate vicars of British Columbia were able to pursue courses of action which differed from those of other Roman Catholic missionaries of their time, and also from those of the parochial priests of Vancouver Island. Demers' parochial priests treated Indian villages much as they did white parishes nearby. The Oblates, as will be seen, had a much more authoritarian "system."

From 1858 until 1908, the Oblate Order was the sole Roman Catholic missionary body active among the southern interior Indians. The Congregation of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate was an order of French foundation, having been formed in 1816 by Rev. Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod. The congregation acquired papal sanction in 1826 when Pope Leo XII appointed de Mazenod as its first Superior-General. By 1844, the Oblates possessed about fifty member priests and brothers who served as
missionaries in Switzerland, Corsica, England, and Quebec. Subsequent expansions of the congregation's numbers permitted the establishment of missions in South Africa, Ceylon, and the Canadian West.

D'Herbomez formally began his ministry in British Columbia in 1858. He based his policies on past experiences in the American territories to the south. When appointed Vicar of the Oblates, he had already spent fourteen years as a missionary in the Pacific North-West. Most of his staff, including his successor, Paul Durieu, were of French or Belgian origin, and few spoke English well. Of his staff of twenty-two ordained priests and lay brethren, only three (all Irish) were able to serve the needs of English-speaking congregations. The remainder focused their attention on work among the Indians. As the white population of the mainland was at first small, the bishop concentrated his efforts in converting the 60,000 natives of his diocese to Roman Catholicism.

By 1875, Bishop D'Herbomez was in rapidly declining health and too weak to hold office unassisted. He had Father Paul Durieu appointed as his co-adjutor (deputy and automatic successor), with the result that from 1875 until his death in 1890, d'Herbomez was bishop in name only. Like his predecessor, Paul Durieu became both "bishop" of British Columbia and local superior of the Oblate Congregation (Durieu survived d'Herbomez by nine years). By holding these dual posts, he was able to exert significant personal control over missionary work in the province, and to continue the programmes of his predecessor.
D’Herbomez began his career as Oblate superior by establishing central missions at a number of central locations. Such sites were strategically chosen and intended as regional foci for the conversion of the mainland. Each mission was assigned a local "superior" and was made responsible for the Christianisation of the Indian tribes within its reach. Central missions were staffed by a superior, two or three (or more) priests, and several lay brothers. Once a central mission had been securely established as a regional base, missionaries devoted themselves to converting the surrounding Indians. While the mission's clergy were away attending their circuits, their lay brothers remained at the mission, occupied in agricultural, building, and administrative activities. Until the emergence of large European settlements, mission stations remained regional headquarters for the southern interior's Roman Catholic clergy.

The founding of central mission stations was part of a grand Oblate design. D’Herbomez and Durieu hoped to convert the Indians, modernise their culture, and settle them in model Christian villages. Natives were encouraged to gather for instruction at the central mission stations for twice yearly "reunions." In some places, residential and industrial schools were established with government aid and grand reunion churches were built with government aid. By focusing attention on their central mission stations, Oblate missionaries hoped to draw far-flung bands closer to them. Their ultimate strategy called for the creation of model villages based on the Jesuit "reductions" of 17th century Paraguay. The Jesuit reductions were created
by uprooting several small Indian bands, moving them to central locations and melding them into single social units. In the Paraguayan case the Indians were moved forcibly. In British Columbia the priests used persuasion. Indian resistance and the failure of government to provide sufficient tracts of good agricultural land, however, caused the Oblates to temper their plans. Only a few reductions were established: at Sechelt, North Vancouver, and St. Eugene. Though still hoping to found reductions in a few appropriate places, Oblate missionaries instead concentrated on "improving" the Indians in their ancestral locations.

Oblate missionaries encouraged their Indians to settle in permanent encampments, to build single family houses, and to take up agriculture. As traditional practices, ideologies, and institutions faded, priests replaced them with those of western Christendom. The closer an Indian village resembled a white settlement the better it was judged to be. As Father Chi‐rouse wrote of Cheam in 1880:

"We are now in a civilised place. Chief Alexis has established his village on a very firm foundation and, from the point of view of progress and civilisation, this village stands above all others along the Fraser. Its houses are built like European houses, its fields are cultivated, and there are many cattle. In a word, the Cheams are farmers."

Like idealised mediaeval villagers, Indian "peasants" were intended to work their own fields, raise livestock, and work at cottage industries. They were to obey the local authorities, in this case, the priest and his appointed "watchmen." Every
day at the call of the bell, they were to flock to the church for prayers and thanksgiving. Priests would visit at regular intervals to celebrate the Mass, bury the dead, perform baptisms and weddings, and mete out justice. D’Herbomez’s central mission stations took charge of conversions in all adjacent Indian villages. Trusted priests who shared their bishop’s vision were appointed local superiors. The first central mission established on the mainland was that of the Immaculate Conception. Begun in 1859 by Fr. Charles Pandosy, "Okanagan Mission" was just south of present day Kelowna. Through the next fifteen years it served as headquarters for all Oblate missionary work in the southern interior. St. Mary’s Mission (near Mission) was established by Fr. Leon Fouquet in 1862 to fill similar needs in the lower Fraser Valley. Pressure on both centres was relieved in 1867 when Fr. James McGuckin began St. Joseph’s Mission at Williams Lake, and again in 1873 with the foundation of the Stuart Lake Mission (dedicated to Our Lady of Good Hope) by Fr. Georges Blanchet and Fr. Le Jacq. The Williams Lake and Stuart Lake Missions "served" the Indians of the northern interior rather than those of the south. Oblate ambitions in the southern interior were furthered by the establishment of a mission in the Kootenay district in 1874 (by Fr. Fouquet at St. Eugene) and of another in the Thompson district in 1878 (St. Louis Mission at Kamloops, founded by Fr. Chirouse Sr. and Fr. Le Jacq). Lesser missions were begun in New Westminster in 1860 (St. Charles Mission), and in 1864 at North Vancouver (St.
MAP 2
MAIN CENTRAL MISSIONS IN THE SOUTHERN INTERIOR
Both fell under the initial direction of Fr. Fouquet, and both were apparently subservient to St. Mary's Mission.

Although most Indian villages within a missionary district were approached within a very few years of the establishment of a central mission, the rates at which they converted varied considerably. While villages nearest to the mission often experienced the most rapid rate of conversion, the effectiveness of missionaries was not wholly determined by distance. Frequency of contact, rather, was the critical variable. Unless a priest could maintain constant surveillance over the natives under his "authority," his efforts were often in vain.

The frequency with which a priest might visit particular villages was in turn influenced by constraints of manpower and accessibility. Oblate missions might possess more clergy than their Protestant rivals, yet to be fully effective, missions required far more priests than were available. It was only natural that those Oblates active in the field should concentrate their meagre resources where the most good might be done the most rapidly - at the most readily accessible Indian encampments. Hence, Oblate missionary activity proceeded geographically from readily accessible areas to those that were less easily approached. Encampments along the province's major rivers and lakes generally experienced the most intense missionary activity, while villages in peripheral locations were evangelised only at a much later date.

Missionaries stationed at St. Mary's Mission and at
Okanagan Mission were the first Oblates intensively active in converting the tribes of the interior. While certain priests may have endeavoured to reach the natives of the north, their main concern lay with the Indians of the Fraser and Okanagan Valleys. The Indians of the south thus were converted first. Tribes in the Chilcotin and Cariboo districts remained unevangelised for a full eight years beyond the beginning of missionary work in the south. It was not until the establishment of Fr. McGuckin's mission at Williams Lake in 1867 that the evangelisation of the north truly began. The Dené Indians of the northern lakes were effectively evangelised only from about 1873, when the Stuart Lake Mission was founded. The tribes of the Kootenays received their first intensive pastoral care in 1874 (when St. Eugene's Mission was established) while those of the Thompson and Nicola Valleys were the last to receive a mission of their own (1878, at Kamloops). Once these regional foci for missionary work were firmly founded, the Christianisation of the Indians in their hinterlands was significantly accelerated.

As has been suggested, each central mission was made responsible for the conversion of the Indian tribes within its reach. Priests stationed at St. Mary's Mission attended to the natives of the Lillooet, Harrison, and lower Fraser Valleys. Their charges in the southern interior included eight villages in the canyon of the Fraser (Puckatholetchin, Aywawwis, Yale, Spuzzum, Tuckkwiowhum, Kopchitchin, Shrypttahooks, and Kanaka) and eight villages in the Lillooet area (Nequatque, Necai,
Slosh, Cayoosh, Lillooet, Bridge River, Fountain, and Pavilion). Thirty-two coastal villages were also within their domain (all were west of the Lillooet Range of mountains); including six in the Harrison-Lillooet Valley, twenty-two in the lower Fraser Valley (west of Hope) and about four along the lower coast. Though small in area, the territory served by the mission was densely inhabited by Indians and contained at least forty-eight semi-permanent encampments.67

Okanagan Mission's territory of responsibility was considerably smaller, having been reduced by the creation of central missions at St. Eugene and Kamloops. Its charges comprised four villages along Okanagan Lake (Equesis Creek, Westbank, Penticton, and Okanagan Lake), the Similkameen villages of Chopaka and Chuchuweyha, and the south Okanagan village of Inkaneeep.68 The north Okanagan encampments of Enderby and Salmon R. may have been served both from Kamloops and Okanagan Mission.69

The St. Eugene missionary district was smaller still, having custody of only five Kootenay Indian villages: Columbia Lake, Shuswap, Tobacco Plains, Lower Kootenay, and St. Eugene itself. The district's Indian population was traditionally small and nomadic; the creation of the five permanent village sites was the decision of governmental authorities rather than of the Indians themselves.70 By confining the Indians to villages in the east Kootenay district, the authorities created a vast territory (from Okanagan Lake to Kootenay Lake) without any native population (the Arrow Lakes bands having become extinct).

The mission district centred at Kamloops was similar in
MAP 3
PRINCIPAL INDIAN VILLAGES IN THE SOUTHERN INTERIOR
size to that served from St. Eugene, but extended its influence into considerably more villages. Besides attending to the Thompson Valley Indians of Switsemelph, Qua'aout, Sahhaltkum, Neskain lith, Kamloops, Chu Chua, Deadman's Creek, and Bonaparte, St. Louis' Mission was also responsible for the Nicola Valley villages of Quilchena, Spahomin (Douglas Lake), Shulus, and Coldwater Creek. The north Okanagan encampments at Enderby and Salmon River may also have been among its charges from time to time. For several years during Fr. J. M. R. LeJeune's term as superior, missionaries from Kamloops appear to have relieved St. Mary's Mission by ministering to native populations as far south as the Fraser Canyon village of Kopchitchin (North Bend).

The Stuart Lake and Williams Lake Missions were responsible for at least a further twenty-nine villages. Of these, most were in the valleys of the Fraser, Chilcotin, and Nechako Rivers or along the shores of the northern lakes (Stuart Lake, Babine Lake, Canim Lake, Francois Lake, and others).

Of the approximately one hundred and three villages on the mainland served by Oblate Missionaries, seventy-one were in the province's interior. Sixteen were served from St. Mary's Mission, fourteen were administered from Kamloops, seven fell under the control of Okanagan Mission, while only five were worked from St. Eugene. A further twenty-nine were the responsibility of the northern interior missions. St. Mary's Mission was also in charge of an additional thirty-two villages near the coast.

In this fashion, by the late nineteenth century and with-
in a decade of the founding of the last Oblate central mission at Kamloops (1878), virtually all the southern interior Indian communities were at least nominally converted to Roman Catholicism. Moreover, by this time too a new geography of religion was beginning to appear in British Columbia. As the Oblates focused their attention on the Indians, others began to observe the increasing white population of the southern interior. A new force began to appear on the scene, Protestantism. To be sure, some Oblate clerics eventually assigned themselves to towns peopled by those of European origin, but it was not until the twentieth century that viable Roman Catholic congregations emerged in the towns of the southern interior. In the meantime, by the late 1850's and early 1860's, Protestant mission activity was well underway. The result was the emergence of a geographic pattern that was to set the tone of inter-denominational relations for the remainder of the century and well into the next. That pattern was the concentration of Roman Catholicism in the village-based, Indian hinterland *viz à viz* the urban and largely European focus of Protestantism. Though that pattern was reshaped in the wake of the inter-denominational rivalries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it nonetheless served as the essential geographic context for change, and it was brought about primarily as a result of the coming of Protestantism.
The Intensification of Protestant Missionary Activity- 1858

The year 1858 was important for Catholics and Protestants alike. A gold rush of major proportions had begun in the Fraser River system, and in 1858 the mainland of what is now the province of British Columbia was declared a British Colony. These two developments led Methodist missionary authorities in Toronto to send a group of clergymen to the colony. At the same time, the Church of England reacted by creating an Anglican Diocese of Columbia. Endowment funds were established for the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy. Similarly, in 1859 the Church of Scotland advertised for a missionary to serve the Presbyterians of Victoria. It was also in 1858 that the Oblate Congregation decided to direct its energies away from Washington and toward the mainland of British Columbia. The decision was quite unrelated to Protestant actions and did not result from an immediate concern for the colony's mining population. The Oblate action was instead dependent on a desire to relieve the "spiritual wants" of the colony's native Indians. Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Anglican missionaries all reached the British Columbian mainland by early 1859. Although Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary spheres of influence differed somewhat, inter-denominational rivalries were quick to emerge. But before discussing the geographical impact of these rivalries, it is first advisable to identify the backgrounds and ambitions of each of the Protestant denominations in early British Columbia.
The Establishment of an Anglican Diocese: 1858

British Columbia differed somewhat from other British colonies in that she received quite early her own Anglican episcopal organisation. Shortly after the British Columbian gold rush began in 1858, thousands of miners and adventurers crossed into the colony from assorted areas of the American West. The infant colony had but three Anglican ministers at the time, and of these only one was posted to the mainland. Less than a year later, Angela Burdett-Coutts, the famed Victorian philanthropist (later Baroness Burdett-Coutts), wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury and offered the sum of £15,000 (later raised to £25,000) as an episcopal endowment for British Columbia.

The Archbishop, in consultation with the Colonial Office, and at the suggestion of the donor, chose Rev. George Hills as the first Bishop of Columbia. Hills was very much a member of the High Church party, having received part of his training under Leed's famous Dr. Hook. Like many High Churchmen, Hills viewed Non-conformity with displeasure, and Roman Catholicism with contempt. With the aid of his supporters in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (itself an arm of the High Church), Hills was able to surround himself with missionaries of similar persuasion.

The unique relationship of British Columbian Anglicanism to seats of power in England- both spiritual and temporal- is critical to this history. The creation of an Anglican bishopric in the colony was no minor matter. It required the approval
not only of the English Primate, but also that of the Colonial Secretary. The Queen herself took an interest in the proceedings. The new bishop saw his consecration not in a humble parish church, but in Westminster Abbey. His farewell meeting was held in London's prestigious Mansion House and his arrival in Victoria was a major social event. The circumstances surrounding the bishop's appointment were far different indeed from those of Roman Catholic prelates.

Although the Church of England was not designated British Columbia's established church, it was most certainly the church of the establishment (including the Governor, the Royal Navy, the Royal Engineers, and many administrators and businessmen). The church's bishop and clergy were firm believers in the destiny of the British Anglican Empire. For British Columbia's Anglican ecclesiastics, the identities of Empire and Church were inextricably bound. The administration of the sacraments, the preaching of the Gospel, and the construction of churches were important religious and imperial duties.

The clergy of the Church of England in British Columbia drew most of their funding and support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (hereafter S. P. G.), a missionary organisation headquartered in London. The archdeaconry, episcopal, and clerical endowment funds established by Miss Burdett-Coutts were placed under its administration. The S. P. G. was a missionary body of eighteenth century foundation, and dedicated to ministering to expatriate Britons. Its commit-
ment to the evangelisation of heathens within the empire was only secondary, this task being more the responsibility of the Church Missionary Society. Had the Anglican bishoprics of southern British Columbia been endowed by the evangelical Church Missionary Society (hereafter C. M. S.), rather than by the S. P. G., a greater emphasis on missions to the Indians might have been forthcoming. As it was, the S. P. G.'s involvement in Indian mission work was confined to a single mission at Lytton, while that of the C. M. S. was far more extensive, but confined to the northern Diocese of Caledonia (created in 1879).

The Establishment of a Methodist Presence: 1858

Wesleyan Methodist interest in British Columbia's spiritual future began in 1858, only a few months after the colony had been created. At the suggestion of Dr. E. Wood, missionary superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, four trained men were selected to travel to the colony. The Wesleyans were among the first Canadians to act as missionaries in the west. The Wesleyan Church was fully aware of the importance of its actions. The departure of its missionaries on December 31st, 1858 was very much the talk of Toronto. Many expected that the missionaries would not be seen again, for British Columbia was very much terra incognita, a distant colony cloaked in mystery.

The task awaiting British Columbia's earliest Methodist missionaries was overwhelming. Congregations at Victoria and New Westminster required full time clergy, while Indian work
at Fort Simpson engaged still another missionary. The four original Methodist missionaries simply were not able to cover all the territory within their domain. Accordingly, the Rev. E. Robson sent an appeal to Toronto and requested the immediate reinforcement of his ranks: "Let them be good preachers, for there is much intelligence here; fervent men, for wickedness abounds here; self-denying and hardy men, for there are privations to be endured, and work of many kinds to be done."

Like their early Anglican colleagues, Wesleyan ministers tended to stay in British Columbia for only a very few years. Of the four first Methodist clerics to reach the province in 1859, one left in 1866, a second departed in 1867, still another left in 1869, while the last returned to Toronto in 1871. Rev. Browning, for example, viewed his reassignment of 1869 as "the privilege of coming home," and like many early Protestant missionaries to the province, had absolutely no intention of staying any longer than was necessary.

Prior to about 1890, British Columbian Methodists were constantly short of man-power. Large congregations in Victoria, New Westminster, and Nanaimo required the services of full-time clergy. The agricultural communities which developed in the 1860's in the lower Fraser Valley and in southern Vancouver Island also required ministers of their own. As a result, the southern interior was very much understaffed. While the missionary stationed among the Indians of Chilliwack might occasionally hold services in the Methodist church at Yale, and while the minister at Barkerville might sometimes venture
slightly to the south, it was not until after about 1890 that Methodist missionary work intensified.  

The limited Methodist ministry to the southern interior was directed primarily toward white settlers and miners. Methodist activity among the southern interior's Indians was even less than that of the Anglicans. While the Wesleyans welcomed opportunities to preach to the Indians, they fully realised the limited nature of their resources, and were willing to acknowledge and respect the successes enjoyed by the Anglican and Oblate priests who had preceded them. Although the Methodists established a central Indian church at Chilliwack in 1869 (designed as a place for annual "camp meetings" for the surrounding tribes), the main Wesleyan thrusts into Indian territory were on the coast and in the Skeena River district.

The Establishment of Presbyterianism in British Columbia: 1861

Many employees of the Hudson's Bay Company stationed in the colony were of Scottish origin and, presumably, were at least nominally Presbyterians. Presbyterian ministers, however, did not reach British Columbia until 1861. Even the excitement of the colony's first gold rush was insufficient to arouse Canadian or Scottish Presbyterians to action. Curiously, it was the "Church of Scotland in Ireland" that sent the colony its first Presbyterian missionary (some four years after the beginning of the gold rush), but he was stationed to Victoria rather than to the mainland. Although the Church of Scotland (in Scotland) had advertised as early as 1859 for a...
minister to serve Victoria, its first representative arrived there only in 1863. Its second clergyman, Rev. G. Murray arrived in the southern interior in 1875, and built a church for his Nicola Valley congregation in 1876.

Internal disunity in the Presbyterian Church prevented a major commitment to early British Columbia. In 1850, seven distinct Presbyterian sects were at work in eastern Canada. Twenty-two years later, after several amalgamations, there were still four. Not until 1875 did Canadian Presbyterians achieve full unity and co-ordinate their missionary ventures. Although the period 1858-1875 was not critical in establishing the colony-province's future growth, British Columbian Presbyterianism suffered during these years. The Church of England was the sole winner as Presbyterians fought their civil wars.

Lack of communication between the various Presbyterian sects was characteristic of their work both in British Columbia and in other mission fields. In early British Columbia three separate Presbyterian churches briefly claimed the allegiance of the faithful. Quarrels between the sect were especially bitter in Victoria where, from 1863 until 1870, there were two competing Presbyterian Kirks. During the same period the Presbyterian Church was virtually unrepresented in the southern interior. Like the Methodists, early Presbyterian ministers were committed more to the settled urban and rural congregations of the coast than they were to the small, scattered and transient settlements of the interior. As a consequence, intensive Presbyterian mission work in the southern interior did not begin
until the early 1890's. The slight commitment of early Presbyterian missionaries to the inhabitants of the southern interior was not directed toward native Indians. Presbyterian missions to the Indians of British Columbia were even fewer in number than those of the Methodists. None were located in the southern interior. Instead, Presbyterian Indian missions comprised but three villages on the south-west coast of Vancouver Island. The restricted extent of Presbyterian missions to the natives is in part attributable to a decision in 1866 of its central mission society. Realising that the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches had long been involved in Indian mission work, and noting that few British North American natives lacked some form of religious instruction, the Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church chose to sponsor stations only in areas unevangelised by any other denomination. Presbyterian involvement in Indian missionary work in British Columbia was therefore minimal.

Protestant Missions to the European Population: 1858-1890

The Anglican clergy of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were quick to establish themselves in British Columbia. Bishop Hills arrived at his cathedral city of Victoria in early 1860, and immediately organised expeditions to the mining camps of the southern interior. He held services at several locations, and although usually favourably received, he was often shocked by the small number of communicants in his
Methodist preachers arrived in the area at about the same time. They too were greeted with mixed receptions. On the whole, they may have fared better than the Anglicans, for they lacked the Oxford accents and upper class mannerisms that tended to alienate their largely American audiences.

It is difficult to assess the strength of the Christian church among the miners. Until the late 1860's, most of the white population were adventurers from the American West. While missionaries met with great success in their ministry to the natives of the mainland, their reception among the miners was mixed. In 1870, Rev. L. C. Lundin Brown looked back at his ministry in the colony and suggested that "the majority of the inhabitants... had small desire for a place of worship. They appeared to think that religion was out of place in British Columbia." Undoubtedly, many were of the opinion that organised Christianity was a luxury or alternatively an unwanted imposition of authority. Yet part of Lundin Brown's frustration must surely have stemmed from the very nature of the religious services he offered. The American miners within his pastorate were usually unfamiliar with the liturgical service of the Anglican Church. Anglican Church services (as offered in British Columbia) consisted of chanting, prayers, and responses, and culminated in the celebration of the Eucharist, an act unlikely to be understood by pioneer congregations. Thus, when Bishop Hills wrote to the S. P. G. in July, 1865, he reported with regret that of a diocesan popu-
lation of 65,000, only 1587 were members of the Church of England, and of those, only 235 were recognised communicants. Despite these discouraging figures, the Anglican ministry to the colony's European population continued, even during the economic depression of the 1870's. Church of England successes increased as Anglican clergymen established better rapport with their congregations and as the population became increasingly English. The Anglican achievement probably stemmed just as much from the efforts of the clergy as from the weakness of Non-conformist and Catholic competition. Methodist services, of course, were in themselves more appealing to the mining population since they involved straightforward preaching and singing. Even so, in the 1860's and 1870's, few Wesleyan ministers frequented the mining camps. It was not until the coming of the railroad (1886) and the subsequent influx of permanent settlers from eastern Canada and Great Britain that white Christian churches became major forces within their communities. In the interim, the churches had to fight for every soul, and since the Anglicans were foremost in the field, their achievements, though small, outweighed those of other denominations.

Inter-denominational Rivalry: The Emergence of Denominational Geographies: 1858-1890

It was inevitable that the Protestants should collide with Bishop d'Herbomez's Oblate clergy, and from Bishop Hills' point of view, it was desirable. Anglican (and to a certain
extent, Methodist) missionary objectives were quite incompatible with those of the Roman Catholics. Each party hoped to exclude the other from the mission field. Rivalries for sites and souls were bitter and intense.

Disputes began to occur from the early 1860's, for Catholic, Methodist, and Anglican missionaries were by then all active on the mainland. Anglican congregations had been organised at Hope, Lytton, Douglas, Yale, and Lillooet. Wesleyan missionaries had established themselves among the Indians of Chilliwack and made occasional forays into the mining camps of the middle Fraser River. Oblate missionaries from Mission and the Okanagan were perhaps the most active, spreading their mission network throughout the south of the province. Disputes began when any two parties claimed the same site. Severe recriminations were made. The Oblate historian Fr. Adrian Morice, for example, considered the early Roman Catholic missionary achievement as a "seed" which "scarcely (had) time to germinate before it was choked by the cockle of heresy brought... by the English." 122

The Oblate Congregation had cause to fear the "English" Protestant presence. The Anglicans in particular, and the Methodists to a lesser extent, were quick to organise congregations in the towns of the colony, sometimes even building churches. The Church of England was active in the valley and lower canyon of the Fraser, two areas coveted by the Church of Rome. Anglican churches were built at Yale in 1860, and at Hope and Lillooet in 1861. 123 They were powerful, visible
symbols of Anglican strength in the European towns. When the Oblate priest Grandidier reached Lillooet in 1861, he was shocked to see an Anglican church dominating the town, and "was grieved to feel the blasting effects of heresy." 124

Catholic missionaries viewed Protestantism as a "damnable doctrine," and its advocates as godless "ministers of error," closing "the doors of heaven to (those) unfortunates that place their trust in them." 125 Thus, the Oblate Congregation viewed its task with a sense of urgency. If Protestant missionaries were allowed to win on any front, then the souls of those converted by the "heretics" would be eternally damned. In 1886, one Protestant missionary expressed both the Roman Catholic position and the Protestant reaction to it. J. B. Good spoke of a

"...thistle that once luxuriantly flourished amongst our people, and still rears its hydra-head and scatters its down far and wide wherever we go... (of a) doctrine sedulously taught and instilled into the hearts of their hearers by certain fanatical agents of the Church of Rome, that every Protestant, be he Anglican or Genevan, the Queen on the throne or the hind of the field, is inevitably damned as outside the pale of the true Church; and we who are designated priests or bishops are enemies to the truth, and with our deluded votaries are doomed hereafter to alike burn in the fire unquenchable." 126

Oblate priests were not averse to threatening Protestant Indians with eternal damnation. As the Anglican natives of Spuzzum lamented: "The French say we shall all go to Hell if we attend King George (English) Church. They say, 'Why should you go and listen to the King George priests, and then go be-
All combatants engaged in verbal warfare, perhaps the sole weapon available to civilised Christian evangelists. Military metaphors were rife. The Methodists active in the Fraser Valley described Roman Catholic activity in the area as "the continued assaults of the enemy."128 The Anglican clergy were even less complimentary to their Oblate competitors. The Rev. W. B. Crickmer viewed Catholicism as akin to idolatry, particularly as taught to the Indians. He ridiculed Catholic rosaries as "Madonna charms" and in 1861 suggested that:

"...if there be anything wanting to match the abomination of desolating idolatry in the case of the Great Romish Church in its Papacy, surely the climax of her iniquity is to be found in the associated sin of teaching heathens to worship idols." 129

Bishop Hills was himself particularly rabid on the subject of Roman Catholicism, and saw its educational programme as "the sapping of the very life blood of the future with unsound religion and infidelity."130

Early Protestant clerics were very much worried by the goals they ascribed to their Roman Catholic competitors. Presbyterian mission boards feared a "Romish" plot to make Canada subservient to the Pope131 and saw the Catholic province of Quebec as Protestantism's greatest mission field.132 Bishop Hills held the "foreign priests" in utter contempt, asserting that "their principal teaching is the worship of the Virgin, and hatred of the Americans and English while the French are
exalted and extolled.\textsuperscript{133} J. B. Good, principal Anglican missionary at Lytton, suggested that "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."\textsuperscript{134}

While three or four Christian denominations could amicably found congregations in a single white settlement, it was seldom if ever, possible for even two denominations to evangelise successfully the same Indian encampment. Only a prolonged struggle could ensue, settled by an uneasy stalemate or by the total withdrawal of one of the combatants. It was not until the early twentieth century that the five missionary denominations active in British Columbia (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Salvation Army) finally agreed to an informal truce, each sect remaining within its own recognised territory.\textsuperscript{135}

In the interim, inter-denominational rivalries remained bitter, especially when the souls of Indians were at stake. The most bitter exchanges were those between the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics. As has been observed, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (the principal sponsor of British Columbia's earliest Anglican missionaries) was a High Church organisation involved in offering services to expatriate Britons. Its interest in native evangelisation was secondary, even in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{136} Yet, when the S. P. G.'s Rev. J. B. Good was assigned to Yale in 1866, he
was quickly beset by appeals from the Thompson Indians. The Indians had been exposed to Christianity by Roman Catholic missionaries a few years before and were apparently enamoured by what they had learned. They consequently requested Good to send a clergymen to instruct them. Rather than see the natives fall into the grasp of nearby Oblate priest, the Anglican bishop of the diocese agreed to Good's request for a transfer, and the Church of England mission at Lytton was established. Other aid by the S. P. G. to the Indians of the province was limited to a very few coastal villages.

The founding of the Anglican mission at Lytton depended on the threat of an Oblate conquest of the area and upon the availability of funding for a missionary. But when J. B. Good left the diocese in 1882, the funding necessary for the mission was apparently transferred with him. Indeed, the entire future of the mission remained in jeopardy until an English philanthropist offered an endowment. The S. P. G.'s commitment to the Lytton Indian Mission was very slight indeed.

Because the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was virtually unassisted in its support of British Columbian missions until well into the 1890's, and because available funds remained so limited, the Anglican Church had no alternative but to restrict its interest in Indian mission work to a few dozen villages in the neighbourhood of Lytton. Principal among these were the Thompson River villages of Pokhaist, Lytton, Spences Bridge (Shawnikken), and Ashcroft; the Nicola Valley encampments of Shulus, Canford, and Shakkan, and the

The Church of England was able to consolidate its position in the villages surrounding Lytton, despite significant Oblate competition. But the Oblate Congregation, with its greater manpower, and with its series of strategically placed central mission stations, was a formidable opponent. While the Anglican mission at Lytton had little capacity for expansion, the Roman Catholic spheres of influence continued to grow, almost unresisted at times, throughout the British Columbian interior. Anglican missionaries were powerless to react. An Anglican expansion into the Oblate territories to the south-east of Lytton would only have been possible if the S. P. G. or some other body had granted funding. 

The Oblate expansion in the south-east was particularly marked in the 1870's. While this was a decade of economic stagnation on the mainland, and a period of Protestant retrenchment, it was also a time of Oblate missionary intensification. The establishment of Roman Catholic missions at St. Eugene and Kamloops (and in the northern interior) permitted an Oblate advance of major proportions. By the mid-1890's almost all the Indians of the southern interior were converted to Roman Catholicism. Only those within reach of Lytton became Anglicans. 

Although open "warfare" was not unknown between competing Protestant denominations, most major confrontations took
place on Protestant-Catholic lines. Wherever Protestants and Catholics met in their struggles for souls, conflict was sure to follow. The existence of embryonic loyalties to particular denominations in specified locales was an open invitation for a rival party to perform its evangelical mischief. The Methodists, for example, had been active in Christianising the natives near Chilliwack from the early 1860's. Their success seemed to warrant construction of a mission church, and their position seemed secure. Yet by 1887, Roman Catholic priests had destroyed the Methodists' achievement. The church stood empty and unused. Similarly, an Anglican church begun at Squatash in 1885 was still little more than a shell in 1887, and hopes for its completion seemed remote. By 1904, Anglican churches built in the 1870's at Nicowmin, Chilliwack, Ohamil, and Popkum had fallen into disrepair, and were effectively part of the Roman Catholic domain. Such developments did little to reduce Protestant-Catholic acrimony.

Antipathy between the competing faiths lessened as the century wore on and as most of the southern interior's natives became irrevocably partisan, but inter-denominational disputes occurred at intervals well into the 1890's. While, for example, all three denominations (Anglicans, Methodists, and Roman Catholics) had built churches at Yale in the early 1860's, an Oblate correspondent was still able to write of the town in 1887:

"Yale est un champ de bataille que dispute les anglicans, les méthodistes et les catholiques... Flatteries, menaces, promesses, tout est mise en
The conflict remained unresolved for many years. By the 1890's Anglican missionaries were effectively stopped in their advance from Lytton toward the south, while the Oblates experienced similar difficulties in converting Indians within reach of the Anglican mission at Lytton. Joint occupations occurred in villages along the lines of conflict. Both Anglican and Oblate churches were built in Yale, Spuzzum, Kopchitchin, and Shulus. Two Methodist congregations survived in Indian villages near Chilliwack, the sole pockets of Protestantism in an overwhelmingly Roman Catholic area.

Methodist missionaries were generally willing to cooperate with fellow Protestants. Plans for a mission to the Indians of the Nicola Valley were abandoned in 1872, for Methodist authorities did not wish their clergy to compete with their Anglican colleagues at Lytton. The Anglicans, however, were sometimes slow to recognise their own indiscretions. When the Anglican J. B. Good began to minister to the Indians of Nanaimo, Methodist Ebenezer Robson (whose mission pre-dated Good's) lamented: "He does not reckon me as having equal rights with him; looks upon his church as the only church and acts accordingly." Methodists (and later, Presbyterians) resented the privileged position held by the Church of England (the church of the establishment) but were powerless to change that position. While the Dissenting denominations were willing to co-operate with the Anglicans, the Church of England was initially only barely willing to tolerate the Methodists.
as allies against the "foreign priests"."\textsuperscript{151}

Further disputes between the Anglican and Methodist Churches occurred at Esquimalt and Lakalzap. In the latter case, the Methodists located close to the pre-established mission at Kincolith. As the Anglican W. H. Collison suggested, "it would have been more in accord with the true spirit of mission work had they occupied the upper river (the Nass), where but little had yet been done."\textsuperscript{152} Despite such disagreements, the Protestant denominations were usually moved by a spirit of co-operation. Territorial disputes between the Methodist Church and the Salvation Army (active in the north from the 1890's) occurred at Skidegate, Masset, and Port Simpson.\textsuperscript{153} In most cases, amicable agreements were reached, with one party withdrawing to a more suitable location.

While Protestant missionaries might enter into dialogue with each other, resolve their differences, and work for the collective good of "reformed religion," none would negotiate with the Roman Catholic Church. The Oblates were equally hostile toward their Protestant rivals. Both parties were convinced of the rightness of their own positions. They believed that a rapid and complete evangelisation of the natives was of the utmost importance, and each party viewed itself as the only divinely sanctioned missionary body in the province.
Inter-denominational Relations: 1890-1925, Territorial Consolidation

Inter-denominational rivalries began to fade as the nineteenth century drew to a close. By 1900 the map of native allegiances to the various Christian denominations was stable. With the exception of an Anglican enclave around Lytton, the entire Indian population of the interior had become Roman Catholic. The Oblate advance toward the sea had been stopped in the north but not in the south. The lower Fraser Valley became an Oblate preserve, though a pocket of Methodism survived near Chilliwack. Low Church Anglicanism prospered in the northern coastal villages; particularly in the valleys of the Skeena and the Nass Rivers. Wesleyan Methodists filled some of the vacuums between the Anglican villages and also controlled sites on the Queen Charlotte Islands and along the upper coast. Vancouver Island was occupied by all four main denominations. Secular (parochial) Catholics were active on its north-western coast and in the area near Victoria. Anglicans maintained a foothold on the north of the island, while Methodists rivalled the Catholics in the south. Late-arriving Presbyterians claimed but three previously unoccupied villages on the south-west coast. By 1900 no untouched Indian villages remained in the province. Virtually all native Indians had become at least nominally Christian and inter-denominational rivalry was all but at an end. J. B. Good was able to report that "The Roman Catholics and ourselves have established a tacit concordat
and keep within our own lines, and all we ask is fair play and no favour.\textsuperscript{154}

The geography of denominational strengths existing before the 1890's was obvious by 1881, the year of the first provincial census.\textsuperscript{155} Of a total provincial population of 49,549, 10,043 or 20.3\% were recorded as Roman Catholics. Of these, the vast majority must have been Indians. Anglicans comprised only 16\% of the population, while Methodists accounted for 7\% and Presbyterians for 8\%.\textsuperscript{156} Significantly, many respondents (39\%) did not specify their religion. While this fact may mean that absolute numbers of Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians were higher, it does not necessarily follow that their rank-orders varied. Of the 39\% "not specified" portion of the population, many were probably semi-evangelised Indians, for by 1880-81, only 1\% of British Columbians remained "pagans." Many others in the "not specified" category may have been miners. Agnosticism may have been prevalent in early British Columbia, but outright atheism was not. Only a handful (0.36\%) of the province's 1880-81 population professed no religion at all.\textsuperscript{157}

Roman Catholic strength was particularly evident in the province's interior, especially in the vast Cariboo enumeration district. In 1881 the district had a Catholic population of 3012 and a Protestant population of less than 700.\textsuperscript{158} Most Catholics were undoubtedly Indians while Protestants were mainly white. Roman Catholicism prevailed in wilderness area while Protestantism predominated in most of
the camps, villages, and towns associated with the mining industry and with the construction of the C. P. R.

In the somewhat more urbanised census districts of Yale, New Westminster, and Victoria, Roman Catholicism was a less formidable power. Victoria's Catholic population was outnumbered by Anglicans by a ratio of two to one; and by other Protestants by a similar ratio. The town of Barkerville had but 52 Roman Catholic residents, compared to 287 Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians. Nanaimo's Catholic population was only 179, a tenth of that of the combined Protestant denominations. Similar Protestant-Catholic imbalances were evident in the predominantly white settlements of New Westminster, Hope, Yale, and Lytton.

This geography of denominational strengths would soon change although the importance of Indians missions relative to white church work declined sharply. While most of the southern interior's Indian population remained Catholic, incoming settlers were mainly Protestant. Immigration accelerated after about 1890 as settlers, businessmen, speculators, and labourers—carried by the recently completed Canadian Pacific Railway—swarmed across the Rocky Mountains. New industrial and agricultural frontiers expanded into previously little-touched areas: the Okanagan Valley, the Boundary Country, the Thompson-Nicola district, and the Kootenays. Unlike the earlier population of the gold rush, many of these later settlers were firmly committed to permanent settlement and were devoted to Christian worship. Most of the province's
new population came from Britain and Ontario, two areas of strongly Protestant character. In the mid-1890's, the southern interior ceased to be a Roman Catholic stronghold, not because its converts abandoned the faith, but because they were lost in a sea of Protestant settlers.

The influx of Protestant settlers after 1886 steadily eroded the primacy of the Catholic faith (though absolute numbers of Catholics continued increasing). By 1891, 24% of the British Columbian population were Anglicans, 14.4% were Methodists, and 15.6% were Presbyterians. Catholics accounted for only 21.1% of the population. In the years 1901-1921, Methodist strength remained relatively constant, incorporating about 13% of the provincial population. The Catholic proportion of the population shrank steadily from a high in 1891 of 21.1% to a low in 1921 of 12.1%. As Catholic percentages declined, therefore, Anglicans and Presbyterians increased. In 1881 only 8% of the population were Presbyterians. By 1921 Presbyterianism claimed 23.4% of the total population. Similarly, while only 16% of the population were Anglicans in 1881, 31.1% were Anglicans in 1921.

Because there were no untouched Indian mission fields after about 1890, clergymen concentrated on consolidating their gains and on expanding their services to the whites. In the white mission field there was no rivalry, for white Christians were not open to conversion to other faiths. Neither was there rivalry for Indian souls, for the "tacit concordat" described by J. B. Good remained strong. In such
Fig. 1. Strengths of British Columbia's Four Main Denominations: 1891-1921.
an atmosphere of quietude, anti-Catholic sentiment faded among Protestant clergymen. By the late 1880's, neither Anglican nor Methodist missionary periodicals contained the stridently anti-Catholic rhetoric that had been common in previous decades. Some Anglican High Churchmen were even willing to emphasise the Catholicity of the Church of England, while at the same time de-emphasising its Reformation character.167 But such a position was an exception rather than the rule. Protestant attitudes toward the Church of Rome had not necessarily altered, although they were less frequently enunciated. Catholic-Protestant rivalry had run its course, and from a Protestant point of view at least, little could be gained by condemning the Roman Catholic achievement. By the beginning of the twentieth century, some Protestant clergy grudgingly admitted that Catholic priests might perform some good work among the Indians of the interior. At the same time, however, they still contended that Oblate theology was unsound, its advocates dangerously popish and foreign.168

The Protestants had never fully organised to resist early Roman Catholic advances, though the Anglicans made a concerted effort at Lytton. The completion of the C.P.R., however, led to massive in-migration by white settlers, and Protestant church authorities intensified their efforts in British Columbia. The Anglican Church began to reorganise in 1879 when Bishop Hills, perhaps anticipating events, separated the mainland from his diocese (Columbia), and created two new bishoprics, one in the north (Caledonia) and one in
the south (New Westminster). As settlement increased in the southern interior, further adjustments were made. Kootenay Diocese was separated from New Westminster in 1900, and in 1914, New Westminster was reduced further by the creation of the Diocese of Cariboo. A succession of associations, including the Columbia Mission Society, the New Westminster and Kootenay Missionary Association, and the Caledonia Missionary Union, were founded to aid the dioceses. In 1910-11, the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society (hereafter, B.C.Y.C.A.S.) was established to supercede these organisations and to serve the entire ecclesiastical province. Through the efforts of these societies, the British public were awakened to the plight of the province's Anglicans, and funds and missionaries were supplied as never before.

The Non-conformists also reorganised. In 1887, the Methodist Church established the British Columbia Conference and separated it from the parent Toronto Conference. Four districts were established in the province: Victoria, Westminster, Kamloops, and Simpson. With increased local administration, the province's Methodists were able to work more effectively. Until 1887, the province had been treated as a westward extension of settled, agrarian Ontario. Mission practices imposed from without were not always applicable in a province of transient, irreligious miners and labourers. After 1887, local authorities established their own policies and ministered with greater effect, among farmers, workers, and merchants alike.
The increased strength of the Presbyterian Church after 1890 can be attributed partly to the energetic policies of Rev. James Robertson, Superintendent of Western Missions for the Presbyterian Church in Canada in the years 1881-1902.174 Robertson's first appeal to eastern Canadian Presbyterians came in 1887, only a year after the Canadian West had been opened to settlement by the completion of the C.P.R. In exhorting his church's General Assembly to action he warned that "these tides of immigration will not wait for us... If we lose these people now we shall have a wild and godless West."175 Robertson's words fell on fertile ground and a Presbytery of Calgary was formed, its westernmost boundary being a line running south from Revelstoke. A Presbytery of Columbia had been organised in 1886 and lay immediately to the west. It was superceded in 1892 as three presbyteries emerged to take its place: Vancouver Island, Westminster, and Kamloops. A Provincial Synod was formed to unite the Calgary Presbytery with the presbyteries of British Columbia.176

Exploratory expeditions were sent to eastern British Columbia late in 1887 and again in the following summer.177 The eastern Canadian missionaries who participated in these ventures were instructed to take an informal census of Presbyterian strength in the area and to conduct religious services wherever possible. Like the Methodists, Presbyterian missionaries found great scope for increased activity. As a consequence, efforts were made to send ministers wherever they were needed. Initially, many such missionaries were
students from Toronto's Knox College and Kingston's Queen's University, but after congregations were better established, fully qualified ministers were sent to take charge. 178 After the early 1890's any community that established a Presbyterian church generally had a minister as well (or shared one with nearby communities).

The Roman Catholic Church did little to combat the Protestant onslaught. Only in 1908 did the church begin to make long overdue changes in organisation; the Diocese of New Westminster was transferred to Vancouver and raised to Archdiocesan status. 179 When settlement by white Catholics increased in the interior, new bishoprics were created at Nelson and Kamloops. These changes were in part made necessary by the decline of the Oblate Congregation. By 1908, British Columbian Oblates were short of priests and most of their duties to white congregations were assumed by secular priests. 180

Unlike the Protestants, the Roman Catholic clergy (especially the Oblates) continued their war of words with their rivals well into the twentieth century. Oblate publications gloated over Anglican and Methodist set-backs in the Fraser Canyon, and delighted in exposing the anti-Catholic "crimes" of Elizabeth, Cranmer, and Knox. 181 Admittedly, many such articles originated in European publications, but even so, the views of the province's Roman Catholic clergy were not substantially different. Inter-denominational co-operation was largely confined to the Protestant sects.
Informal talks between Methodists and Presbyterians began in the early twentieth century and culminated in church union in 1925. Even the Anglican Church, formerly uncivil to the Non-conformists, lowered its barriers and tempered its prejudices; sharing its churches and co-operating in the mainly Non-conformist "Forward Movement" that followed the First World War. 182

Having outlined the history of inter-denominational relations in the early southern interior, it is now possible to discuss an allied topic, that of church construction. To a major extent, the history and geography of church construction paralleled the history and geography of inter-denominational relations. This was especially so before the 1890's, when rivalries between missionaries were at their height. After white immigration accelerated, inter-denominational relations still played a role, but settlement and economic development, more than anything, determined when and where churches would be built.
Chapter 3

The Geography of Church Construction

Introductory

Church construction in the southern interior was in two distinct phases. Construction before the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway was limited in scope and was largely a result of inter-denominational rivalries. Few churches were built for the white population, but of those that were, most were Anglican. Most churches built during the period were for the Indians, and the majority were Catholic. Churches built after the railway's completion resulted not only from inter-denominational relations, but also from the province's regional economic development. As improvements were made to transportation networks, new areas were opened to settlement, investment, and exploitation. As the population swelled, mission activity accelerated. With permanent settlement, families came and trusted institutions re-emerged on the frontier. Hundreds of churches were built, not for the Indians, but for the province's European population. Most new churches were Protestant rather than Catholic, and among the Protestants, the Anglicans were the pre-eminent builders.
Anglican and Roman Catholic Church Construction: 1858-1880

As has been observed, Anglican involvement in the British Columbian mission field was spurred by the gold rush of 1858. Interest in the Indian population was initially only minor, but when the Oblate presence was discovered, Anglican work among the natives intensified. The two rival sects vied both for souls and sites, and church construction accelerated. The construction of a church was an act laden with symbolism, a sign to other denominations that the sect responsible for its erection had claimed that village as its own, and that it had the confidence and support of the native inhabitants. When denominational frontiers of expansion overlapped, however, two rival churches might be built at a single location (as at Kopchitchin and Shulus), or a pre-existing building might be abandoned as one of the combatants withdrew.¹

In the 1860's and 1870's dozens of small wooden chapels were built in the Indian villages of the interior. As all denominations had limited manpower, visits by missionaries to individual Indian camps were necessarily infrequent. The erection of modest village churches was a response to this problem. Indian congregations received their first religious instruction from European clerics, and village leaders ("watchmen" and "policemen") were appointed to ensure that prayers were said during the missionary's absence.² The system was considered a means of strengthening the hold of a denomination on the villages that it had evangelised. The origins of the
procedure remain uncertain; although usually identified as part of Bishop Durieu's missionary "system," the practice began under Bishop d'Herbomez and was equally popular in Protestant circles.  

The first Roman Catholic churches built in the British Columbian interior were erected in 1842 and 1843 by the Indians of Williams Lake, Fort Alexandria, and Kamloops. No others were built until the first Oblate advance in the 1860's. Then, in the 1860's and 1870's, at least fourteen Catholic Indian churches were built in the southern interior, thirteen by Oblates working from St. Mary's Mission. By about 1880 there were churches at Hope, Spuzzum, Kanaka Bar, Shryptahooks, Kopchitchin, Tuckkwiowhum, Ruby Creek, Luksetissum, Aywaw-wis (Union Bar), Pavilion, Puckatholetchin (American Bar), Cayoosh Creek (near Lillooet), and Yale. Most of these churches were in the Fraser Canyon, for Oblate missions had not yet penetrated much further inland. Other churches were built in the northern interior and, in 1868, when Bishop d'Herbomez blessed churches at Quesnel, Clinton, Alexandria, Soda Creek, Titlenaiten, and Pavilion, he rejoiced, for the church at Pavilion was the fifty-fifth church on the mainland that he had blessed in four years.  

The Anglicans built only a few churches before 1890. Most were for the white population. Bishop Hills longed to establish on the mainland the ancient parish system of the Church of England. He bought lots in strategic places, hoping that their value in later years would justify the
The Anglican Church proposed to build a church in every major settlement in the interior, each with its own resident vicar, clergy house, and glebe. But although the Anglican Church would have preferred to build many churches with resident clergymen, her missionaries did recognise the futility of building at mining encampments lacking permanent populations. It became Anglican policy to build only in locations which were likely to become permanent towns. Hills believed that the settlements of Hope, Port Douglas, Lillooet, Yale, Lytton, and Spuzzum were destined to become major centres. Semi-permanent Anglican churches were built at each place: at Hope, Port Douglas, and Lillooet in 1861, at Yale in 1863, at Spuzzum in 1872, and at Lytton slightly later.

Bishop Hills would have liked a larger staff to man his churches and regularly addressed appeals for further aid to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1860 he requested that "14 able, faithful, and zealous missionaries" be assigned to his diocese. In 1864 he requested eighteen clergy. These unrealistic requests remained unfilled. Several observers questioned Hills judgement. In 1864, for example, the British Colonist suggested that the colony was already "literally overrun with reverend gentlemen."

The Colonist lamented further: "At present we have more clergymen in the country than can find congregations."

Hills may indeed have been over-zealous in building so many churches. By the mid-1860's much of the early prosperity
that had accompanied the gold rush of the middle Fraser River had vanished. Several churches lacked the congregations to warrant regular visits by missionaries. The completion of the Cariboo Road led to the decline of Port Douglas, while Derby was threatened by the removal of the mainland capital to New Westminster. Both towns decayed and their churches were eventually removed for use elsewhere. Yet Anglican ministrations to the towns of the southern interior continued, and churches at Hope, Yale, Spuzzum, Lytton, and Lilloet remained open. Most Anglicans regretted the closure of churches, but as Rev. A. D. Pringle maintained in 1861:

"The Church of England desires to minister to souls. Should a population remove from one location to another, she deems it her duty to follow them, although ten churches and as many parsonages are left behind." 13

The Anglican clergy were remarkably unified in their goals. Most had faith in the colony's future, believing British Columbia would someday become a vital link in an imperial transportation network, and the scene of great industrial and agricultural activities.14 The clergy were all but unanimous in supporting intensified mission work in the colony. They were convinced that "the civil welfare of (the) gold colonies (was) dependent on the state of religion and education," and believed that "the voice of the missionary... very frequently (recalled) to mind former and better associations."15 Only the Rev. W. B. Crickmer (a Low Churchman) expressed serious doubts about the future of the Church of England on the mainland, maintaining in 1861:
"For years to come, from the geographical position of the Colony, English emigration will be wanting to support English institutions to any great extent... We may get many Americans from Oregon and California, but no English immigration." 16

Crickmer returned to England in 1862, but the Anglican Diocese of Columbia continued its mission to the inhabitants of the southern interior, even during the economic depression of the 1870's. 17

Indian mission work was less controversial. Although the Indians migrated seasonally between several semi-permanent encampments, they were far less transient than the mining population. Native livelihoods depended not upon a single non-renewable resource, but upon hunting, fishing, and gathering. Anglican missionaries could establish churches at the most permanent Indian camps with some confidence that they would serve as the nuclei of permanent Indian villages. 18 By 1872 the Church of England had established such churches at about a dozen places: Shulus, Lytton, Boothroyd, Spuzzum, Kopchitchin, Nysakep, Yale, Ashcroft, Cook's Ferry (later called Spences Bridge), Stryen, and Lytton. 19 Anglican churches stood wherever influence had been wrested from the Oblates: from Lytton in the west to Shulus in the east, and from Nysakep in the north to Yale in the south. This was a major achievement but paled somewhat when compared to Roman Catholic church construction (one should also bear in mind that many churches were built because this was an area of high Indian population density).

In the colony's earliest years church construction
received little aid from business and government. During the late 1850's and early 1860's, the Hudson's Bay Company donated lots to any denomination wishing to build a church at one of its trading posts. When the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were founded, Governor Douglas initiated a similar policy, granting land and providing some financial support to the first denomination building at each white settlement. Several churches were materially assisted by this government aid. Opposition to the grants emerged in 1861 as a Congregationalist minister in Victoria and the editors of the British Colonist and the British Columbian banded together to condemn them. The grants were discontinued and religious bodies were obliged to finance their buildings without assistance from the Crown.

The decision was not solely the result of adverse comment, for Bishop Hills was himself opposed to grants from government. The Anglican Church, of course, had the most to gain from the policy since it was "first in the field" in many places. If the policy were applied, Anglicans would receive most of the grants. Herein lay the problem. Bishop Hills feared "the certainty of misconstruction, and the charge of favouritism" that might be levelled against the government. He recognised that any attempt by the government to favour his church over other denominations would only result in "much irritation and contention," and this he was anxious to avoid. Whether more churches would have been built had government aid continued is uncertain. Anglican churches at
Douglas and Lillooet were built without government assistance, but the Dissenting denominations did not build at Lillooet until long after the grants were discontinued (the grants stopped in the mid-1860's). Building lots remained inexpensive for many years, and those churches that were built had only small congregations.

Church Construction: 1881-1890

The decade 1881-1890 was not a time of much church construction in British Columbia. As in the preceding decades, most churches erected were for the Indian population. Although the C.P.R. was completed in 1886, white settlement did not accelerate until after about 1890 so few white churches were built. The Anglicans and Roman Catholics were about equally active during the decade. A second church for the Anglican natives of Lytton was built in 1885, while another may have been built at Yankee Flat at about the same time. The Indians of Pokhaist built a church in 1882, while those at North Bend rebuilt their earlier sanctuary of 1872. The chiefs of Nitlichpam, Tikwalous, and Towinock may have built during the same decade. Churches for the predominantly white settlements of Donald and Kamloops were built in 1887 and 1888. Both towns had recently become major centres for the C.P.R., and both seemed assured of permanent, "respectable" populations. Finally, in 1885, a small Anglican church was built near Armstrong (at Lansdowne), an English village in the northern Okanagan Valley. In all, only
MAP 4
INDIAN CHURCHES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
IN 1916

▲ Roman Catholic
■ Salvation Army
● Anglican
□ Presbyterian
△ Methodist
about ten Anglican churches were built, seven for the Indians and three for the whites.

Roman Catholic activity was equally restrained. Indian churches were built at the east Kootenay Indian Mission of St. Eugene in 1880, at Coldwater Creek and Fountain in 1885, at Douglas Lake in 1888, and at Ruby Creek in 1889.\(^{32}\) The earliest churches at the Penticton Indian Reserve and at the Inkanee Indian Reserve may also date from this period.\(^{33}\) A major reunion church was built at Okanagan Mission in 1884, and replaced Fr. Pandosy's first log chapel-dwelling of 1861.\(^{34}\) Construction in white communities began in 1885 when a church was built at Yale.\(^{35}\) Another was built in the railway town of Kamloops in 1887, while another was built at O'Keefe in 1886.\(^{36}\)

Even in 1890 the influence of the Non-conforming denominations was still slight in the southern interior. Methodist churches had been built at only three locations; at Yale in 1861 (a "miserable shell of a building"), at Kamloops in 1888, and at Salmon Arm in 1890.\(^{37}\) The Church of Scotland had built a church at Nicola in 1876, while the Presbyterian Church of Canada built at Kamloops in 1887 and near Grand Forks in 1890.\(^{38}\) Presbyterian activity was hampered by internal disunity (described previously), and by a shortage of funds and staff. The Methodists were somewhat better organised, but they too suffered shortages.

Non-conformists sometimes solved building shortages by sharing churches. Itinerant ministers of one denomina-
MAP 5
WHITE CHURCH CONSTRUCTION: 1858-1890

- Roman Catholic
- Anglican
- Presbyterian
- Methodist
tion were sometimes permitted to "borrow" churches belonging to other denominations. If a single community had two Non-conformist denominations but only one church and one minister, the members of the church-less party generally worshipped with the churched. When churches built by one denomination were dedicated, representatives from the other usually attended and sometimes helped direct the services. Because of the co-operative spirit that prevailed in Non-conformist missionary activity, neither Methodists nor Presbyterians felt obliged to match each other's church building programmes; both often waited until a community had grown sufficiently to support two Dissenting churches. On some occasions even the Anglicans co-operated. In Barkerville, for example, Rev. G. A. Wilson rang the bell in the town's Anglican church to call his Presbyterian congregation to services held in the Methodist church. Some rectors (such as Penticton's) even opened their pulpits to Non-conformist preachers. The Anglicans stopped short of participating in "union churches" (to which diocesan funds could not be applied) since they preferred churches of their own, built to the specific needs of the Anglican liturgy.

**Church Construction: 1891-1900**

Church construction accelerated significantly after 1890. Permanent settlers entered the province and the organised churches rushed to their service. Many of these immigrants were of a far different class from those who had swept
through the gold colony a quarter-century before. Large numbers of settlers, to be sure, probably viewed the church with disdain or suspicion, and saw little need for church construction. But at the same time, a major section of the immigrants were middle-class in outlook; industrious, morally refined, and committed to family, home, empire, and the Christian religion. Wherever they went they built churches shortly after they settled.

The quarter-century preceding the outbreak of the First World War was a time of rapid population growth, marked economic development, and increased in-migration. It was also when outward religious observance seemed to reach its apogee. More churches were built during these decades than at any other time in the history of the province. Missionary fervour was at its height, its rhetoric a blend of piety, moral responsibility, and imperialism. British Roman Catholics and Orangemen alike extolled God, King, and Empire.43

Imperial and religious images were inextricably mixed, mainly because most of the immigrants had British or British-Canadian antecedents. By the early twentieth century it was clear that the province had become "the home of the English, especially settled by English and very often by English of the more cultivated and educated classes."44 It was "especially incumbent" upon the Christian church to follow British migrants "with the eye of sympathy at every point in their passage from their old home to their new, to exercise a watchful care over them, and to protect them from the dangers,
moral and spiritual, which beset their path." Britons felt a responsibility to assist materially their expatriate brethren, and organised societies for the purpose. Principal among their interests was the provision of churches. The aims of the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society, for example, included assisting "the Bishops in British Columbia and their advisors in the all important task of securing sites of land, and the erection of cheap buildings thereon..." Other associations, such as the (Methodist) Ladies Home Missionary Society, had similar aims. Whether from Ontario or from Britain, British Columbian Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians all received such aid. Funds were apportioned according to need and, as a result, many churches were built with little local funding.

Unlike other denominations, the province's Roman Catholics received little aid from Britain or eastern Canada. What little assistance the Oblate Congregation did obtain came mainly from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (founded in Lyons in 1822). As the nineteenth century drew to a close, even this aid began to decline. French anti-clericalism had led to the suppression of the Oblate Congregation in 1879-80. With the order's activities curtailed in France, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith gradually lost sight of Oblate activities overseas. By about 1900, Oblate ranks in British Columbia received few reinforcements from either France or Belgium, and Oblate coffers in the province received little aid from the Society for the Propagation of
the Faith. The Oblates were able to maintain their earlier strength only until about 1900; soon afterward, parts of their duties were assumed by secular priests.51

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the four main denominations built some eighty-eight churches at new locations in the southern interior. Despite shortages of staff and money, the Roman Catholic Church built at twenty-one previously unoccupied sites. During the same period the Church of England, armed with funds from Britain, built at twenty-two locations. The Methodists built nineteen churches, and the Presbyterians some twenty-six. Both Non-conformist denominations, like the Anglicans, had intensified their activities in response to accelerated settlement. As a result, construction of churches for the whites began to outstrip that for the Indians. During the fifty years before 1891, only about fifty-two Christian churches had been built in the southern interior, most of them for the native Indians. Of the eighty-eight churches built between 1891 and 1900, however, seventy-four were for the white population, and only fourteen for the Indians. Of the seventy-four churches for the whites, almost all (sixty-six) were Protestant. All fourteen Indian churches were built by Roman Catholics.

Oblate missions to the Indians reached their apogee in the decade 1891-1900. Native chapels were built at about twelve villages in the southern interior, including the Kamloops-area villages of Sahhaltkum (1892), Neskainlith (1894), Qua'aout (c. 1895), Bonaparte (c. 1891), Lillooet (c. 1899), Quilchena
Indian churches were also built at Okanagan Lake (1893), Equesis Creek (c. 1900), Westbank (c. 1895), Columbia Lake (c. 1892), and Shuswap (c. 1892). The construction of Indian churches was partly assisted by government aid, for after about 1900, the Canadian government began to provide funds for education to any denomination that built a church or school in an Indian village. Through this procedure the government in effect granted semi-official status to denominations working in particular villages. With government recognition obtained by one denomination, rival missionaries were unlikely to interfere in its work. Government assistance may also have aided reconstruction, for during this same period the Indian churches at Fountain, Kopchitchin, Douglas Lake, Pavilion, Kamloops, and St. Eugene were all rebuilt on a grander scale.

Churches for the southern interior's population of white Catholics were fewer in number, since the white Catholic population was small and dispersed. The Oblate Congregation, of course, refrained from evangelising the area's white Protestants. The Oblates were "foreign priests," French-speaking Catholics in an English-speaking, Protestant culture realm. Few priests spoke English well, and any attempts they made to convert Protestants would have met ridicule or hostility. Thus, white Catholic churches were built at only nine locations: Donald (1892), Nelson (1893), Kaslo (1895-96), Fort Steele (1897), Vernon (1897), Moyie (1899), Greenwood (1899), Grand Forks (1899), and Fernie (1900). The first great Non-conformist missionary thrust took
place in the recently settled eastern section of the province. In the early 1890's, both Methodists and Presbyterians moved outward from their Kootenay bases at Nelson, and began a programme of evangelisation remarkable for the rapidity and extent of its church construction. Both denominations viewed church construction as a necessary tool of mission work. Several communities erected churches even before they were assured of ministers. Other settlements had churches built for them by clergymen whose circuits were very ill-defined, whose visits were sporadic and infrequent, and whose tenure was often very short.\textsuperscript{57} Construction by Presbyterians was particularly extensive, for the informal census conducted by Superintendent Robertson's envoys had suggested locations for future churches.\textsuperscript{58} Robertson was determined to build Presbyterian churches in every community containing Presbyterians.\textsuperscript{59} In the first five years of his superintendancy he established (on the average) one preaching station each week.\textsuperscript{60} By 1901 he had founded some 1,113 stations in the Canadian West, had built 80 manses, and had arranged the construction of 379 churches.\textsuperscript{61}

Methodist and Presbyterian churches rose in most Kootenay settlements of any size: Methodist churches were built at Nelson (1891), New Denver (c. 1893), Ainsworth (1893), Rossland (1895), Slocan (1895), Kaslo (1895), Trail (1897), Grand Forks (1899), Cranbrook (1899), Greenwood (1900), Fernie (1900), and Sandon (1900).\textsuperscript{62} During the same period Presbyterian churches were built in the Kootenay centres of
Nelson (1892), Columbia (1893), Kaslo (1893), Windemere (1895), Spillamacheen (1895), Rossland (1895), New Denver (1897), Slocan (1897), Nakusp (1897), Fort Steele (1897-98), Sandon (1898), Christina Lake (1898), Ymir (1898), Cranbrook (1898), Fernie (1898-1900), Greenwood (1899-1900), and Grand Forks (1900).

Besides their activity in the mining towns of the Kootenays, both denominations were also active in the Okanagan Valley. Methodist churches rose at Armstrong (1892), Vernon (1892-93), Enderby (1894), and Notch Hill (c. 1900). A lone Methodist church was built in the Nicola Valley (at Lower Nicola) in 1896. Presbyterian construction in the Okanagan was only slightly more extensive. Churches were erected at Ben-voulin (1891), Vernon (1891), Lumby (1895), Salmon Arm (1895), Kelowna (1898-99), and Chase (1900).

While Non-conformist missionaries were impelled by a certain sense of imperial duty, it was primarily the clergy of the Anglican Church, coming as they did directly from England, who saw themselves as agents in God's great scheme for the Empire. Many Anglican missionaries believed that the Anglo-Saxon race was a modern "chosen people;" its mission was to occupy, to civilise, and to Christianise heathen territories. It was especially important that Anglican missionaries serve their brethren overseas. British Columbia, with its large English population, was an ideal mission field. Anglican clerics had noted as early as 1893 that "this most westerly province (had) some special attractive power for members of the Anglican Communion over and above that of other Canadian dio-
cesses." By 1893, 24% of British Columbians were Anglicans, as compared to a Canadian average of 13.4%.68

The Church of England planted its buildings in all sections of the southern interior, but its principal strength lay in settled, agricultural areas. While it prospered well enough in the service towns, it was rather less successful in the smaller, mining centres of the Kootenays. Working-class miners often viewed the Anglican clergy as upper-class enemies, with accents, attitudes, and mannerisms much to be disdained. Anglican achievements in the mining towns were, therefore, more dependent upon the influence of a few gifted clergymen than upon any latent loyalty to the Anglican Church. Non-conformist missionaries generally met much greater success in the mining areas, though agnosticism remained quite prevalent. Non-conformists usually built in the mining camps before the Anglicans did, whereas in orcharding settlements, Anglican churches were generally built first. In the final decade of the nineteenth century the Anglicans built at Enderby (1891), Ashcroft (1891-92), Balfour (1892), Penticton (1892), Vernon (1893), Kaslo (1895), Fairview (1895), Kelowna (1895), Lumby (1895), Rossland (1896), Trout Creek (1897), Nelson (1898), Fort Steele (1898), Nakusp (1898), Westwold (1898), New Denver (1898), Silverton (1899), Trail (1899), Cranbrook (1899), Fernie (1900), Phoenix (1900), Slocan (1900), and Nicola (1900). Curiously, despite the Canadian government's subsidy for denominations building churches or schools in Indian villages, only one new Indian church was built (at
The first decade of the twentieth century was a time of great economic expansion and population growth in British Columbia. Most areas of the southern interior shared in the general prosperity. New towns and rural settlements emerged in previously unoccupied districts while older communities grew. As a consequence, the decade was characterised by almost as much church construction as had occurred in the 1890's. Sixty-four churches were built between 1901 and 1910 (exclusive of second or replacement churches). Of these, fourteen were built by the Methodists, fifteen by the Presbyterians, fifteen by the Anglicans, and nineteen by the Roman Catholics.

By 1910 the Roman Catholic Church had built at sixty-four locations, the Church of England at sixty, the Presbyterians at forty-three, and the Methodists at twenty-six. If Indian chapels are deducted from these figures, the Presbyterians led with forty-three churches. The Anglicans followed with forty-two, while Methodists and Roman Catholics trailed with twenty-six and twenty respectively. These latter figures are more in accord with provincial census figures. By 1911, the Anglican Church could claim to be the largest denomination in the province, with 100,952 adherents. The Presbyterians followed with 82,125 while the Roman Catholics could claim 58,397 and the Methodists 52,132. The four main denominations accounted for 293,606 persons, or 75% of the province's popula-
tion. Significantly, in 1911 only 23,111 people or 5% gave their religion as "other" or failed to specify. Thus, of British Columbia's 1911 population of about 400,000, the vast majority were at least nominally Christian, and more specifically, Protestant.

As the province's white population swelled, so did the frequency of Protestant church buildings. British Columbia's southern interior, once dotted primarily by Roman Catholic Indian chapels, was increasingly covered by Protestant churches. Methodist and Presbyterian churches comprised a major portion of the Protestant churches. Non-conformist clerics and congregations, traditionally friendly toward one another, began in the late 1890's a movement toward union that was to have significant implications for church construction. Before the twentieth century, Methodists and Presbyterians seldom joined formally in planning their church building programmes. Despite informal discussions, considerable duplication had taken place as both denominations sometimes built in the same small towns. Although co-operation was less essential in the larger towns (where greater populations could support two Dissenting churches), from the early 1900's settlements both large and small were participants in co-operative experiments.

Official talks toward union began in 1904 and a formalised policy of "judicious co-operation" was put into action. Both churches agreed to avoid competing with each other wherever it was possible. If one denomination in a town lacked its adherents were not only permitted, but expected to attend ser-
vices at the nearest church belonging to the other Dissenting denomination. Both parties even agreed to prevent or at least avoid duplication in church construction, though congregations not sympathetic toward union sometimes ignored this policy. Still, by 1909, co-operative ventures had borne considerable fruit: the Methodists administered to twenty-three British Columbian communities not served by the Presbyterians, while the Presbyterians worked at twenty-seven points not served by the Methodists (Indian communities excepted). Further, even before 1925 (the date of church union), Methodist and Presbyterian congregations sometimes co-operated in the construction of "union churches," buildings that were shared by the two denominations.

During the decade 1901-1910, the Non-conformist denominations intensified their efforts in the orcharding areas of the interior but also maintained their commitment to the mining towns. Methodist churches were built for Michel-Natal (c. 1901), Moyie (1901), Kimberley (1901), Hosmer (1902), Morissey (1902), Coal Creek (1902), Kelowna (1903), Phoenix (1904), Penticton (1906), Creston (1907), Rutland (1908), Glenbank (1908), Harrop (1910), and Merritt (1910). Presbyterian churches were built at Phoenix (1901), Armstrong (1901), Fairview (1904), Penticton (1904), Midway (1905), Wilmer (1905), Enderby (1906), Moyie (1908), Keremeos (1908), Okanagan Centre (1908), Lillooet (1908), Wardner (1908), Creston (1909), West Summerland (c. 1910), and Merritt (1910).

During the same period Anglican construction in the area
waned slightly, perhaps because the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was withdrawing its support. Only a very few Anglican churches were built between 1901 and 1910, at: Greenwood (1901), Grand Forks (1901), Arrowhead (1905), Michel (1905), St. George's School (near Lytton, 1906), Salmon Arm (1907), Summerland (1909), Goose Lake (c. 1910), and Wycliffe (1910). Indian chapels were built at Inkatsaph in 1901 and at Kanaka in 1905. Native chapels were also rebuilt at several places, including Spuzzum (1903), Pokhaist (1903), and Spences Bridge (1905 and again in 1910).

Roman Catholic construction activity was equally restrained. France's final anti-clerical legislation of 1901-05 was a major setback for the Oblate Congregation. A severe shortage of priests and the meagreness of British Columbia's white Catholic population conspired against all but the most necessary church construction. Indian chapels still dominated Roman Catholic building programmes, but construction for the whites increased as white Catholic settlers began to cluster. New churches were built in native villages at Salmon River (c. 1904), Chopaka (c. 1909), Chuchuweyha (c. 1905), Tobacco Plains (1903), Shulus (1902), Slosh (c. 1902), Ncrait (c. 1905), Switsemelph (c. 1900), and Creston (1903). Churches for the white community emerged at Silverton (1903), Nakusp (1903), Phoenix (1903), New Denver (1903), Cranbrook (1901), Kelowna (1908), Salmon Arm (1908), and Merritt (1901). The principal strengths of the white Roman Catholic Church derived from French-Canadian and southern European landowners and
MAP 7
WHITE CHURCH CONSTRUCTION: 1901-1910

Δ Roman Catholic
● Anglican
□ Presbyterian
△ Methodist
lumbermen. Churches were built wherever such congregations were of sufficient size and means to make building ventures possible. The Catholic church at Nakusp, for example, owed its origins to forest industry workers from Quebec. Similarly, Italian families at Kelowna and Spanish settlers at Merritt made possible the construction of their respective churches.

Church Construction: 1911-1925

Compared to building activity in the preceding two decades, church construction in the years 1911-25 was of minor proportions. Only a very few (mainly Anglican) churches were built during the four years preceding the outbreak of the First World War. Fewer still were built during the war, for in 1914 mission funds were diverted to other purposes. Ministers of all denominations went to Europe as chaplains, and theology students who might have taken their place themselves enlisted to serve in the war. Strengths of congregations were similarly diminished. Church building was at a standstill. Post-war recovery was slow; even in the 1920's few churches were built.

For some denominations, of course, extensive church construction became less necessary. By about 1911, the Non-conformists had apparently built most of the churches that they were to require. Thus, after about 1911, only a few Methodist churches were built: at Naramata, Peachland, and Summerland in 1911, and at Oyama in 1918. All four churches were in recently established orcharding communities in the Okanagan Valley. During the same years Presbyterian activity
was directed primarily toward the Kootenays, and was complement­
ary to Wesleyan work in the area. Churches were built at
Burton, Brouse, and Athalmer in 1911, at Summerland in 1912,
and at Procter in 1913. After the war Methodist construction
ceased but the Presbyterians built at Princeton in 1920, at
Oliver in 1922, and at Wynndel in 1925. The church at Falk
land (a former schoolhouse) was, in 1925, among the first build­
ings dedicated by the new United Church of Canada.

During the years immediately preceding the war the Oblate
missions were clearly in decline. Apparently only one Indian
church was built (at Bridge River in 1912) though construction
by secular priests for white Catholics accelerated slightly. Churches for whites were probably built by 1915 at Slocan, Hope,
Penticton (1914, Oblate), Lytton, and Procter. Further con­
struction followed the war when churches were probably built at
Notch Hill, Chase, Bridesville, Yahk, Grindrod, and perhaps
Canal Flats.

In the fifteen year period from 1911 until 1925, the
Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Presbyterians together built
only about twenty-four churches at previously unoccupied sites.
During the same period, however, the Anglican Church prospered,
and built at least thirty-five churches. Such a volume of
construction was probably necessary, for thousands of English
Anglicans had arrived in the years 1900-12. By 1921, 29% of
British Columbians were of British birth, compared to 15% in
Ontario and a Canadian average of 12%. Similarly, 31% of
British Columbians were Anglicans, compared to 22% in Ontario
and a Canadian average of 16%.91

After 1911, Anglican strengths in British Columbia lay, as before, with British middle-class immigrants: second sons, retired military men, adventurers, and others.92 Like the clergymen who served them, many Anglican settlers hoped to settle the province with fellow Englishmen, and to establish commercially sound agricultural communities. Ecclesiastical supporters in England hoped to make the province "the mightiest adjunct of (the) Kingdom anywhere beyond the seas," and to make its English inhabitants a "god-fearing and god-serving people."93 Such ambitions, of course, did not appeal to all. As before, many labourers viewed the Anglican Church as an elite institution and its ministers as "snobs."94 The Diocese of Kootenay recognised these feelings and as early as 1904 organised a "Committee on the Alienation of the Working Man."95 Even in 1911, Rev. H. Beer had to report that "little progress can be recorded in our work in the silver and lead mining districts."96

Just as the Church of England's appeal was largely confined to the middle-class, so were its buildings restricted to particular areas. The pattern that began late in the nineteenth century continued after 1911: while Non-conformist churches rose in most mining villages, Anglican churches could be found in only a few. Anglican strengths instead concentrated in the larger service centres and in dozens of agricultural settlements. Of the twenty-five Anglican churches erected in the four years preceding 1914, almost all were built in rural settle-
ments such as Wilmer, Creston, Peachland, Okanagan Mission, and Sorrento (all built in 1911); Kettle Valley (moved from Rock Creek), Arrow Park, Willow Point, Shakkan (Indian), Needles, and Trout Lake City (all built in 1912); and Mara, Procter, Kokanee, Holmwood, Edgewood, Queen's Bay, Canford (Indian), Merritt, and Canoe (all built c. 1913). A church was built in the mining town of Princeton in 1911. Further churches in mining areas were built in 1914 at Hedley, Coalmont, and South Slocan. Other war-time churches include those at Okanogan Centre, Ymir (subsequently ceded to the Roman Catholics), Sho-ook (Indian), and Grindrod (1918). After the First World War, Anglican church construction recovered only slowly, though admittedly, most places that were to require churches already had them by 1918. Anglican churches were built at Keremeos and Invermere in 1923 and at Kimberley and Westbank in 1925. In the late 1920's Anglican church construction increased once again as new English orcharding settlements emerged in the Okanagan Valley, but this development lies beyond the scope of this study.

Summary

In British Columbia's southern interior church buildings were generally erected whenever and wherever sympathetic congregations were large enough to warrant them and clergymen available to serve. Regional and temporal patterns of church construction were consequently dependent upon inter-denominational relations, and the province's history of settlement and
economic development. Thus, few churches for the white population were built before the completion of the C.P.R., while scores were built thereafter. Most pre-railway churches were designed by Roman Catholic priests for use by Indians. Churches built after 1886, however, were mainly for white Protestants.

British Columbia's southeastern quadrant experienced several waves of European settlement between 1858 and 1925. Each of these led to the construction of churches. Protestant churches began to be built from the early 1860's as Anglican and Methodist clergymen ministered to miners in the Fraser and Cariboo districts. Few European churches were built during the economic depression of the 1870's. Construction of churches for the area's natives, however, continued unabated. Most of the first Indian churches in the Thompson, Fraser, and Okanagan Valleys were built in the 1860's and 1870's. Those built in the district around Lytton were Anglicans, while the rest were Roman Catholics. Church construction for the whites resumed in the 1880's, primarily in centres associated with the C.P.R. The number of Roman Catholic Indian churches also rose in the 1880's. Most such churches were in the Nicola and Upper Thompson Valleys, and in the Kootenays.

Oblate church construction reached its apogee in the 1890's, while construction of churches for Anglicans continued until the outbreak of the First World War. Just as churches were built wherever there were Indians, so were churches built at virtually every white settlement of any significance. The 1890's were a period of remarkable population growth and economic development
for the province's Europeans. As Methodist and Presbyterian congregations grew, missionaries from eastern Canada came to serve them. English immigration created a similarly vigorous Anglican population. The Non-conformist denominations found their greatest support in the working-class camps and towns of the Kootenays, while Anglican ministers were more favourably received in service towns and agricultural communities. Although this distinction continued into the twentieth century, it was not hard and fast. The Church of England did eventually build in working-class areas and neither Presbyterians nor Methodists were excluded from church construction in the orcharding districts.

Oblate missions to the Indians declined in the early twentieth century, while work by secular priests among white Roman Catholics grew. Though not of major proportions, a programme of secular church construction began in the years after 1900. Protestant church construction remained vigorous. Many Non-conformist churches rose in the years before the First World War, but Anglican construction was far more impressive. The once recognisable aggregations of Oblate Indian churches became less obvious as Protestant structures invaded their territories. By the early twentieth century, the southern interior, once an area of Roman Catholic churches only, was far more ecumenical. Only in those few areas not thoroughly permeated by white settlement (parts of the Fraser Canyon, for example) did Roman Catholic churches continue to dominate the landscape.
Church construction by all denominations virtually halted by about 1915, for most communities that were to require sanctuaries of a particular denominational stamp had already filled their needs. This fact, coupled with the slowness of post-war recovery, prevented any acceleration in church construction until the mid-1920's, by which time many structures of earlier foundation were either being enlarged or replaced.
Chapter 4

The Church Architecture of the Southern Interior:
Form and Structure

Introductory

Having discussed the forces that led to the construction of the early churches of the southern interior of British Columbia, and having identified regional and temporal patterns of construction, it is now possible to move to an examination of the built form itself. The pages that follow identify the principal architectural characteristics of each denomination's buildings, discussing regional and temporal variations in style, materials, and building technology. The subsequent two chapters will examine the doctrinal, liturgical, technological, and environmental forces that moulded the architectural form.

Roman Catholic Church Architecture

Many early Roman Catholic churches of southeastern British Columbia were built by the Oblate Congregation, the rest under the supervision of parochial (secular) priests. Oblate structures date mainly from before 1908, the year in which the province's diocesan clergy adopted responsibility for many parishes formerly under Oblate care. Although after 1908 Indian mission work remained the sole preserve of the Oblate Order, few Indian chapels were built. Churches built by parochial priests were only slightly more numerous (since Oblate priests
had already built churches for many white congregations). While several congregations in growing towns replaced their old, outmoded churches with more pretentious structures, construction of vernacular churches was limited. Despite the order's diminished responsibilities, even in 1925 Oblate churches were still the most prevalent Catholic structures in the southern interior. Parochial Catholic churches were largely confined to the recently settled Kootenay district. The western portion of the southern interior remained for many years (after 1925) an area strongly Oblate in character.

Oblate churches can be defined as crude Indian chapels, as town churches and mission churches proper, or as regional reunion churches. The second category contains the greatest number of churches. Few crude Indian chapels survive (though many were built), and only one or two regional reunion churches were erected in a single missionary district. While crude Indian chapels exhibit little regional diversity, other Oblate churches do.

Crude Indian chapels were the earliest Oblate sanctuaries. They were small (perhaps 10 feet by 15 feet), poorly built, and generally differed little from other village structures. As Father Morice suggested, most "were nothing else but lodges of a special form." Almost without exception, these chapels were of log. Indians exposed to European building technologies sometimes squared their logs and attempted dove-tail joints, while those in more traditional settings continued to build much as they always had done. When logs were left in their
natural, round condition, saddle-notch joints were often used. Longitudinal joints were often uneven, and clay chinking was required to make the chapels weather-tight. Logs of inconsistent sizes were often used and buildings were consequently both structurally and visually unsound.

Crude Indian chapels were rectangular in plan and decidedly unecclesiastical in appearance. Roofs were apparently gabled but generally low pitched. Wooden poles served as pur­lins and supported hand-hewn shakes. Such chapels often lacked windows; had no provision for chancels, porches, towers, or belfries; and seldom had interior luxuries (such as heating, ventilators, or seating). Doors might remain unhinged, and were built of hand-hewn boards instead of precisely milled panels. Floors were of dirt or tree bark and walls rested directly on the ground. Father Morice's description of a Dené Indian chapel is equally applicable to the first native chapels of the southern interior:

"Leur église est bien misérable...Ils la bâtirent il y a cinq ans, après la première visite du prêtre, alors qu'ils étaient tout à fait novices en ce genre de construction. Les troncs d'arbres qui en forment les murs laissent entre eux un vide qui permettrait de passer les bras, et, la nuit, on pourrait sans peine apercevoir les étoiles par les trous du toit."

As Morice suggested, such chapels were temporary structures that were more the product of Indian tastes and zeal than of clerical planning; even their interiors seldom bore a recogni­sable denominational stamp.

Primitive Indian chapels were probably built at many
permanent or semi-permanent encampments, principally in the years from 1860 to the late 1880's (but mainly, one suspects, in the 1860's). Of the fifty-five new Indian churches blessed by Bishop d'Herbomez in the period 1864-68, most were likely crude log hovels, supplanted within a few decades by buildings of far greater pretension. Most early chapels received little mention in Oblate correspondence--they were uninspiring buildings of little interest to supporters in France--and it is impossible to compile a full listing of them.

Crude Indian chapels varied little either through time or space. The size and species of trees used in their construction, to be sure, differed regionally, but a chapel built from Douglas Fir looked much like one of lodgepole pine or cedar. Father Demers' description in 1841 of an Indian chapel at Cow-litz (Oregon Territory) resembles Father Morice's references to chapels built in the 1880's. Like Morice (see above), Demers spoke of "a rude construction...made of round and rough tree trunks, notched and crossed at the ends to form the corners, having a paving of nothing but some pieces squared by an axe and fitted in the same way, without ceiling." The earliest chapels of the Pacific North-West, whether built in the 1840's near the coast, or in the 1870's further inland, were all structurally similar.

After about 1890, the Oblates built dozens of semi-permanent wood frame churches in the southern interior of British Columbia. Many such buildings replaced older Indian churches, while others served congregations (both white and Indian)
of more recent foundation. Log structures were still built, but rarely, and only on Indian reservations (at Equesis Creek and St. Eugene, for example). They were relatively complex buildings, far larger and more carefully constructed than their predecessors. But whether of lumber or of log, town churches and Indian replacement churches shared the same structural units: nave, sacristy or chancel, and tower.

A sacristy (a combined vestry, kitchen, and sleeping space) often stands beyond a nave's "eastern" wall, while a tower usually rises at the nave's "western" extremity. Since true chancels (with exterior structural articulation) are somewhat uncommon, the sacred functions are often accommodate on a platform instead (at the nave's eastern end). Where true chancels do exist, they are inevitably lower than their naves, covered by gabled roofs, and consequently externally indistinguishable from sacristies or vestries.

Entry to Oblate town and mission churches is always through the western end. Doorways are usually contained within centrally placed front towers. Oblate towers are commonly square in plan and slightly set into the mass of the nave, accounting for about one-third of the nave's width. Churches in towns are less likely to have bell towers (probably because white townspeople, unlike Indian neophytes, didn't have to be called to prayer). When towers are absent, doors are inserted directly into the western facade. While Methodist and Anglican churches often have low, gabled porches instead of towers, Oblate churches do not.
Fig. 2. Floorplan of a Hypothetical Crude Indian Chapel.

Fig. 3. Floorplan of a Hypothetical Oblate Town or Mission Church.
Most Oblate church towers serve several purposes. They act as porches, house heavy bronze bells, and support symbolic spires and crosses. Churches lacking towers usually have assertive belfries, invariably placed above the western gable. Twin spired churches are rare in Oblate architecture. None were built in the southern interior, and only a few in the Lower Mainland (at Sechelt, Capilano, Musqueam, and Skookumchuck).

Oblate town and mission churches are usually balloon frame structures, built with milled lumber and skilfully assembled. Most are sheathed with shiplap and roofed with wooden shingles. All have fully furnished interiors, complete with pews (and kneelers), altars, and reredoses. Although chairs might be provided for the priests, pulpits and lecterns are conspicuous by their absence. Galleries sometimes stand above the nave's western door, increasing seating capacities or serving as choir lofts. Virtually all interiors have vertical wainscotting and wooden barrel vaults.

Most churches have space for fifty to one hundred people. Their naves usually measure about 20 feet by 30, and most are of common proportions (about one unit of width to one and one-half or two units of length). The largest and smallest churches both share these proportions. Thus, the little church at Slosh (15 feet 6 inches by 22 feet) and the large church at Kelowna (36 feet 6 inches by 60 feet), both approximate this relationship.

Although Oblate town and mission churches always conform to certain structural norms, no two buildings are identical.
Plate 2. Crude Indian Chapel at Shuswap.

Plate 3. Oblate mission church at Enderby.
Most, however, are members of stylistically defined regional sub-types. Four regional styles of Oblate town and mission churches exist: in the Boundary-Kootenay area, in the Okanagan-Similkameen district, in the Fraser-Lillooet district, and in the Thompson and Nicola Valleys. Strictly speaking, Thompson-Nicola churches are more an aggregation than a style, for many are unique compositions. Distinctive, individual churches exist in each of the other three regions, but within each of those areas most buildings are of a common type.

While the Boundary-Kootenay and Okanagan-Similkameen districts fall fully within the study area, the other two districts do not. Part of the Thompson River basin (the valley of the North Thompson River) extends beyond the southern interior, and is consequently beyond the scope of this analysis. Similarly, only part of the Fraser-Lillooet district lies within the study area. The district includes the Fraser Valley; the Lillooet, Harrison, and Anderson basins; and the southernmost part of the lower coast. An area primarily coastal in its character and connections, the Fraser-Lillooet district exhibits few physical affinities with the southern interior. The only buildings in the study area within its confines are those bordering the canyon of the middle Fraser River.

Fraser-Lillooet churches are distinguished mainly by their Gothic towers and spires. The towers of the district rise as single, structural units, uninterrupted by vertical stagnation. Most are capped by low, pyramidal roofs which in turn support polygonal drums and tall, polygonal spires. When particularly
lofty (as at Skookumchuck, Musqueam, and Harrison Mills), rooftop drums are enclosed by louvres. All examples surviving in the southern interior, however (Slosh, Necait, and Pavilion), are lower and open. Fraser-Lillooet spires are usually octagonal in plan (as at Musqueam, Harrison Mills, Pavilion, Katzie, Fountain, Skookumchuck, Sliammon, and Necait). A few (such as Slosh and Fort Langley) are hexagonal. Decorative shingle-work is common on their roofs and all are crowned by distinctive Oblate crosses. A few spires are vertically ribbed. Many display coronas of gablets around their bases.

Churches in the district also have Gothic interiors. Most naves share a common type of barrel vault, notable for its angularity in section. Examples of the vault survive at Slosh, Necait, and Cayoosh Creek. A particularly fine variation at Mount Currie (destroyed by fire in 1953) had a scallopped lower edge supported by pendent brackets. Fraser-Lillooet churches also have distinctive altars. Chancel furnishings in the district are often more complex and generally much more Gothic than those in other areas. The grand Gothic altars and lateral shrines of Skookumchuck, Necait, and Mount Currie, with their crocketted spires, pepperpots, trefoils, and canopied niches, know no equals elsewhere in the southern interior. Remnant chancel furnishings at Pavilion, Slosh, and Cayoosh Creek suggest that other churches in the district were similarly Gothic, though somewhat more restrained.

The Oblate town and mission churches of the Boundary-Kootenay district are remarkably uniform (with three or four
Plate 4. Oblate mission church at Pavilion.

Plate 5. Oblate mission church at Necait. Both churches are in the Fraser-Lillooet style.

Plate 7. Interior view of the Oblate church at Mt. Currie. Mt. Currie and Necait are both in the Fraser-Lillooet style.
exceptions). Like the churches of the Fraser-Lillooet area, they are easily identified by their towers and spires. Boundary-Kootenay towers usually rise in two stages. Each level has its own sloped roof, the upper tier is usually narrower than its supporter. Four-sided belfries and spires usually stand atop each tower. The district's bell-chambers are both open (as at Creston, Grand Forks, Greenwood, Fort Steele, and Moyie) and closed (as at Fernie, Columbia Lake, Shuswap, and Cranbrook). Several have decorative railings and brackets about their piers. All support spires of moderate proportions. With the exception of polygonal examples at Fernie, Columbia Lake, Shuswap, and Fort Steele, all spires in the district are four-sided. Several spires are bell-cast at their eaves, while others display sets of four fretted gablets.

Boundary-Kootenay churches, like those of the Fraser-Lillooet area, are generally Gothic in mood (at least externally). Round headed windows are never employed, while classical ones are used only once (in the basilical Church of Mary Immaculate at Nelson). Virtually all Boundary-Kootenay windows are double-hung Gothic sashes. Most consist of two to six panes decorated with plain bar ("Y") tracery. None have the small, stained perimeter panes common in the Fraser-Lillooet district. Other Gothic features in Boundary-Kootenay churches include four-sided spires, fretted brackets, bargeboarded gablets, and steeply sloped roofs. Only a single church (at Fernie) had nave and tower buttresses, though the small Indian churches at Columbia Lake and Shuswap each have pairs of tower
braces.

With the known exception of Kaslo, the district's barrel vaults were fully rounded (in contrast with the angular vaults of the Fraser-Lillooet area). Boundary-Kootenay vaults span their naves in single, unbroken sweeps. Where true chancels exist, their ceilings differ from those in their naves, following a different profile. Whether the district's vaults are intended as Romanesque, Gothic, or neo-Classical compositions is unclear. Like Boubary-Kootenay altars they were perhaps intended simply to appear ecclesiastical and historically European.

Boundary-Kootenay altar furnishings incorporate both Gothic and Classical elements. The altar at Fort Steele, for example, is clearly Gothic in its pinnacled gables and two pointed arches. Its engaged Baroque columns, rounded arch, and trio of classic sunbursts, however, add considerable eclecticism. Other churches have few internal Gothic elements. At Moyie, an elegant Baroque baldachino rises above a classical altar. Classical ballustrades, altars, and reredoses survive in many other churches. Unlike Fraser-Lillooet churches, those in the Boundary-Kootenay district tended to be stylistic hybrids, externally Gothic but generally Classical inside.

Okanagan-Similkameen churches are less stylistically unified than those of the Fraser-Lillooet and Boundary-Kootenay districts. Several churches in the Okanagan Valley (at Westbank, O'Keefe, Equesis Creek, and Salmon River) depart substantially from the stylistic norms of other Okanagan-Similkameen churches.
Plate 10. Interior view of Oblate church at Fort Steele. Note the mixture of Baroque and Gothic architectural forms.
Nonetheless, a distinctive Okanagan-Similkameen style does exist. Its unique spired towers are its hallmarks. They are commonly squat in appearance, enveloped by wooden string or dentil courses, and capped by low, pyramidal, bell-cast spires. An impression of horizontality is ensured by broad, overhanging eaves.

Unlike the Oblate churches of other southern interior districts, Okanagan-Similkameen churches do not have roof-top bell-chambers. Instead, their bells find accommodation in the uppermost part of their towers (below the eaves). This arrangement further decreases the verticality of towers and spires. No drums or intermediate supports span the distance between towers and spires. Bell-chamber windows have an arcaded appearance, for they are often linked in pairs (as at Inkaneep, Chuchuweyha, Enderby, and Vernon) or trios (as at Penticton, the Penticton Indian Reserve, and Kelowna) by linked decorative frames.

Okanagan-Similkameen churches are among the province's most Classical or Romanesque sanctuaries. Their squat, horizontally banded towers suggest antecedents in southern France, one of western Europe's least Gothic areas. A few of the churches of the Okanagan-Similkameen have Romanesque or Classical fanlights above their western doorways, and several boast classic pilasters and pediments (at Kelowna and the Penticton Indian Reserve, for example). Despite such tendencies, however, windows can be either Gothic or rounded. A few windows, such as those at Chuchuweyha, Kelowna, and the Penticton Indian Reserve, are unique to the district. All have rounded heads, are long and narrow, and are filled with lead-camed diamond panes.
Plate 11. Oblate church at Kelowna.

Plate 12. Oblate mission church at Chuchuweyha. Both churches are typical of the Okanagan and Similkameen Valleys.
Plate 13. Interior view of the Oblate mission church at Inkaneep. Note the Gothic extravagance.

Plate 14. Discarded altar at the Penticton Indian Reserve church.
Determining the interior designs of the district's churches is difficult, for many Okanagan-Similkameen churches have long since been demolished. Others have been radically altered in compliance with the liturgical recommendations of the Second Vatican Council. Surviving evidence suggests that most church interiors were ceiled with barrel vaults, though their profiles varied considerably. The vault at Chuchuweyha, for example, is almost horizontal. Salmon River's is angular but deep, while examples at Enderby and Inkaneep are both fully rounded. Equesis Creek's rises to a peak. The district's altars have suffered considerable renovations and it is difficult to suggest their former condition. Some, such as Inkaneep's, O'Keefe's, and the Penticton Indian Reserve's are fully Gothic. Others, such as Enderby's, were thoroughly Baroque. Unlike churches in the Fraser-Lillooet district, Okanagan-Similkameen churches have no lateral altars.

The churches of the Thompson and Nicola Valleys are a diverse group of buildings. They form an aggregation rather than a style. Although a few churches in the district share minor, isolated eccentricities, Thompson-Nicola churches do not resemble one another sufficiently to permit one to speak of a regional style. Two or three may share a similar type of tower while another pair may have a common type of window, but no single diagnostic features are shared by the area's majority of churches. The mission churches at Quilchena and Neskainlith, for example, have similar towers and windows, but have little in common with other churches in the district or with churches.

Plate 17. Interior view of the Oblate mission church at Bonaparte.

Plate 19. Interior of the Oblate mission church at Qua'aout.

Plate 20. Oblate mission church at Shulus.
in adjacent districts. Churches at the Kamloops Indian Reserve, Sahhalkum, Qua'aout, and Bonaparte, on the other hand, are unique within the district, and only Bonaparte's resembles a church elsewhere (the first church at Sechelt, long since destroyed). Rather than cite more examples, a few illustrations of this region's architectural diversity may serve to make the point.

Three regional reunion churches were built in the southern interior: at Kamloops, Okanagan Mission, and St. Eugene. A few were built near the coast; at St. Mary's Mission, North Vancouver, and Sechelt. Others were built in the northern interior, most notably at Fort St. James (site of the large Church of Our Lady of Good Hope). Elsewhere in the northern interior ordinary mission churches were sometimes designated as reunion churches, though their main purpose remained with serving their own, individual parishes.

Most regional reunion churches are far larger than other churches in their districts. They were built not only to house local congregations, but also to shelter annual "missions" or tribal gatherings (what the Oblates sometimes called "reunions"). Hence, the reunion church at Kamloops (site of an Oblate central mission) has a western facade 26½ feet in breadth. Its transepts each project an additional 12 feet. With a nave 29 feet long, a crossing 20 feet deep, and a chancel and sacristy 32 feet deep, and an area of 2,625 square feet, St. Joseph's, Kamloops is remarkably large. The mission church at Salmon River, in contrast, has an area of only 462 square feet. The church at
Enderby, an average-sized structure, has a floor area of but 1,440 square feet. The reunion church at St. Eugene is equally as impressive as St. Joseph's. Photographic evidence suggests that the southern interior's other reunion church, at Okanagan Mission (demolished) was of similar size.

Reunion churches sometimes have interiors and facades of remarkable complexity and richness (they were, after all, the churches where missionaries spent most of their time). The church at St. Eugene has a fine, lofty tower and spire, decorative wooden buttresses, a splendid interior (complete with stained glass), and fine exterior ginger-bread work. Though not as opulent as St. Eugene, the reunion church at Kamloops is nonetheless unusually complex. Its main facade is buttressed, enjoys rich fenestration, and terminates in a decorative, but massive belfry. Unlike other reunion churches, St. Joseph's is cruciform in plan (a rarity in Oblate churches of any size-type). The interior of the church is also impressive, its altar especially large and grand. Evidence from other regional reunion churches suggests that the interior of the church at Okanagan Mission was probably both rich and elegant, as befitted its rank.

Regional reunion churches were subject to the same regionalising forces that influenced Oblate town and mission churches. As a consequence, reunion churches were sometimes stylistically similar to lesser Oblate churches nearby. Some Oblate town and mission churches were simply smaller, paler reflections of their district's reunion churches (this was especially true in
Plate 21. Reunion centre church at Kamloops.

Plate 22. Reunion centre church at St. Eugene.
the Boundary-Kootenay and Okanagan-Similkameen areas). The
mission church at Sahhaltkum, for example, with its many
windowed main facade and massive belfry, shares similarities
with the reunion church at Kamloops. Similarly, the polygonal,
gabled broach spire of the Oblate church at Fernie (destroyed),
and the gabletted spires of Creston, Moyie, and Greenwood,
have much in common with the spire on the reunion church at
St. Eugene. In like fashion, the facades of several Okanagan-
Similkameen churches (Chuchuweyha, Chopaka, Inkaneep, Penticton
Indian reserve, Kelowna, and several others) resemble that of
the reunion church at Okanagan Mission. The direction of these
stylistic influences will be examined in a subsequent chapter.
For the purposes of this chapter it is necessary only that the
relationships be observed.

In conclusion, Oblate reunion churches are unusually large
and complex. They resemble one another only in terms of size,
elaborateness, and function. While they may share morphological
similitude with lesser Oblate churches in their districts, they
are by no means identical to them.

Most vernacular churches built under the supervision of
secular (parochial) Catholic priests still survive. They are
few in number and diverse in form, lacking the unity of plan
and massing of their Oblate predecessors. Most are individual
compositions, and bear only slight resemblance to their fellows.
Few can be mistaken for Oblate churches.

Secular Catholic churches generally consist of at least
two structural units; nave and sacristy. Sacristies are lacking
at three locations only: Bridesville, Ymir, and Yahk (the church at Ymir was originally Anglican). Naves are similar in proportion to those in Oblate churches (one unit of width to one and one-half or two units of length), and are of similar dimensions. Most naves are about 20 to 30 feet wide and 30 to 40 feet deep. They generally seat about fifty to one hundred people. Altars, communion rails, and perhaps organs and lecterns (two items seldom found in Oblate churches) always claim the eastern-most ends of naves, for in the southern interior, parochial Catholic churches were always built without chancels (perhaps because secular priests did not consider the isolation of the altar and the celebrant with quite the same sense of urgency as did the Oblates).

Unlike Oblate churches, secular churches often have low, gabled porches instead of towers (Ymir, Slocan, Yahk, and Procter, for instance). Towers occur at but three locations (Bridesville, New Denver, and Chase). Of these, two (New Denver and Chase) are also equipped with open gabled porches. Churches lacking towers sometimes have roof-top belfries (Ymir, Notch Hill, and Procter), but some (Yahk, Slocan, and Falkland) have no provision at all for bell-chambers. Were it not for their exterior crosses, some would resemble Non-conformist meeting houses. Only two parochial churches, Chase and New Denver, have similar towers and spires; but otherwise, bell-chambers do not resemble one another (or, for that matter, towers on their Oblate predecessors).

Secular Catholic churches are wood frame structures.
Plate 23. Parochial Catholic Church at Procter.

Plate 24. Parochial Catholic Church at Notch Hill.
Like Oblate churches, they are usually sheathed in shiplap and capped at their corners by end boards. Their window frames are also wooden, double-hung rather than fixed, and subdivided by narrow cames. A surprisingly large proportion are rectangular in shape. Gothic windows are found only at Chase, Notch Hill, and Ymir. Round headed windows are even less common, occuring at the Ukrainian Catholic Church at Grindrod and nowhere else.

Secular Catholic interiors are much more restrained than those in Oblate buildings. Barrel vaults are not uncommon (they exist at Ymir, Yahk, Notch Hill, and probably elsewhere), though they are rather low and unassuming. Flat ceilings are also common, and sometimes finished with plaster (Oblate ceilings were invariably of wooden longitudinal boards). Altars in parochial churches are but pale reflections of earlier Oblate shrines. The altar at Yahk, admittedly, is fully tiered and backed by an elaborate reredos, but by and large, secular altars are plain and unexuberant. Most are simply decorated, perhaps with modest, moulded panels. Some have reredoses, but these too appear staid in comparison with those of their Oblate forebears.

Methodist Church Architecture

Methodist churches were among the simplest churches built in the southern interior. Two distinct types exist; the meeting house type and the "Akron" type. Meeting houses usually consist of a single structural unit, an enclosed gabled building combining the functions of both nave and sanctuary. Akron plan churches each incorporate two rooms, one for services and one for classes or meetings. The two rooms can be side by side,
end to end, or arranged in an "L." Folding or sliding doors permit the two chambers to be joined or separated at will. Churches of the Akron type are often externally indistinguishable from single unit meeting houses. The meeting house type of church is by far the commonest of the two varieties. While the Akron plan was popular in communities nearer the coast (examples can be found in Sumas, Maple Bay, Richmond, and in the cities), few specimens were built in the southern interior. Save for Akron plan churches at Golden (an "L"-shaped building), Armstrong, Salmon Arm, Mount Ida, Hedgemans Corner (and perhaps elsewhere), all Methodist churches were probably meeting houses.

Methodist churches were among the smallest churches in the southern interior. Single unit meeting houses could seat from fifty to one hundred people, Akron plan churches as many as one hundred and fifty. Most meeting houses had dimensions of about twenty feet by thirty feet. Akron plan buildings were, of course, generally slightly larger. Methodist churches were, on the average, similar in size to the naves of small Oblate town and mission churches. The Akron plan church at Mount Ida (20 feet by 30 feet) and the meeting house at Notch Hill (19 feet by 26 feet 6 inches), both still standing, are typical.

Churches at Kamloops and Salmon Arm (both demolished) were unusually large. They probably measured about thirty feet by forty or fifty feet. None of the southern interior's Methodist churches were larger (save for non-vernacular structures in the larger towns). Whatever their dimensions, most churches were longer than they were wide. Their proportions varied from
Fig. 4. Floorplan of Mount Ida Methodist Church.

Fig. 5. Probable Floorplan of Salmon Arm Methodist Church.
Fig. 6. Floorplan of Notch Hill Methodist Church.

Fig. 7. Floorplan of New Denver Methodist Church.
Plate 25. Methodist church at Notch Hill.

Plate 26. Methodist church at Mount Ida.
1:1\% (at Mount Ida) to 1:2\% (at New Denver). The absence of vestries, sacristies, and chancels, and the frequent omission of porches, however, often created a shallow appearance.

Methodist churches were seldom (if ever) provided with chancels. Pulpits, communion tables, and other chancel furnishings were accommodated instead on platforms within the basic church unit. In meeting house churches, platforms were set against the "eastern" wall. Platforms in Akron plan buildings were similarly placed, and open to view from both chambers. Akron plan churches at Hedgemans Corner (near Salmon Arm) and at Mount Ida, for example, had centrally placed platforms. Their meeting rooms lay through doors behind the platform, while the congregation's chamber lay before it.

Neither type of church had vestry wings. Porches were slightly more common, occurring on about half the churches in the southern interior. Porches always stood at a church's western extremity. All were gabled and enclosed, and lower than the church itself. Examples still survive at Notch Hill, New Denver, Mount Ida, and Merritt. Towers could also serve as porches, but few Methodist churches had them. Only four towered churches have been located; at Salmon Arm, Grand Forks, and Penticton (all demolished), and at Lillooet. Of these, only one (Grand Forks) had a centrally placed tower. All others had their towers on one side.

Roof-top belfries were no more common than towers. Only four examples have been located (at Merritt, Hedgemans Corner, Ashcroft, and Mount Ida). Like belfries on Roman Catholic
churches, they sat on the western roofs of naves. All churches having belfries (in other areas of the province as well as in the southern interior) also had front porches. Many churches with porches, however, did not have belfries.

Methodist churches were simple in elevation as well as in plan. Most lacked the structural appendages (chancels, vestries, porches, towers, and bellcotes) requisite to a picturesque silhouette. Their facades were equally staid. Virtually all churches were balloon frame structures clad in plain horizontal shiplap. Only a few had shingled outer walls (Salmon Arm, for example) and only one (at Lower Summerland), a building erected by Baptists and subsequently sold, had decorative half-timbering. Most facades were interrupted only by windows and doors, and occasionally, by ventilators.

Methodist towers and belfries were equally sober. Towers usually rose in stages (as at Salmon Arm, Grand Forks, and Lillooet), terminating in four-sided spires of low to medium height. None had fretted spire supports or decorative gablets, and only a single example (at Grand Forks) was covered with scalloped shingles.

Methodist belfries had low, pyramidal roofs in lieu of spires. Some belfries were open (Merritt and Ashcroft, for example). None were embellished. Like towers, many were simply symbolic, and not equipped with bells. Belfry roofs and spires never terminated in crosses. A few had turned wood finials (Mt. Ida, Hedgemans Corner, and Ashcroft) while others were topped with elegant weather-vanes (Salmon Arm and Merritt, for example).
Windows on Methodist churches were usually simple Gothic sashes. Most were double-hung, and consisted of from two to eight lights each. Only a very few (such as Notch Hill) incorporated tracery. None were leaded or stained, and none included the small peripheral panes commonly seen in Oblate windows. Methodist windows were (apparently) never Romanesque or Classical. A minority (Salmon Arm, Lower Nicola, and New Denver, for example) were square-headed, much in the style of domestic windows. They too were double-hung sashes, and each window contained from two to four lights only.

Methodist meeting houses were generally two bays deep. Particularly large churches (such as that at Vernon) included a fourth. Because of their two-winged plan, Akron-plan churches were less regularly bayed. Churches of both varieties often had windows flanking their "western" doorways. Eastern walls were usually blind. Only two known examples (Lillooet and Penticton) had eastern windows. Many churches (of both plans) had circular, louvred ventilators (or glazed, bulls'-eye windows) high in their gabled ends. Examples occurred at Kamloops, Kaslo, Trail, New Denver, and elsewhere (similar features existed on many coastal churches; at Sumas, Chilliwack, Richmond, North Burnaby, Sea Island, Ladner, and Mission). In contrast to their Oblate counterparts, few Methodist churches have fan windows above their plainly panelled western doors. Exceptions include churches at Mount Ida, Hedgemans Corner, and Merritt.

Methodist churches commonly had stark interiors. Unpainted vertical wainscotting generally sheathed the lowest part
of their walls. Top and intermediate wall sections were covered with lathes and plaster. Ceilings varied in profile. Many were totally flat (Notch Hill and Mount Ida, for example), while others were raised to resemble barrel vaults (as at Salmon Arm and New Denver). Some were plastered, but many were sheathed by planed, narrow boards. Although interior walls and ceilings might be painted, they were never decorated further. Religious sculptures, pictures, and symbols were always absent.

Meeting houses and Akron plan churches shared the same internal arrangement. Akron plan churches differed only in having auxiliary meeting rooms. In both types of churches, "chancel" platforms stood at one aisle end, doorways at the other. Platforms were usually raised by a single step, had communion tables in their centres, and pulpits and pianos (or organs) to their sides. As Methodist congregations were often quite small, organised choirs were rare, and few churches had choir stalls or benches. Heavy wooden ballustrades marked the western edges of platforms, and separated clergy from congregations. Substantial pews (without kneelers) flanked each church's aisle. Like other furnishings in Methodist churches, pews were generally of professional manufacture. Many were worked from imported hardwoods and most were left unpainted. Few furnishings adhered strictly to recognised artistic styles; most were mildly historical but otherwise bland and functional.
Presbyterian Church Architecture

Virtually all the Presbyterian churches in the southern interior were meeting houses. Akron plan churches were often built by congregations on the coast (many were large, architect-designed structures), but few were built in the interior. Only a single example has been located (at Penticton, destroyed), though others doubtless existed. Several other plans were used by Scottish Presbyterians; the ecclesiological plan, the traditional "T-plan," the auditorium plan, and the aisled, galleried "preaching box." Of these, only one, the T-plan, was used in British Columbia's southern interior, and only then in a single location (at Benvoulin).

Presbyterian churches in the southern interior varied in size, but most were larger than their Methodist and Oblate counterparts. Most churches had dimensions averaging about 30 feet by 50 feet, and floor areas of about 1500 square feet. Churches at Grand Forks (28 feet by 60 feet), Kaslo (32 feet 6 inches by 50 feet), Armstrong (30 feet 8 inches by 56 feet 4 inches), and Midway (25 feet by 48 feet) approximated these dimensions. The church at Nicola (19 feet by 27 feet) was the smallest Presbyterian church in the southern interior, while that at Rossland (40 feet by 70 feet) was probably the largest. Churches of all dimensions were usually proportioned wider than Methodist and Roman Catholic churches. Ratios of width to length usually ranged between 1:1 1/3 and 1:1 3/4.

Presbyterian churches were more complexly massed than Methodist ones. Few consisted of "nave" units only. Most had
towers, porches, or belfries while some incorporated halls, vestries, and more rarely, chancels. About half the southern interior's Presbyterian churches had towers. Towers were placed to the fronts of churches, either at the centre or to the side. Examples of the former type survive at Midway, Nicola, Armstrong, Ashcroft, and Summerland; examples of the latter at Merritt, Creston, Kaslo, Benvoulin, Rossland, and Nelson. A church's location probably influenced the positioning of its tower. Churches located at intersections usually had towers at whichever corner was visible from both streets. Churches in mid-block, or in large, open spaces had centrally placed towers instead.

Presbyterian churches without towers often had gabled entry porches on their front facades. Porches were generally about half as high as main church units and usually measured about 8 feet square. Examples survive at Procter, New Denver, Princeton, Grand Forks, Slocan, and Fort Steele. Others have long-since been demolished. Several churches with porches had roof-top belfries in lieu of towers. Gabled belfries were built at Slocan, Grand Forks, and probably elsewhere. A single hipped roof belfry remains at Princeton.

Vestries were attached to only a few Presbyterian churches (Fort Steele, Midway, and Kaslo, for example). Several churches had parish halls beyond their eastern walls (Merritt, Slocan, Armstrong, Rossland, and Creston). Chancels were built rarely. Examples remain only at Grand Forks and Benvoulin. Basements were also uncommon (they were seldom built by any denomination).
Fig. 8. Floorplan of Merritt Presbyterian Church.

Fig. 9. Floorplan of Benvoulin Presbyterian Church.
While several churches had partial basements, and one church (Kaslo) had a full one, most were set on cedar blocks or rubble masonry. Utilities (often only heating and lighting) were housed in vestries, halls, or in the church itself.

Presbyterian exteriors were seldom elaborate, though they were generally more detailed than Methodist ones. Facades were often embellished with ginger-bread-work. String courses, dentils, arcades, and other features decorated towers at Ashcroft, Creston, Kaslo, Merritt, and Armstrong. Iron and wooden crestings outlined roof-tops at Nelson, Fort Steele, Ashcroft, Trail, and elsewhere. Elaborate trusses of sticks supported Armstrong's spire. A buttressed tower at Kaslo, Victorian Bargeboards at Nelson, and Gothic hood-moulds at Grand Forks are further examples of Presbyterian detail.

Not all Presbyterian churches were so richly decorated. Tower-less meeting houses at Princeton, New Denver, Spillamacheen, Salmon Arm, Trail, Procter, and Vernon were just as plain as any Methodist building. Churches without porches or belfries might easily be mistaken for Methodist churches were it not for the wider proportions of Presbyterian buildings. Most Presbyterian churches, however, did have porches, belfries, or towers. Though their facades might be plain, their complex massing usually distinguished them from Methodist churches.

Almost all early Presbyterian churches in the southern interior were balloon frame structures. Most were clad in ship-lap, though a few poorer examples were sheathed with boards and battens (the first primitive church at Rossland, for example).
Plate 27. Presbyterian Church
Kaslo.

Churches at Kaslo, Nicola, Merritt, and Princeton were sheathed with clapboards. Only a single church (at Spillamacheen, now an Anglican property) was built of logs. Several churches have long since been stuccoed (Rossland and Summerland, for example) while others have had their cedar shingle roofs replaced with tar and gravel shingles.

Most Presbyterian churches were three bays deep by three bays wide. Particularly small churches were only two bays deep (Nicola and Spillamacheen, for instance) while larger churches were commonly four or even five bays deep (Armstrong, Rossland, Kaslo, and Summerland). Most moderately large churches had windows flanking their towers or porches. Only one church (Nicola) had an eastern window, though a few (Nelson, Merritt, Creston, and Kaslo) had large western windows (made possible by off-set towers). Western windows were usually different from a church's other windows. They could differ in size, style, or complexity. Side windows on Presbyterian churches were generally simple Gothic sashes. A few had triangular heads (Fort Steele, Princeton, and New Denver) while a similar number had rectangular heads (Penticton, Spillamacheen, Trail, Midway, and the second church at Salmon Arm). Only one church (at Ashcroft) had round-headed windows. Windows of all descriptions usually contained from two to eight panes each. Like Methodist windows, Presbyterian examples seldom contained tracery (windows at Grand Forks and Nelson are exceptions). Only a handful of windows had stained peripheral panes (Armstrong and Nelson, for example) and none had leaded came. Few Presby-
terian churches had bulls'-eye windows or ventilators in their gabled ends. Where they were installed, such features varied in shape; circular at Vernon, Armstrong, Slocan, and Princeton, elliptical at Trail, square at Grand Forks, and diamond-shaped at Fort Steele. Fan windows were usually Gothic in outline but were usually confined to large churches only. Examples remain at Summerland, Fort Steele, Rossland, Creston, Princeton, Armstrong, Ashcroft, Nelson, and Merritt.

Presbyterian church interiors were usually as plain as Methodist ones. Most had wainscots of naturally finished boards. Upper wall sections were either plastered or panelled. Many ceilings were slightly raised to form flat, shallow, barrel vaults. Most ceilings were plastered but several (Procter and Ashcroft, among others) were sheathed with stained and varnished shiplap. Explicit religious symbols (crosses, sculptures, and pictures) were generally absent.

Most Presbyterian churches shared a common internal arrangement. Since none had chancels, pulpits and clergy benches were placed instead on slightly raised platforms. Pulpits were usually centrally located, with chairs or benches behind. Particularly large churches (such as Nelson's) had benches for their elders. Only a few had choir stalls, though most had organs or pianos. Communion tables were usually placed at nave level, immediately below the centres of platform ballustrades. Rows of heavy pews filled a church's remaining spaces. Pews were generally grouped on either side of a central aisle. Churches at Benvoulin and Kaslo (and probably elsewhere) had two aisles
each. Their pews were arranged in three groups rather than in two. Presbyterian church furnishings often resembled those in Methodist churches. Most were stylistically neutral and varnished rather than painted. Many were professionally manufactured from eastern hardwoods.

**Anglican Church Architecture**

Virtually all the southern interior's early Anglican churches adhere to a single plan. While no two churches are exactly alike, most incorporate the same structural elements: nave and porch, belfry or tower, and quite frequently, chancel and vestry. A few are cruciform but none conform to Akron or other strictly North American plans. Anglican churches differ from each other mainly in details. Although recognisable regional and temporal variations exist, they are by no means as marked as those in Roman Catholic architecture.

Anglican churches vary in size, though most have seating capacities comparable to moderately large Presbyterian churches (one hundred to two hundred people). Anglican naves are commonly about twenty to twenty-five feet wide by thirty to fifty feet deep. Summerland's nave is by far the largest in the southern interior (37 feet by 66 feet), while Nysakep's is the smallest (16 feet by 15 feet). Whatever their dimensions, most naves share common proportions (one unit of width to every one and one-half or two units of length). Naves at Armstrong and Slocan are unusually long only because of additions made in the twentieth century. The nave at Nysakep is unusually shallow.
Fig. 10. Floorplan of the Anglican Mission Church at Shulus.

Fig. 11. Floorplan of the Anglican Church at Hope.
(it is almost square); probably because it was built by Indians unfamiliar with Anglican architecture. Other Indian churches may have been similarly proportioned and equally small (one hesitates to speak of crude Indian chapels in the Anglican context, for the evidence is lacking).

Entry to Anglican churches is usually through porches, and more rarely, through towers. Porches are always lower than naves, are usually enclosed, and inevitably gabled. Unlike Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic porches, they are often placed on the nave's southern side. Southern porches are commonest among nineteenth century churches. Most are found in the province's south-western section: at Hope, Lillooet (partly demolished), Armstrong, the Lytton Indian Reserve (altered), Enderby, Kaslo, Westwold, Nicola, Greenwood, and Summerland. Southern porches were also built at several churches in the lower Fraser Valley and on Vancouver Island (including New Westminster, Sapperton, Port Douglas, Quamachan, Nanaimo, Metchosin, and Esquimalt). Most churches with southern porches were built in the 1860's and 1870's. Several were built in the 1880's and 1890's but few date from the twentieth century.

Churches without southern porches usually have western ones instead. Indeed, about half the southern interior's nineteenth century Anglican churches have western porches. Examples survive at Yale, Spuzzum, Donald (moved to Windeemere), Penticton (altered), Balfour, Fort Steele, Shulus, New Denver, Silverton, Cranbrook (altered), and Slocan. Twentieth century specimens are somewhat more numerous, for after 1900, only two
Plate 29. Anglican mission church at Shakkan. A well constructed log building resembling Oblate mission churches. It has a front tower and an interior barrel vault.

side-porched churches were built.

Churches without porches sometimes have towers instead. Towered churches were built mainly in the twentieth century: at white settlements at Arrowpark, Procter, Invermere, Kimberley, and Monte Creek; and at the Indian villages of Inkitsaph, Spences Bridge, Pokhaist, Shakkan, and Canford (and probably others). Indian towers are always at the nave's western end. Towers attached to white churches are often at the sides (as at Ashcroft, Arrowpark, Procter, and Monte Creek). Only one towered church dates from the nineteenth century (Ashcroft, 1891-92). Indian churches built prior to 1900 were probably slightly more sophisticated than their Oblate counterparts, but they were still rather simple buildings. Nineteenth century white churches were more complex, and had belfries and porches instead of towers. Of fifty Anglican churches built between 1861 and 1925, only 20% are towered. About 78% have southern or western porches, while the remaining 2% (exemplified by Indian churches at Ashcroft and Nysakep) have neither porches nor towers.

Anglican towers usually rise in a single stage from ground to eaves. In contrast to most Oblate examples, Anglican bell-chambers are usually included within the main tower unit, rather than in separate structures above. Most are marked by open or louvred Gothic archways. Few towers have stairway windows (unlike Oblate towers) and most terminate in four-sided spires of low to medium height. Arrowpark's polygonal steeple, Spences Bridge's helm roof, and Invermere's polygonal pepperpot are
whimsical but localised exceptions to the rule.

Churches without towers and spires often have belfries at their naves' western ends. Only the cruciform church at Balfour had a belfry elsewhere (at the crossing of nave, chancel, and transepts). Particularly early belfries are usually open, and invariably gabled. They resemble the early belfries of Norman England and are consequently termed "Norman." Norman belfries were built at Hope, Yale, Armstrong, Lillooet, and Spuzzum, and at contemporary churches elsewhere in the province (Derby, New Westminster, Sapperton, Metchosin, Cedar Hill, Saanich, Barkerville, and Port Douglas). Belfries built in subsequent years (after about 1885) are somewhat more varied, though few are Norman. Most are small and terminate in low, pyramidal roofs. A few are near-circular (as at Enderby and Keremeos), while others (Donald, for example) are unique. Several late nineteenth century and early twentieth century churches have no provision for bells (Kaslo, Westwold, Silverton, Cranbrook, Nicola, Slocan, Grand Forks, Nysakep, Peachland, Mara, Kettle Valley, Merritt, and Hedley). At least one Anglican church (Greenwood) has a detached, timber bell-support on its grounds, while two churches (Sorrento and Grindrod) have bells suspended from extended western gables. Belfries and spires (of all times and places) are usually capped by simple Latin crosses. The peaks of gabled roofs (usually the nave's but sometimes the chancel's) often have decorative crosses as well. Most are Latin but a few Kootenay examples (Arrowpark, Kettle Valley, Kaslo, Cranbrook, and Donald) are Celtic.
Plate 31. Anglican church at Okanagan Mission. Note the churchyard setting and the half-timbered exterior.

About half the Anglican churches in the southern interior have chancels. Whether or not a church received a chancel depended partly upon the character of its congregation and partly upon the influence of its clergyman. Buildings directed by clergymen almost always have chancels. Churches planned by committees of laymen are less likely to have chancels. Chancels are structures reserved mainly for the celebration of the Eucharist. Clergymen and middle-class congregations revered the rite and generally provided for its proper architectural setting. Mining and other predominantly working-class congregations seldom understood the mysteries of the Holy Communion. They preferred a service with rousing hymns and energetic sermons. The lament of the Anglican vicar of Rock Creek in 1915 illustrates these two approaches to worship: "It will be some years before the majority of Canadians realise the difference between 'hearing sermons' and 'acts of worship.' " Few miners were full communicants so chancels were neither wanted nor strictly needed. Churches without chancels include those in most Kootenay mining centres (Kaslo, New Denver, Silverton, Slocan, Michel, Spillamacheen, and Kimberley), several churches in the west (Lillooet, Ashcroft, Summerland, Sorrento, Peachland, Hedley, Canoe, Lister, Keremeos, Lytton-white, and Monte Creek), and most Indian churches (Nysakep, Inkatsaph, Ashcroft, Canford, Shakknan, Shulus, and probably others). Indians, like miners, saw little need for chancels. At the time when churches were being built, few Indians were permitted to take Communion. Services consisted mainly of prayers, sermons, and instruction,
and true chancels were not necessary.

Churches built by committees were sometimes altered after the arrival of resident clergymen. When Dr. E. C. Paget reached his living in Revelstoke (about 1900) he felt compelled to add a porch and chancel to St. Peter's, a church built by committee in 1896. In similar fashion, Rev. J. B. Good in 1880 added a chancel to St. John's Church in Yale (built by contractors in 1863), while Rev. H. Beacham added a chancel and vestry to Cranbrook's Christ Church in 1903 (built by parishioners in 1899). Other clergymen simply added rood screens to their churches, thereby separating altar from nave. This solution was adopted at Kaslo, Westwold, Sorrento, and St. George's School. A few churches have both chancels and rood screens (Grand Forks, Okanagan Mission, Armstrong, Enderby, and Penticton) while many still have "temporary chancels" at their naves' eastern ends.

Dimensions of chancels vary with those of naves. Greenwood's unusually large nave (26 feet by 54 feet) is matched by a proportionately large chancel (18 feet by 24 feet). Fort Steele's rather small nave leads into a similarly small chancel (12 feet 4 inches by 6 feet). Most chancels are slightly wider than they are deep, with proportions of width to depth approximating 1 1/3:1. Few chancels are much more than a dozen feet deep (unlike English examples). Most range between 12 and 18 feet wide, and have floor areas of 160 to 200 square feet. Churches at Balfour and Hope have particularly shallow chancels (3 units wide by 1 unit deep) while no chancel is deeper than Yale's (1 unit wide by 2 units deep).
About half the Anglican churches in the southern interior have vestries. Vestries were built in most areas of the province and at all times during its development. Only in the territory around Lytton are vestries rare, for few Indian chapels (the predominant type of church in the area) required them. Most Indian churches were quite close to the Anglican mission at Lytton. Clergymen could generally ride to them, hold services, and return home all on a single day. Particularly distant villages sometimes had houses reserved for use by visiting missionaries, so even their churches seldom have vestries. Churches at Shulus and Shakkan have unusual internal vestries (screened cubicles) but these were meant for vesting rather than for overnight accommodation. The churches of St. Michael and All Angels at Spences Bridge, St. Mary and St. Paul at Lytton, and St. AidenrâtePokhâïst are the only (surviving) examples with vestries.

Slightly more than half the southern interior's white Anglican churches have vestries. Most are used solely for the storage of vestments, altar linens, and altar vessels. In a few parishes (as A. W. Sillitoe, first Bishop of New Westminster lamented in 1889) they were also used as rectories. When vestries are lacking their functions are often assumed by rectories or parish halls. At present none are used as housing, for parishes without rectories are usually served by priests who live in adjacent communities.

Vestries are usually found only at churches equipped with chancels (Canoe, Lister, Invermere, Lytton, and Kimberley-- all
twentieth century buildings-- are the sole exceptions). Most vestries are located at their chancel's northern or southern side. Only the Church of St. Stephen at New Denver has a vestry behind its chancel, while St. George's School Chapel near Lytton has a vestry in its narthex. Vestries at Cranbrook, Armstrong, and Hope are housed under shed-like roofs; while those at Sorrento, Okanagan Mission, Grindrod, Canoe, Windemere, Enderby, and Invermere are under gabled roofs (and set at right angles to the axis of the nave). Vestries in cruciform churches always occupy at least part of a transept, with seating, utilities, and chapels consuming the spaces remaining. Examples of vestries in transepts survive at Balfour, Queen's Bay, Yale, Salmon Arm, and the Lytton Indian Reservation.

Anglican naves are generally three or four bays deep by one or three bays wide. Particularly large churches have naves as many as six bays deep (Kimberley and Armstrong, for example). Unusually small churches, such as the Indian chapel at Nysakep, are sometimes only a single bay long. Though three bays wide, churches with western towers or porches seldom have eastern windows. Only a few such churches (Balfour, Lytton Indian Reserve, Okanagan Mission, and Cranbrook-- the latter is now altered) have windows above their western porches. Fewer still have windows flanking their western porches (unlike many Oblate churches). Large western windows are found only on side-porched or side-towered churches. Examples exist at Hope, Ashcroft, Enderby, Westwold, Nicola, Summerland, Arrowpark (now
removed to Nakusp), Procter, Merritt, and Monte Creek. Blind western facades are rare, and survive at only two locations (Armstrong and Greenwood).

Eastern windows are much more common than western ones. They exist at about half the southern interior's Anglican churches. Only four white churches with chancels (Nicola, Yale, Merrit, and Mara) lack eastern windows. Blind eastern facades are found also at seven chancel-less churches (Ashcroft, Kaslo, Westwold, Summerland, Lytton, Kimberley, and Monte Creek) and at three temporary churches (Fort Steele, Peachland, and Lister). No Indian churches have eastern windows. With the exception of the Indian churches near Lytton (whose designs may owe much to Oblate proto-types), churches without eastern windows are not regionally clustered. Such churches were built both by clergymen and by committees, and at various times between 1880 and 1925. Temporary churches were originally built as school-houses, and were consequently not equipped with eastern windows. Churches without chancels probably lacked eastern windows either because their builders were not liturgically minded or because their ministers hoped to attach chancels in the future. The absence of eastern windows from Anglican Indian churches is less easily explained, unless Indian churches were built consciously or unconsciously in imitation of adjacent Oblate churches.

Anglican windows are somewhat more varied than those of other denominations. Three main types exist: North American domestic, mullioned (single and multiple), and Gothic. Gothic windows incorporate three sub-types: lancet, decorated, and
multiple (paired, Trinities, and quadruple). Lancets and domestic windows are usually double-hung sashes while decorated Gothic, mullioned, and multiple Gothic windows are generally fixed or hinged. Gothic windows are by far the most common type in Anglican architecture. They constitute nave windows in half the Anglican churches in the southern interior. Domestic windows are used in about 30% of the area's naves. Mullioned windows account for most of the remaining 20%.

Gothic and mullioned windows have been used continuously by Anglican builders since 1861. The use of domestic windows, however, dates mainly from after 1900. Domestic windows were often used by congregations of modest means and by Indians. A few are found in once-secular buildings (including Anglican churches at Peachland, Fort Steele, and Lister; buildings originally erected as schoolhouses). Romanesque or round-headed windows were apparently not used much by Anglican church builders, though domestic windows with classical lintels are found at Indian churches in the Nicola Valley (Shakkan, Shulus, and Canford). Similar window surrounds survive at Lower Nicola's Turner Methodist Church and at several other sites in the Nicola Valley (including several houses in the villages of Upper and Lower Nicola). The style probably owes its origin to local contractors, and not to Anglican missionaries.

Anglican churches differ somewhat from those of other denominations in their deployment of windows. Unlike Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic churches, Anglican examples frequently have large and complex eastern and western windows.
Such windows often take the form of Trinity lancets or mullioned
Trinities.

Anglican windows often resemble European prototypes very
closely. Tracery is frequently thick, complex, and archaeolo-
gically correct (or at least as correct as construction with
wood permitted). Window tracery used by Roman Catholic and
Non-conformist builders is generally thin, simple, and uncon-
vincing. Anglican mullions are solid and properly proportioned.
They contrast with the flimsy, stick-like mullions so often used
by other denominations. Further, Anglican window panes are
frequently diamond shaped, and defined by leaded cames. Lead
Anglican windows date mainly from the 1890's. Examples sur-
vive at Hope, Armstrong, Kaslo, St. George's School, Kettle
Valley, Merritt, Queen's Bay, Okanagan Mission, Westbank, and
Monte Creek. Anglican windows are also sometimes stained, either
with leaded figures or plain coloured glass. Stained glass,
of course, does not always date from a church's year of con-
struction. Many windows have been installed as war memorials
or in honour of deceased parishioners. Examples exist in all
areas of the southern interior: at Lytton (Indian church),
Cranbrook, Grand Forks, Kaslo, Enderby, Keremeos, Grindrod,
Arrowpark (church removed to Nakusp), Canoe, Westwold, Balfour,
Kettle Valley, and Greenwood. Expensive figured glass is mainly
confined to wealthy, predominantly middle-class, churches. Such
windows are usually installed in the most conspicuous places,
either as eastern or western windows. When installed in the
east, stained glass windows provide a dramatic background for
altars.

The exterior covering of an Anglican church often indicates its date of construction. Because Anglican churches continued to be built in large numbers long after Non-conformist and Roman Catholic building activity had subsided, their facades incorporate materials not found on earlier churches. Non-conformist and Roman Catholic buildings are usually sheathed in shiplap, for most were built before other materials became popular. Most of the southern interior's Anglican churches are balloon frame structures. Many (about 60%) are finished in shiplap, but others have sheathings of clapboards, half-timbering, shingles, and stucco. Buildings with shiplap date mainly from about 1885. Clapboarded churches date from before 1901 (only four remain; Hope, Yale, Slocan, and Greenwood). Stucco, shingles, and half-timbering became increasingly popular after about 1910 (largely at the expense of shiplap). Shingled churches survive at eight locations (Invermere, Queen's Bay, Procter, Merritt, Monte Creek, Spences Bridge, Westwold, and Cranbrook), half-timbered and stuccoed churches at five (Windeermere, Sorrento, Okanagan Mission, Lytton-white, Grindrod, and Westbank).

Several churches (at Lillooet, Hope, and Yale, as well as at several locations in the south-west) are of heavy-timber construction. They were built in the early 1860's, possibly by members of the Regiment of Royal Engineers. Like balloon frame structures, they are sheathed with clapboards or shiplap. A similarly small group of buildings are built of log. Of
these, all save one (the ranchers' church at Spillamacheen, built by Presbyterians but ceded to the Anglicans) are Lytton-area Indian churches. Log structures were probably once more common, but since most Indian parishes have replaced their earliest chapels with buildings of greater pretension, few now remain. While fine stone churches stand at Nelson, Kelowna, Penticton, Summerland, and St. George's School, only the latter two are truly vernacular. Stone churches were built mainly in the twentieth century, and only by prosperous, large, and predominantly English congregations. Most are replacements for outmoded wood frame structures.

Anglican church interiors are usually quite distinctive, for most are dominated by warm, natural woodwork and ceiled with open timber roofs. Where Roman Catholic (and to a lesser extent, Non-conformist, wainscots, walls, and ceilings are commonly painted, Anglican interiors are panelled or sheathed with varnished fir, pine, and cedar). Naves and chancels are normally ceiled by open timber roofs or by naturally finished barrel vaults. Flat plaster roofs, common in Non-conformist architecture, are found in only a few Anglican churches: Nysakep and Kimberley, and three former schoolhouses at Lister, Fort Steele, and Peachland. Barrel vaults ceil most Indian churches (including Lytton, Shakkan, Canford, Shulus, Spences Bridge, and Ashcroft) but proportionately fewer European churches (Invermere, Canoe, Kettle Valley, Procter, Arrowpark, and Ashcroft). Vaults in white Anglican churches are always unpainted while those in Indian churches are usually brightly coloured. Painted surfaces
Plate 33. Interior of the Anglican church at Sorrento, with raised altar and rood screen.

Plate 34. Interior of the central Anglican mission church at Lytton. Note the barrel vault and iron tie-rods.
are probably more in accord with native Indian tastes, while naturally finished woodwork agrees with English Anglican traditions.

At least half the southern interior's Anglican churches have exposed timber roof trusses. Almost all are naturally finished. Several sub-types exist: scissor trussed roofs, hammerbeamed roofs, horizontally beamed roofs, and arch-braced roofs. A few churches combine elements from several types. Scissor trussed roofs are by far the commonest. Examples survive at Yale, Armstrong, Balfour, Kaslo, New Denver, Slocan, Okanagan Mission, Queen's Bay, Grindrod and probably elsewhere (as well as at several locations in the lower Fraser Valley and on Vancouver Island). Hammerbeam roofs are found only at Summerland and Enderby, while horizontally-beamed trusses (usually braced with sloped struts) exist at Hope, Lillooet, Mara, Penticton, and Sorrento. Arched-braced barrel vaults, finally, were built at Donald (removed to Windemere), Cranbrook, and Rossland (and possibly elsewhere in the Kootenays). In a number of cases, open timber roofs have proved more ornamental than structurally functional. Iron tie-rods have been added to several churches and structural stability ensured.

Anglican interiors are all arranged in much the same fashion. Naturally finished pews (with kneelers) fill each side of the nave's central aisle. Only a few naves have recognisable side aisles and none are arcaded. Chancels or chancel platforms lie to the east and are usually raised by a single step, though many (25%) are raised by two. Chancels accomodate
lecterns, clergy stalls, and octagonal pulpits at their lowest levels, and altars at their highest. Most altars are placed one or two levels above the rest of the chancel, for a total of three steps above the nave. The three levels traditionally symbolise either the Trinity or the three levels of priesthood (deacon, priest, and bishop). Most altars are backed either by dossals or reredoses. A few altars have both (Shulus, Armstrong, and Okanagan Mission). Several are flanked by offertory tables (to the south) and by bishop's thrones or chairs (to the north). Chancel rails generally stand in front of the altar. A few churches (such as Kettle Valley) have two sets of rails; one at the chancel's entrance and one in front of the altar.

Other necessary furnishings in Anglican churches include litany desks, organs, and fonts. Portable litany desks (or faldstools) are found at all but a few churches (Armstrong, Kaslo, Nysakep, Kettle Valley, and Lister). They are usually placed at the foot of the chancel stairs (at the head of the nave's central aisle) or before or behind the lectern. In particularly small churches (including several Indian churches near Lytton), faldstools take the place of clergy stalls.

The placement of organs varies little. Virtually all are placed either at the western end of the nave or in its north-eastern or north-western corner. Anglican churches serving white parishes have organs, but several Indian churches lack them (probably because of cost). Similarly, while most white churches have fonts (or at least an appropriate portable
vessel in the vestry), Indian churches appear to rely on make-shift basins. Fonts are normally placed near the foot of the chancel or toward the nave's western wall.

The completeness and quality of a church's furnishings are sometimes indexes of the wealth of its parish. Only particularly prosperous, well-endowed, or fervent congregations were able to provide complete sets of expensive furnishings for their churches. Several poor parishes (and some not so poor) allowed their lecterns to double as pulpits (all Indian churches, and twentieth century white churches at St. George's School, Sorrento, Peachland, Okanagan Mission, Queen's Bay, and Lister). Though most churches have fonts (Fort Steele, Shakkan, Canford, Spences Bridge, Nysakep, and perhaps Slocan are the only exceptions) only a few could afford fonts of stone. Examples exist at Hope, Yâle, Enderby, Cranbrook, Summerland, Canoe, Sorrento, Lytton, and Invermere. Less fortunate parishes commonly have octagonal fonts of wood (oak, fir, or cedar). While every Anglican church has a lectern, few are of oak (Cranbrook, Balfour, St. George's Chapel, Kettle Valley, Kaslo, Queen's Bay, and perhaps others) and only two are of brass (Enderby and Summerland). Most were worked from native British Columbian wood.

A few congregations saw fit to install bishops' thrones and rood screens in their churches. These furnishings are not strictly essential to Anglican worship though they do enhance its setting. Their addition to a church reflects both enthusiasm and wealth. Finely carved bishops' chairs are found in nine
well furnished churches (Windemere, the Lytton Indian Reserve, Cranbrook, St. George's School, Nakusp, Sorrento, Okanagan Mission, Mara, and Queen's Bay). Rood screens exist in about a dozen churches (mainly in the predominantly English Okanagan Valley, and only in churches built before 1912: Armstrong, Enderby, Penticton, Kaslo, Westwold, Cranbrook, Grand Forks, St. George's School, Arrowpark, Sorrento, and Okanagan Mission).

Regardless of their decorative richness, Anglican church furnishings are usually recognisable as such. Though almost always of Gothic design, Anglican furnishings lack the bright colours (to some tastes garish) and pompous details typical of Oblate furnishings. Neither do they share the cold sobriety and heavity of Non-conformist furnishings. Anglican furnishings are often scholarly works, convincingly executed in naturally finished wood. Most are based, either directly or indirectly, upon mediaeval models. They agree both in their proportions and in their detail with centuries-old English prototypes.

Anglican churches are often found in rather distinctive settings. Save for Indian churches, most sit amid spacious lawns. Many are also surrounded by trees and flower gardens. Several have yards enclosed by fences or hedges. A few even have lych-gates (Lytton Indian Reserve, Shulus, Cranbrook, Yale-now removed, Enderby, and Okanagan Mission). A half-dozen churches have churchyards adjacent. Examples exist at Sorrento, Lister, Spillamacheen, Westwold, and Okanagan Mission (churches once stood in the Anglican cemeteries at Penticton and Summerland as well). Churches built by middle-class orchardists usually
exhibit the most thorough landscaping, while the grounds of churches built in mining communities (such as Silverton, Slocan, New Denver, Michel, Natal, and Hedley) have long been rather neglected.
Chapter 5

Explanation of Built Forms:
European and Eastern North American Background

During the early nineteenth century Europe and eastern North America were beset by changes in religious outlook and worship that were nothing short of revolutionary. At the same time, the onslaught of industrialisation led to major changes in construction technology. Both sets of forces exerted considerable influences on the design and construction of churches. Such changes were experienced initially in long-settled areas, but their impact was also felt in frontier regions. Thus, if the early church architecture of British Columbia is to be truly understood, one must first examine its precedents in Europe and eastern North America.

The nineteenth century was an age which obscured its own present through a revival of the past. Ancient and mediaeval Christian liturgies, pre-industrial crafts, and historical styles of architecture (Gothic in particular) were all subject to renewed interest. In one sense such revivals were innovative and revolutionary. The art and architecture of the middle ages were interpreted as a modern style appropriate to the nineteenth century. Doctrines and liturgies borrowed from the Primitive and mediaeval church supplanted seemingly archaic practices and beliefs of more recent origin. In another sense,
such revivals were utterly conservative, perhaps even reactionary.¹ For some they were unrealistic and romantic strivings after conditions that could not and ought not to be revived. Critics of the Gothic and Anglo-Catholic revivals, for example, condemned the "new" movements in architecture and religious ideology as a return to Popery.

Opinions on the revivals of the nineteenth century varied over time, through space, and across denominational lines. By the time intensive settlement began in British Columbia (1858), Christians in Britain had accepted the doctrinal and liturgical reforms of Wesley and the Anglo-Catholics (Tractarians) as established facts. Anglicans embraced neo-Gothic architecture wholeheartedly, though Non-conformists and Roman Catholics retained reservations. Eastern North Americans were in some ways more skeptical; accepting Wesley's Methodist revival but distrusting Tractarianism and preferring to continue their own architectural traditions. Nevertheless, one can safely state that even in 1858, eastern North Americans were quickly becoming accustomed to revived or other altered liturgies and architecture.² Movements begun earlier in the century were in the process of becoming traditional. By the early twentieth century, Gothic architecture and mediaevalised doctrines and liturgies had become normative and non-innovative, not only in Britain but also throughout North America and western Europe. This is not to say that such revivals were universally accepted, but rather that they ceased to be judged as novel. The doctrinal, liturgical, and
stylistic antecedents of British Columbia's early churches were thus doubly traditional, drawn from both sides of the Atlantic and from the recent as well as the distant past.

The church reforms of the nineteenth century, the revival of the Gothic style, and the construction technology of the industrial age all have their roots in the late eighteenth century. By the end of the 1700's, the industrial revolution was well underway. Its effects were felt first in Britain and subsequently in western North America. The social, political, philosophical, and physical upheavals resulting from industrialisation have been well documented elsewhere. They bear only indirectly on this argument. What is important is the impact of the industrial revolution upon doctrine, liturgy, style, and technology.

Religious Revival: The Founding of Doctrinal and Liturgical Traditions in the Nineteenth Century

In the late eighteenth century the Church of England began to undergo changes that were to have significant impact on the religious architecture of the following century. The Anglican Church of the 1700's was a body long overdue for reform. Described by some as "the praying section of the Tory Party," the Church had been reduced to a quiet and non-controversial arm of the established order. Its episcopacy was worldly and lethargic, and riddled with nepotism and secular politics. Many of its clergy "did nothing in particular and did it very well," while others, according to J. B. Good, "were far more conspicuous in the (fox) hunting
field" than in their pulpits. An urban contemporary disparagingly described them as "constant readers of the Gentleman's Magazine, deep in the antiquities of the signs of inns, speculations as to what becomes of swallows in winter, and whether hedgehogs, or other urchins, are most justly accused of sucking cows dry at night." Many clergy were simply ungifted and unwanted second sons who preferred life in comfortable rural rectories to careers in draughty army tents. Hundreds of eighteenth century clergymen held several parish livings simultaneously, attending to none. In such cases, parochial duties were assigned to underpaid and overworked curates. Because of these practices the prestige of the Church suffered considerably. Conditions were ripe for reform.

The first waves of reform to assail the Established Church were those set loose by John Wesley's Methodist Revival. Wesley's reforms re-introduced life and enthusiasm into a church that was staid and irrelevant. With a return to simple, literalist Christianity, Wesley and his evangelicals hoped to introduce "a religion of love and pleasantness and joy" (though in practice Methodism was often stern and austere). Unlike the Established Church, Wesley's disciples were dedicated to the working poor, opposing child labour and slavery, and working for better education, housing, sanitation, and labour legislation. The Methodist appeal was in a sense a romantic one. Through its popular (and entertaining) oratory and hymns it offered an attainable happiness on earth (as had been offered by Primitive Christianity) and a promise of a greater reward.
to come.  Though Wesley never viewed himself as anything but an evangelical Anglican, his successors broke from the Established Church to found Wesleyan, Primitive, and other Methodist Churches. Many evangelicals, however, remained in the Church of England and formed a Low Church party (as distinguished from the "High and Dry" party). Methodism and Low Church Anglicanism became the religion of the lower classes, while High Church Anglicanism remained an upper class preserve. By the mid-nineteenth century, though, the evangelical doctrines of social responsibility and of personal moral duty had infiltrated the uppermost strata of the English Church. The middle and upper classes began to view themselves as leaders of public morality, setting standards, providing examples, and acting as guardians for society as a whole. Though the evangelical discipline was unattractive to the educated (who could not always concur with its simplistic doctrines), it received a limited acceptance in their homes. Families prayed together, parents directed their children in Bible study, and popular religious art appeared on parlour walls.

Wesley's evangelical revival set the stage for even greater church reforms, this time orchestrated by the Anglican clergy themselves. When a major bill, the Reform Act of 1832, was passed by the British Parliament, many clergy saw a distinct threat not only to the Tory Party (and the old, landed order) but to the Established Church as well. Rather than see Church powers eroded by a secular parliament, a group of leading Oxford clergymen (among them Keble, Pusey, and Newman) resolved to
change the Church from within. Dating from 1833 (the year of Keble's famous Assize Sermon), this "Oxford Movement" called for a reawakening of priestly conscience, responsibility, and behaviour. The Oxford reformers argued that the clergy of the Anglican Church had been ordained through an apostolic succession, and owed their position, fealty, and lives to Christ. The Church of England, they declared, was part of the one Holy, Apostolic, and Catholic Church established by Christ and his Disciples. Its modern-day Bishops should be pious, devoted, and self-sacrificing, not worldly, complacent, and self-indulgent. They ought to be leaders in society, not an inactive arm of the establishment. If need be, they should oppose the state to save the integrity of the Church. Modern-day bishops were the spiritual heirs of Saints Peter, Augustine, and Thomas à Becket. In Newman's opinion they could hardly wish for a "more blessed termination of their course, than the spoiling of their goods, and martyrdom." For the Oxford reformers, the earthly Church of Christ had once again become "a divine society and a sacred mystery;" its clergy ought not to take their responsibilities lightly.

Like the Methodist and evangelical revivals, the Oxford Movement was fed by the spirit of romanticism. Both movements sought refuge in the past, opposing an eighteenth century rationalism that had infiltrated the Established Church. Methodists and evangelicals attempted to revive the church of the first Christian centuries. The Oxford "Tractarians" (so named for their series of published Tracts for the Times)
looked back, in Pusey's words, "to the old times and the old paths," to the church of the seventeenth century, of the middle ages and beyond. Both groups sought a modern rebirth of ancient Christian principles and practice, and as a result of their efforts, Victorian Britain became (at least outwardly) increasingly religious.

Quite understandably, the Oxford Tractarians met considerable resistance. Evangelicals labelled the reformers as agents of the Church of Rome (a most hated institution, even after the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829). Anglican Churchmen questioned the movement's very allegiance to Protestantism. Archdeacon Thorp denounced its more radical aims as a "damnable heresy." The reformers' cause was done little good when, in 1845, Newman announced his conversion to Roman Catholicism. The very worst fears of the movement's critics had been substantiated. But the reformers had the support of a new generation of clergy (then being trained at Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham) and many of their doctrines soon became accepted. Clergymen became more priest-like, acting as much as intermediaries as preachers. Pluralities were abolished and clerical pay scales readjusted. Sabbath observance became widespread as religion was infused into everyday life.

At the same time as Britain was undergoing extensive church reforms, France (the source of British Columbia's Oblate missionaries) began to experience a remarkable religious revival. A nineteenth century Christian renaissance began in 1801 as Napoleon's Concordat with the Pope returned the church
its buildings (though not its lands) and created an episcopacy with Gallican loyalties. Despite this compromise, successive French governments continued the anti-clerical assaults begun by the Revolutionaries of 1789, gradually depriving the church of property, status, and authority. These measures climaxed in 1879-80 with the expulsion of the Jesuits and the suppression of all religious orders save four. Included among the outlawed orders were the Oblates of Mary Immaculate who, like other outcast congregations, fled to the safety of Rome. A second and final anti-clerical onslaught came in 1905. All religious buildings became state property, religious instruction ceased, and clerical salaries faced reductions.

Paradoxically, this same adverse legislation led to a strengthening of the very church it was intended to destroy. In the face of government restrictions and harassment, and despite public indifference or apathy, the faith of French Catholics prospered. Although the temporal powers of the church were being undermined, those Catholics who clung to the faith did so with unprecedented fervour. But not only did long-time Catholics reaffirm their beliefs, for many former agnostics re-entered the fold. Thus, between the years 1801 and 1879 "more new congregations, societies and associations emerged than in any previous century in the history of the Roman Catholic Church, or, indeed, of any church." Though the church suffered endless indignities in France, it was France who produced more foreign missionaries than any other country in Europe.
The French Roman Catholic revival was both romantic and reactionary. For many it meant a return to the rightful order that the Revolution of 1789 had swept away. Many of its leaders (such as Chateaubriand and de Mazenod) were returned emigrees who regarded the excesses of the revolution with horror. Quite frequently, Catholic revivalists looked back far beyond the eighteenth centuries and toward the middle ages. Their opposition "modernism"—a movement within the church devesting Roman Catholicism of its mystical traits, belittling the apostolic succession, and denegrating the priesthood and the sacraments—was as much a longing for the order of the middle ages as it was a rejection of nineteenth century secularisation. Though many Frenchmen could not accept a return to the France of Louis XVI, the prospect of a neo-mediaeval church appealed to tens of thousands. The revival of Catholicism in nineteenth century France is in large measure attributable to that appeal.

The Architectural Setting of Reformed Liturgies

Each of the nineteenth century's major religious upheavals—the Oxford Movement, the Catholic revival, the reforms of Wesley, and the evangelical revival—expressed its goals and beliefs in statements of doctrine. Changing religious doctrines, of course, led to altered liturgical practices and considerable architectural adaption. Although doctrinal and liturgical positions continued to evolve as the nineteenth century wore on, it is nonetheless possible to outline several
fundamental relationships to the built form.

Roman Catholic Worship and Architecture

The new-found piety and enthusiasm of French Roman Catholics found expression in mediaeval revivalism. The mystical beliefs, forms, and practices of the church of the middle ages were often adopted unhesitatingly. The sacraments (particularly the Eucharist) were viewed with increasing veneration. Fraternities arose to dedicate themselves to the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, attending mass upon mass to deter Divine wrath against those who abstained. A modern-day "cult of the Virgin" developed as newly established congregations (such as de Mazenod's Oblates) devoted themselves to the "Mother of God." Individuals and organisations dedicated their lives to the saints of the mediaeval and primitive church. Shrines were raised at the sites of martyrdoms and miracles. Societies for the adoration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and for the revived use of rosaries and Stations of the Cross flourished. Sites of saintly apparitions became major pilgrimage centres (La Salette and Lourdes in particular). Worship became increasingly ritualistic, the priest and the altar as distant as during the middle ages.

French mediaeval revivalism had a significant architectural impact. Aided by the writings of Comte de Maistre, Chateaubriand, Hugo, and the Annales archéologiques, many French Catholics (though by no means all) came to view Gothic as the only valid Christian style. The publication in 1819 of Joseph Marie
Comte de Maistre's *Du Pape* was an early influential work calling for the restoration of the Papacy's mediaeval authority and glories. Though not especially concerned with architecture, Comte de Maistre's volume did give neo-mediaevalism a significant boost. Interest in Gothic received a further impetus in 1831 with the publication of Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*. Hugo's intent was to promote sympathy with the cause of cathedral restoration. In this he succeeded, for public interest in mediaeval art swelled, influencing many areas of fashion. Even government responded-- in 1837 Louis Philippe established a commission to restore ancient French church buildings.

Though others were important, France's principal nineteenth century advocate of a revival of Gothic architecture was François-René de Chateaubriand. In his *Génie de Christianism* (1800, republished throughout the nineteenth century), Chateaubriand decreed Gothic the very embodiment of the Christian spirit. Its ascendant lines evoked images of heaven. Its mysterious shadows, angles, colours, and massing defied rational analysis:

"It was impossible to enter a Gothic church without feeling a sort of chilling sensation and receiving a vague presentiment of the deity...Ancient France seemed to live again... The more remote those times were, the more magical they seemed to us, the more they inspired in us the kinds of thoughts which invariably end in reflections on the insignificance of man and the brevity of human life...Everything in Gothic churches recalls labyrinthine forests, everything evokes religious awe, the mysteries and the Deity."
For Chateaubriand and his disciples Gothic was more than a picturesque style, more than one of several Christian styles. It was the only style of architecture fit for the celebration of the divine mysteries. Its buildings were miracles of construction, defying physical laws and human logic. Gothic buildings were obviously of Divine inspiration and built by a morally and spiritually superior society. Mediaeval worship, values, and genres de vie ought to be revived; mediaeval churches ought to be restored; and modern churches should surely be built in the Gothic style.  

Chateaubriand's appeals was taken up by Adolphe-Napoleon Didron and the editors of the Annales Archéologiques (1844-69). For Didron, archeology was synonymous with "the history of mediaeval religious art." His journal was devoted to the popularisation of mediaeval art and architecture, especially within its Christian context. In appealing for a revival of Gothic forms for both secular and sacred buildings, Didron often solicited articles from Viollet-le-Duc, the noted church restorer. But despite their efforts, the majority of Frenchmen declined to equate Gothic with the sole, valid style for Christian worship. They agreed with Raoul-Rochette who suggested in 1855:

"We would be doing an injustice to Christianity, or completely misrepresenting its spirit, if we were to assume that it had need of a special kind of art in order to express its beliefs."  

Gothic might be both French and Christian, but there were equally valid historical styles available. Nineteenth
century French Catholic churches were consequently a diverse group of buildings: Classical, Norman, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, and even eclectic. Few churches of any description were in fact built, for France had little need of new churches. The Jesuits had built scores of churches in the seventeenth century, and despite eighteenth century desecrations, most mediaeval buildings continued to be used. Although numbers of active Catholics had swollen, pre-existing churches were able to absorb new converts.

Though new Gothic churches were not as numerous as the Gothic revival's advocates might hope, public enthusiasm for mediaeval Catholic mysticism and art increased phenomenally. The cathedrals and churches of the middle ages underwent extensive restoration. Lateral altars, Stations of the Cross, and images of saints reappeared in parish churches. Statuary devoted to the cults of the Sacred Heart and of Mary Immaculate rose in popularity. Stained glass windows casting a dim, religious light helped create a mood of mystery. Altars became increasingly grand, were brilliantly coloured, encrusted with detail, and backed by lofty, pinnacled reedoses. Furnishings in Classic and Baroque churches were equally imposing, designed to evoke piety and to glorify an earlier age of French Catholicism.

**Methodist Worship and Architecture**

In his quest to revive the spirit of early Christianity, John Wesley reinstated the liturgy of early Christian
worship (as best he understood it). Wesley rejected the staid, plodding (and scholarly) sermons of the "High and Dry" Established Church and the mystical masses and devotions of Roman Catholicism. Wesleyan services instead emphasised the joys of Christian fellowship and the majesty of God's grace. To outsiders, Methodist meetings were marked by an outward display of "enthusiasm," in Dr. Johnson's words, "a vain confidence of divine favour or communication." At their extremes, certainly, many services evoked fervour and convulsions and even Hallelujahs. Most services, however, were by no means so emotional. Congregational hymns were emphasised, and seen as

"a means of raising or quickening the spirit of devotion; of confirming the believer's faith; of enlivening his hope; and of kindling and increasing his love to God and man." 49

Extempore prayers supplemented the regular Offices (based on the Book of Common Prayer) and solicited Divine attention to local and immediate concerns. The Eucharist was viewed as refreshment for the faithful and as a "means of grace to unbelievers." 50 Sermons constituted the central part of the service and usually emphasised man's path from sin to redemption. 51 In each of its forms the Methodist message was simple and couched in the straightforward terms that appealed to working-class audiences. All men were sinners, but through an acceptance of Christ as their Saviour, all might be redeemed to experience eternal joy. To the movement's many detractors, Methodist teachings were overly simplistic. Some saw Wesleyan
services as theatrical events, entertainment but not true worship. Newman was a principal critic of both evangelicalism and Methodism and lamented in 1838, "they aim at experience within, (rather) than at him that is without." Despite such criticisms the Methodists prospered. Their message was voiced by itinerant preachers and lay readers in places where the Established clergy would not tread: in the slums, on street-corners, in rented halls and eventually, in the Methodists own churches.

Wesley's Methodists had no need of their own church buildings until the early 1840's (when Anglican rectors began to deny Methodist preachers access to the pulpits of the Established Church). The first Methodist chapels, called "preaching houses" by Wesley, were simply paler reflections of the Anglican churches of the time. Most were of brick, squarish in plan, galleried, and chancel-less. Few had towers or belfries. Interiors were filled with box-pews and dominated by massive, looming pulpits (befitting symbols of the Service of the Word). Methodist churches had no altars, but many had modest communion tables. Although the singing of hymns was an important component of worship, organs were rare.

In striving to reintroduce the straightforward liturgy of the Primitive church, Methodist leaders developed a narrow-minded approach to art and architecture. Simple faith and piety were the sole requisites of Christian worship. Since art and beauty often produced pleasure, they were obviously sinful, and inappropriate to a house of Christian worship. Because
Methodists lacked the capacity to use, enjoy, or encourage decorative architecture, their meeting houses were kept as simple and as plain as possible. Many resembled the domestic architecture of the time, though stripped of its decorative (and to Methodists, distracting) excesses. 57

Despite their puritanical traditions, Methodist churches gradually became more Anglicanised. Though their interiors remained rather stark (decorated only by religious texts), and though their floorplans long remained immutable, chapel exteriors were by the 1860's and 1870's becoming increasingly Gothic. 58 Then, as the twentieth century neared, Methodist floor-plans underwent radical transformations. Churches were built as auditoria, as Greek crosses (with a platform for the pulpit nestled in one of the cross's arms), and ultimately, as Anglican parish churches (with naves chancels, side aisles, and vestries). 59 The Methodist liturgy evolved together with its buildings. Services became increasingly sacramental, though the preaching of the Word of God remained central to Methodist worship.

Anglican Worship and Architecture

The appeals of the Oxford Movement for greater recognition of the Catholic and Apostolic origins of the Anglican Church led quite naturally to an increased interest in ritual and mysticism. 60 Though the movement's leaders, such as Pusey, protested that their aims were theological rather than liturgical, Tractarianism became equated with Puseyism, and
Puseyism with ritualism. The original Tractarians had called for a rediscovery "of the values of the middle ages." Their successors demanded a revival of mediaeval liturgy. For evangelical Anglicans such suggestions were akin to an appeal for Popery, and Puseyism became "a doctrine that reaked with the lethal vapour of incense, that suggested the sinful rustle of vestments, and pointed the way to a disgusting and improper use of candles." For High Church sympathisers, however,

"It was as if the Tractarians had declared that on the drab, dirty and distempered walls within which English churchmen were accustomed to worship there were wonderful pictures that when uncovered would transform the whole building into something mysterious and sublime." 64

The Tractarians had inadvertently spawned a revival of the liturgy and architecture of the mediaeval church.

The translation of the Oxford Movement's theological pleas into new conceptions of architecture and worship was remarkably rapid. Public enthusiasm for the art and architecture of the middle ages had long since been aroused. Eighteenth century literature had proclaimed the glories, beauty, and mysteries of mediaeval Britain. Eccentric rural gentlemen their houses in the "Gothick" style (or raised sham Gothic ruins in their gardens). The middle ages even infiltrated Anglican church architecture. Scores of pseudo-Gothic facades concealed churches that were otherwise utterly Georgian. This initial public interest in the art of the middle ages was admittedly only shallow. Were it not for the Oxford Tractarians and their allies the Gothic revival would have been nothing but a fleeting fancy.
The success of Britain's Gothic revival is largely attributable to the influence of A. W. N. Pugin, the Cambridge Camden Society, and John Ruskin. A. Welby Pugin first came to public notice with his publication in 1835 of *Contrasts: or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth Cy and Similar Buildings of the Present Day: Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*. For Pugin (converted to Roman Catholicism in 1834, ten years before Newman), architecture had become a matter of morality. The cities of the nineteenth century industrial world were abominations, filled with every imaginable vice and sin. Row houses, prisons, workhouses, and factories lined their streets, and skylines, once dominated by abbey, church, and cathedral spires, were now defiled by the chimney stacks of industry. By accepting the Protestant Reformation, the Age of Reason, and classical architecture, Pugin argued, Englishmen had turned from God to Mammon. Industrial cities reflected greed and inhumanity, whereas mediaeval cities had been founded on (so he said) Christian love and charity. Only by reviving the values of the middle ages could Christian morality be restored. Only by reviving the (primarily ecclesiastical) architecture of the middle ages could nineteenth century cities remain inhabitable.

Pugin's message was by no means an unpopular one. His allegiance to Roman Catholicism, however, discouraged widespread accolades. It remained for an association of Anglican clergymen and antiquarians, the Cambridge Camden Society (later, the Ecclesiological Society) to stir sympathy to action. The Cam-
bridge Camden Society was founded by a group of Cambridge undergraduates in 1839. The Society's aims were to promote the study of ancient church buildings, to encourage their "proper" restoration, and to revive the mediaeval ritual within neo-Gothic churches. The ecclesiologists effectively took the mystical urgings of the Oxford Tractarians and the mediaeval romanticism of Pugin (and others) and melded them together, thereby revolutionising Anglican (and ultimately, Roman Catholic and Non-conformist) worship and architecture.

The ecclesiologists strived for nothing less than the complete restoration of the Catholic ritual of the middle ages, albeit within the context of Common Prayer worship. The architectural setting of Anglican worship was to be exclusively Gothic (the only style appropriate to the mediaeval liturgy and the style of an "uncorrupted" age). Churches were to be designed along lines dictated by the Society. Through its journal, the *Ecclesiologist*, the Camden Society proclaimed the rules of Gothic architecture. Any departures from its dictates, either by clergy or architects, were soundly condemned. The Society became surprisingly powerful, despite its unofficial status within the Anglican Church. Many of its earliest members were unsuspecting antiquarians (subsequently scared away by the vehemence of the Society's rhetoric), but many were like-minded Churchmen: Gothicists and ritualists. By 1843 the Society had infiltrated the highest levels of the Church. Its membership of over 700 included 16 architects, 21 archdeacons and rural deans, 7 deans and chancellors, 31
"The village church which the vicar set his heart upon restoring and radically reforming, was a monument of the carelessness and neglect that characterised these times. Moth eaten pews, cold damp flagstones green with age and mildew; Chancel and altar desecrated, and dilapidated white washed walls; fine old arches blocked, particularly one at the west end which was utterly hidden by a huge singing-gallery where the sexton and some half dozen village worthies used to delight themselves, when selections from Tate and Brady were given out at the time of service with sounds of base viol and clarinet."

-J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds of the West."
peers and Members of Parliament, 16 bishops, and 2 archbishops.

The Camden Society's doctrines met a mixed reception. Most clergymen and laymen were easily won over. Evangelicals and particularly conservative clergy, however, condemned the Society as too Romanist by far. Archdeacon Thorp, for example, regarded the typical ecclesiological church as a:

"fair chamber of popish imagery...speaking in a language not to be misunderstood, 'MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HAREMOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH!'" 76

Despite such rancour, opposition to the Society's aims faded with the passage of time. Ecclesiological principles became increasingly accepted. As an indirect result of the Society's endeavours, similar groups were founded throughout the British Isles, carrying the message of ecclesiology wherever there were Anglicans to hear (and non-Anglicans to overhear). 77

The success of the Cambridge ecclesiologists was not entirely of their own making. Though hardly a formal ally, A. W. N. Pugin had already laid the ground rules of ecclesiology, both in his writings and in his architectural designs. Of equal importance was the compliance of influential clergymen. In 1841, for example, the much respected rector of Leeds, Dr. W. F. Hook (mentor of Bishop Hills), rebuilt his Church of St. Peter "with a regard to ecclesiastical propriety previously unknown." 78 Hook had evidently been influenced by John Jebb's Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland. 79 His church included several features that the Camden Society were later to declare obligatory: a chancel to accommodate a surpliced choir of laymen, a sacrarium far removed from the
Plate 36. "Please Mr Bishop, which is Popery and which is Puseyism?" Cartoon from Punch, 1851. Punch was not alone in asking this question.

Plate 37. Plate from Pugin's Apology, the neo-Gothic vision at its extreme.
nave, and an altar raised high above the congregation. Though not directly associated with the ecclesiologists, Hook lent their aims a certain respectability. Many of his colleagues followed his example, adding chancels to their churches, introducing choirs, and isolating their altars.  

Ecclesiology received its final impetus from the pen of John Ruskin. In the last quarter of the twentieth century John Ruskin is barely known, his works seldom read. But in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ruskin's fame knew few bounds. His writings enjoyed extensive circulation (French-speaking Oblates were among his readership) and were highly influential. In publishing his *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and subsequently, *The Stones of Venice* (1851), Ruskin aroused public enthusiasm for Gothic to unprecedented heights. While popularising the polychromatic Gothic of Northern Italy, Ruskin also proclaimed a new view of Creation. For Ruskin and his disciples, the earth, humanity and the works of man ceased to be laden with sin and corruption. God was to be found not only in Heaven but in his earthly creations as well:

"He was to be sought in the depths of the seas or upon the mountains, also in the life and art of those men who had lived closest to Him and to Nature, and who had built grey Gothic towers in northern forests...."  

God could inspire men to reverential works of beauty. Europe's Gothic legacy was a visible sign of Divine inspiration, and a legacy worthy of emulation.
Public acceptance of the Gothic style increased as the nineteenth century progressed. By its final quarter, virtually all Anglican churches were built with a view to archaeological correctness and liturgical propriety (though many congregations continued to oppose the extreme Catholic ritual). Of equal importance was the spread (from the mid-1800's) of Gothic revivalism to other denominations. While maintaining their own theological and liturgical integrity, Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Presbyterians began to draw selectively from the Gothic Vocabulary. Whether in Europe, eastern Canada or the United States, by 1900 ritualists and evangelicals alike were paying increased attention to their architectural settings of worship.

The Technological Context: Industrial Innovation and the Re-emergence of Craft

Like much of western North America, British Columbia was settled during a period of rapid industrialisation. The nineteenth century industrial age was a time when regional landscape and cultural identities faded in the face of standardising technological forces. Paradoxically, it was also a time of revival for pre-industrial arts and crafts. While capitalism, machines and the factory system conspired, in Ruskin's opinion, to make a "tool" of the workman, Ruskin, Pugin, Morris, and others fought back.87 Realising that industry had degraded labour and hence art, these and other reformers (or alternatively, reactionaries) attempted to restore handicrafts to their pre-industrial position of
supremacy. Theirs was a romantic dream, of course, but mediaeval crafts were nonetheless revived. Only rarely did they prosper, for hand-worked crafts were expensive. The popular tastes of the time were more atuned to the mass-produced products of the factory system. Yet, a number of craft workshops did survive, making specialised products for wealthy clients with sympathetic tastes.

Architecture was not divorced from these processes. Before the industrial revolution, rural vernacular buildings emerged in response to localised material environments, styles, and crafts. Building forms and technology were traditional, handed from master to apprentice through the centuries. Only local materials were used (a reflection of transportation costs). Innovations were slow to be accepted, perhaps even held in suspicion. Thus, the buildings of a single county, département, state, or province (or even a portion thereof) were often quite unlike those of adjacent areas. Cotswold masons built peculiarly gabled houses in local oolitic limestone. Carpenters in nearby Lancashire erected "black and white" houses around heavy-timber frames. Peasants in the Pyrenees built maisons blocs à terre. In the Languedoc, only a few miles away, distinctive maisons hautes were raised. Similarly, in eastern North America, regionally distinct styles of buildings emerged in Quebec, New England, Newfoundland, and the Middle Atlantic.

With the advent of the industrial revolution these regional vernacular styles began to dissolve. From the late
eighteenth century, mass production, literacy, and publishing, and simplified transportation facilitated flows of goods, techniques, and ideas. Building style ceased in large measure to be an unconscious expression of social needs and values, traditional crafts, and local environmental constraints. Tradition was replaced by innovation and self-consciousness, localisation by diffusion. Cheap rail transportation moved Welsh roof-slates into traditionally thatched Hampshire. Bricks from kilns in the Midlands supplanted Kentish clapboards and Cornish granite. Flemish tiles were shipped to Brittany and the Aquitaine. Mass circulated building plans standardised floor-plans and facades, both in Europe and in North America. Widely distributed books of designs introduced new building styles to carpenters and masons once bound by tradition. Gothic cottages arose in Ontario, Italian villas on the Isle of Wight. Long dormant historical styles were also revived, infused with new meaning, and imposed on landscapes previously unacquainted with them. Moorish facades were built in London and Romanesque libraries were built in Massachusetts. With increased mechanisation, many building components (and even whole structures) were pre-fabricated in factories and shipped wherever needed. Together with the popular tastes of the nineteenth century, mass production, inexpensive transportation, and increased literacy conspired to produce landscapes of remarkably standardised character.

Pugin was among the first to condemn industry's effect upon architecture. He lamented in 1841:
"England is rapidly losing its venerable garb; all places are becoming alike; every good old gabled inn is turned into an ugly hotel with a stuccoed portico, and a vulgar coffee room lined with staring paper, with imitation scagliola columns, composition glass frames, an obsequious cheat of a waiter, and twenty per cent." 94

In Pugin's view architectural tastes had become utterly debased. Land developers controlled construction and were far more interested in profits than aesthetics. Workmen were equally oblivious to beauty and architectural propriety. They regarded their tasks as labour, not art. Nouveau riche consumers were equally to blame, for in Pugin's estimation, it was their abominable taste that permitted the factory system to thrive. Pugin's solution encompassed not only a revival of the style of the middle ages, but also a return to the spirit of mediaeval craftsmanship. The art and architecture of the nineteenth century would remain degraded "unless the same feelings which influenced the old designers in the composition of their Works, can be restored...it is only by similar glorious feelings that similar glorious results can be obtained." 95

Pugin's call was echoed by the Cambridge Camden Society. In the Society's view, literacy among workmen and scholarship among designers might be highly desirable, but enthusiasm and commitment were far more important. It was especially vital that builders of churches should enter into the spirit of their work. Churches were meant for holy purposes. Their builders ought to be pious and God-fearing men if beautiful churches were to result. In the words of the Camden Society: "we have remarkable proof that feeling without knowledge will do more
than knowledge without feeling."\textsuperscript{96}

Speculations by Pugin and the Camden Society were put into practice by John Ruskin and William Morris, neither of whom were architects, though both were very influential in the field. In 1855 Ruskin engaged a group of Irish stone cutters to embellish a new museum at Oxford.\textsuperscript{97} Ruskin had deliberately sought out workmen whose hands and minds were unsullied by industrial evils. Far from exuding a spirit of Christian piety and fraternity, the carvers quarrelled and swore to such an extent that they were eventually sent home. It was a naive albeit sincere experiment. William Morris was somewhat more successful. Like those who preceded him, Morris believed degraded art and architecture the product of a sick society. Industrial technology had forced artisans into factories, stripped them of their skills, and robbed them of their pride. If beauty were to be restored to the world, then the workers' self respect must first be re-kindled.\textsuperscript{98} To further this end, Morris and like-minded associates established workshops for the revival of ancient crafts. Unlike the products of factories, Morris' works were made largely by hand, were individually designed, and formed by hands imbued with pride. Notable among Morris' ventures were the Kelmscott Press, furniture and wallpaper manufactures, and a highly successful stained glass works.\textsuperscript{99} Morris was not alone in his endeavours. Dozens of similar establishments arose on both sides of the Atlantic, and Morris' appeals enjoyed wide circulation. Ironically, craft workshops were obliged to compromise with indus-
try. Many required heavy capital investments, placed their workers on salary, published catalogues of designs, and disregarded regional traditions.100

Church architecture was perhaps less subject to the standardising influences of nineteenth and twentieth century industrial technology than were other types of buildings. Like the members of the Cambridge Camden Society, Pugin, Ruskin, and Morris were all active Christians. Their cries against the ills of the industrial age echoed through parsonages, rectories, chapter houses, gospel halls, and bishops' palaces. Thus, in Britain at least, rural Anglican churches incorporated local timber and stone.101 Urban churches, like urban and rural Non-conformist chapels, were often of brick, though built from individual sets of plans. When Anglicans used brick it was often with a sense of apology. Attempts were made to disguise it under neo-mediaeval frescoes and tiles. In the eyes of nineteenth century Anglicans and Roman Catholics, the standardisation offered by mass production, pre-fabrication, and published plans was anathematic to the principles of Christian worship. It was especially incumbent upon ritualist Christians to offer their very best to God, whether in conduct, worship, or architecture.102 Stone was the most preferable building material, its use a reflection of piety and devotion (in addition to wealth). Brick and iron, the products of the factory system, reflected insincerity and niggardliness.103 Standardised building plans ought not to be used since the needs and aspirations of every community differed. Mass-produced furnish-
ings were equally disdained, for the use of standardised materials, plans, and fittings was morally reprehensible. To imitate unthinkingly or to adopt unhesitatingly the designs or work of others suggested a rejection of one's God-given creative capacity.

British Methodists, Presbyterians and other evangelicals were somewhat less concerned with the debate between industry and craft. For them, the spirit of God did not abide in buildings but rather in the collective hearts of the congregation. While it might be agreeable to have an aesthetically attractive meeting house, comfort and efficiency were far more important. If bricks and mass-produced furnishings were inexpensive it was hardly a sin to use them. If such materials were functional then certainly they should be used. Two modest but serviceable churches might be built at the cost of a single expensive one, and more souls saved in the process.

Nineteenth century Christians in eastern North America were largely unaffected by condemnations of industrial standardisation. Since many North American builders had little (if any) first-hand knowledge of European prototypes, architectural pattern books filled an obvious need.\(^{104}\) That Quebec or New England lacked indigenous Gothic or Romanesque traditions espoused in pattern books was immaterial. Historical and foreign styles were increasingly in vogue. Their use was fashionable, modern, and progressive. If pattern books, pre-fabricated parts, and mass produced fittings were necessary to achieve a desired effect, then they were used. Buildings were
judged more in terms of functional efficiency than in terms of symbolical associations. If a neo-Gothic church inspired by published plans functioned well, it was judged a success. The fact that it might resemble a dozen other churches went largely unnoticed, or at least unnoted.

Architectural Publications

The influence of mass circulated architectural publications was two-fold. On the one-hand, building designs might be copied directly from published sets of plans. Secondly, catalogues of plans and books of engravings and photographs might be used solely for inspiration; to suggest a floor-plan, the shape of a window arch, or decoration on a piece of furniture. Ironically, while encouraging a return to traditional architectural styles, such publications also suggested innovative styles, plans, and technologies. In Britain, architectural publications appealed for the revival of pre-industrial technology as well as for the restoration of mediaeval building forms. In eastern North America, innovative and traditional plans and styles were both encouraged, but within the context of modern building technology. Since British Columbia's early church architecture responded to influences from both source areas, the role of pattern books is of more than passing interest.

Mass circulated architectural publications first appeared in the early eighteenth century. Colin Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus, William Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones,
and James Gibbs' famous *Book of Architecture* (1728) are early examples of the genre. The "rules" of classical art and architecture had been rediscovered earlier by the Italian architect Andrea Palladio. These three British publications interpreted Palladio for an English-speaking audience, thereby popularising the neo-classic style. Gibbs' work was especially influential, not only in Britain but also in North America. His *Book of Architecture* contained designs for neo-classic churches as well as for houses. Thus, throughout the English culture realm, literally thousands of churches were built to his specifications. Replicas of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields were found in Glasgow, Boston, and San Francisco; in India, Australia, and South Africa. Gibbsian churches were built in Canada as well, in Toronto, Quebec, and Charlottetown, and in scores of rural parishes. Through Gibbs and his contemporaries new generations of North American builders began to rely not on tradition, but on published books of designs.

In one sense, Gibbs, Campbell, and Kent were inapplicable to the North American context of technology. They had designed for masonry; new world contractors generally built with wood. Accordingly, works by Asher Benjamin (*The American Builder's Companion*, 1806; *The Country Builder's Assistant*, 1797; *Rudiments of Architecture*, 1820); Minard Lafever, and others emerged to fill the gap. Benjamin's publications were particularly influential, diffusing northward into Canada and across the Appalachians. Because they were reissued throughout the 1800's, their effects were felt even as the century ended.
While Gibbs, Benjamin, and Lafever worked mainly with neo-classic designs (rather than Gothic), they set important precedents in the use of "paper architecture." Hence, when the Gothic revival became a major current in nineteenth century Britain, a means existed to publicise its traits. Nineteenth century publications on Gothic and the Gothic Revival fall into two categories, depending on whether they were written before or after the advent of ecclesiology (in the early 1840's). Works published before the emergence of the Camden Society were only obliquely concerned with religion. Those published afterward (with a few North American exceptions) were often encrusted with religious deposits.

The eighteenth century's rediscovery of Gothic architecture was initially little more than a dabbling by a few English eccentrics. The first "serious" publications to consider the Gothic style were Thomas and Batty Langley's *Ancient Architecture Restored* (1742) and *Gothic Architecture Improved* (1747). These two books consist mainly of plates, each showing how Gothic architecture might be rationalised according to Vitruvian rules. Though their works were justly condemned by later generations as silly and unscholarly, the brothers Langley were nonetheless important as early advocates of the Gothic revival. Their labours were continued by John Carter (through articles and engravings in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1798-1817), by John Britton (whose splendidly engraved volumes of *Cathedral Antiquities* were published almost yearly from 1814 to 1835), and by Thomas Rickman (*An Attempt to Differentiate*...
the Styles of English Architecture, 1819). Carter, Britton, and Rickman were scholars, their works popular, influential, and enduring. Their widely circulated publications aroused the interest of antiquarians, clergymen, builders, and the general public alike. Enthusiasm for Gothic burgeoned and the investigation of ancient English buildings became a replacement for the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century.

Interest in Gothic was neither fleeting nor localised. Largely through the pervasive writings of early nineteenth century scholars, the revival diffused to France, Germany, and North America. Since research on the Gothic revival in France is still in its infancy, the impact of French architectural publications has been little measured. It is certain, however, that Didron's *Annales archéologiques* were a major source of architectural patterns and details. In America at least two volumes on Gothic were issued before the advent of ecclesiology (J. H. Hopkin's *Essay on Gothic Architecture*, 1836; and Edward Shaw's *Rural Architecture*, 1843). Their influence was apparently greatest in New England.

In comparison with the publications of Pugin and the Cambridge ecclesiologists, however, most other works were of only secondary importance. Through his *Contrasts* (1835), *True Principles* (1841), and *Apology* (1843), Pugin seized upon popular sentiments aroused by earlier antiquarians and directed them toward a modern architecture of worship. Pugin's books were well-illustrated and many of his published details (including open timber roofs) were widely copied. It befell the
Cambridge Camden Society, however, to produce publications of lasting, all-pervading importance. Through its journal, the *Ecclesiologist* (1841-1868, paralleled in France by the *Annales archéologiques*), the Camden Society unrelentingly broadcast the rules of "correct" church design, publishing hundreds of approved designs (including model churches for use in colonial and wood environments). The Society's publishing programme began with *A Few Words to Church Builders* (3rd edition, 1841) and continued with *Durandus* (on church symbolism, 1843), *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, the *Handbook of English Ecclesiology* (1847), *Hierugia Anglicana* (1848, enlarged edition 1902-04), *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* (1847), and *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement*. *Durandus* and *Hierugia Anglicana* suggested relationships between immutable Anglican doctrines and the liturgy and architecture of the middle ages. The remaining titles, and the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* in particular (*Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, A Series of Working Designs for the Furniture, Fittings, and Decorations of Churches and their Precincts*), aimed to promote "correct" architectural design. The *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* was especially influential and intended as a reference work for masons, carpenters, sextons, and clergymen. Copies were presented to all colonial bishops. Churches in the Antipodes, Asia, Africa, and North America echoed its designs for lecterns, pulpits, roof crosses, tombstones, porches, lychgates, and altars.
The Camden Society's publishing efforts had three main effects. Firstly, designs for church components (and even entire buildings) were copied (often unaltered) from the Society's publications. Secondly, the long-dormant Gothic style was once again accepted as suitable for nineteenth century needs. Finally, as Gothic became traditional in Victorian Britain, its popularity increased elsewhere, particularly in eastern North America. Ecclesiological principles reached America in the late 1840's and were there publicised by the newly-founded New York Ecclesiastical Society and by its darling, emigrant architect Frank Wills (author of Ancient English Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles..., New York City, 1850).\(^{128}\) The Camden Society's liturgical aims, however, met little popularity in an America of Catholics and Non-conformists. Despite this proviso, many denominations (with the notable exception of the Baptists) adopted the outward essentials of the Gothic style (pointed window openings, crenelations, towers and spires, and naturally finished wood).\(^{129}\)

A new school of North American architects and writers emerged to divest Gothic revivalism of its English, Tractarian vestments. Many designers, such as A. J. Downing (Country Houses, 1841; and Cottage Residences, 1844), A. J. Davis, Upjohn (Upjohn's Rural Architecture), Robinson (Rural Architecture), Calvert Vaux (Villas and Cottages, 1864), and D. T. Atwood (Atwood's Country and Suburban Houses, 1871) re-interpretted the Gothic style and applied it to wooden
domestic buildings. A few included designs for rural, "picturesque" churches in books otherwise devoted to houses, stables, and barns. Designs for Gothic cottages (and possibly, Gothic churches as well) also appeared in nineteenth century housekeeping and agricultural magazines (such as the Albany Cultivator, George Brown's Canada Farmer, the Horticulturalist, and Godey's Lady's Book).

Downing, certainly, advocated Gothic churches for rural America on several occasions (see, for example, the Horticulturalist, March, 1848).

Several publications specifically concerned with church architecture took up where Downing left off. The General Congregational Convention published its Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages in 1853 (New York City). Rev. George Bowler followed with his Church and Chapel Architecture in 1856 (Boston), while J. Coleman Hart issued Designs for Parish Churches in the Style of English Church Architecture in 1857 (Boston). A particularly influential series of Catalogues of Church Plans was published by Benjamin and Max Charles Price at least as early as 1881, and as late as 1907 (Philadelphia and Jersey Highlands).

Bowler's and Price's publications were intended as catalogues, offering designs to suit a variety of tastes and pocket-books. Interested clients could peruse the catalogues, decide on a particular design, and send for a complete set of working drawings. Alternatively, the books could be used simply for inspiration. In either case, the publications of Bowler and the Prices (among others) had a significant impact on church design.
Plate 38. Title page from an influential pattern book of the nineteenth century.

Though Price and others continued to issue catalogues well into the twentieth century, a number of denominations released their own architectural guides as well. In Britain, such publications were produced by agencies of unofficial status (such as the Incorporated Church Building Society, Mowbray & Co., Crockford's, and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge). Among their number were J. T. Micklethwaite's *Occasional Notes on Church Furniture and Arrangement*, H. C. King's *The Chancel and the Altar* (London and Oxford, 1918), and H. H. Bishop's *Architecture: Especially in Relation to Our Parish Churches*. These books put forth little that was innovative. Instead, they gave a semi-official sanction to architectural practices sixty or seventy years old.

In America architectural publications were released mainly (if not exclusively) by Non-conforming denominations. Although they allowed minor alterations in plan, they were essentially conservative. The Southern Baptist Conference, for example, organised an Architectural Department in 1910 and subsequently produced volumes of directives, including P. E. Burrough's *Church and School Buildings* (Nashville, 1916) and *How to Plan Church Buildings* (Nashville, 1926). Similarly, in 1915 the Methodist Episcopal Church founded its own Department of Architecture. Among its publications was H. E. Tralle's *Planning Church Buildings, with Standards: Check List for Committees and Architects* (Philadelphia, 1921). Both Burroughs and Tralle suggested innovative plans (the Sun-
day School Room plan, the Beauchamp plan, and the Akron plan) but solely with the understanding that the audiorium (sanctuary) of a church would remain as tradition decreed. Further, neo-Gothic innovations such as arcades, chancels, altars, crosses, and stained glass were resisted at every turn. Thus, the effect of pattern books, whether in Britain, Canada, or the United States, was to formalise traditional practices, to make standardised pre-prepared plans available to far-flung markets, and to educate.

**Pre-fabrication**

Pre-fabrication played a significant role in shaping the human landscapes of the nineteenth century industrial world. The technique of pre-fabrication was not wholly modern, of course, but its use in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was of unprecedented magnitude. Although intended primarily for domestic and industrial buildings, pre-fabrication was also applied to churches. In Europe, most pre-fabricated buildings were built of iron. In North America iron was used sparingly and rarely. Instead, wood was usually employed, both for churches and residential buildings. North America's first pre-fabricated church was, in fact, of wood (St. Paul's in Halifax, a heavy-timber building of neoclassic design imported from Boston in 1750 at a cost of £1000). Pre-fabricated churches of corrugated and cast iron parts were manufactured as early as 1844 (when an iron church was sent from Britain to Jamaica at a cost of £1000).
Ten years later a firm in Bristol began to advertise iron buildings for a multitude of purposes, including churches. As the century progressed, other manufacturers entered the field. W. Harbrow of London and Humphrey's Ltd. of Dublin, for example, offered pre-fabricated iron buildings for almost every imaginable function. Iron churches were intended mainly as temporary buildings for urban and foreign missions (W. Harbrow offered both new and "secondhand" churches). Hence, the first Oblate churches at Tower Hill (London), Kimberley (1894), Durban (1915), and Krugersdorp (1921) were all built of iron, and replaced when funds permitted.

In America, pre-fabricated churches were usually of wood, but like iron buildings, were intended as instant, short term facilities. When the California gold rush began in the mid-nineteenth century, at least three pre-fabricated wooden churches were sent from the eastern United States. A Methodist church was shipped from Baltimore, a Baptist church from Massachusetts, and a Presbyterian church from New York City. All arrived completely equipped with doors, windows, furniture, and fittings. Similar measures were taken in Canada's Prairie provinces fifty years later. In response to accelerated agricultural settlement, the Church Missionary Society provided over sixty pre-cut churches ("Canterbury Cathedrals") and vicarages ("Lambeth Palaces") for Anglican Prairie parishes.

Despite their several advantages (low cost, completeness, and quick and easy assembly) pre-fabricated buildings were not
always revered. Pre-fabricated buildings were, first of all, standardised. Though few strongly lamented the undermining of regional architectural traditions that standardised buildings engendered, advocates of craft objected to pre-fabrication's lack of inherent feeling. Most objectors, of course, were ritualists (mainly Anglicans and Roman Catholics) who believed that churches should be individualised offerings to God. Then too, pre-fabricated churches were generally inexpensive and consequently lacked prestige. The were, however, good enough for temporary quarters for missions. Though widely used they were very seldom admired.

The Balloon Frame and other Technological Innovations

Of all the technological innovations that influenced North American vernacular construction in the nineteenth century, the balloon frame was undoubtedly the most important. The speed and totality of its acceptance was phenomenal. Initially developed in Chicago in 1833, balloon frame construction spread rapidly throughout the continent, supplanting traditional practices and eventually reaching Europe and the Antipodes. Without the balloon frame, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, and thousands of western boom-towns would have risen very slowly indeed.

Simply put, balloon frames consist of slender, lightweight studding and plates which are nailed instead of tennonned and pegged, and machine-made rather than hand-hewn. Because of their simplicity and lightness, balloon frames can be quickly
and easily erected, even by unskilled labour. In 1865, for example, G. E. Woodward maintained that a man and a boy could build a balloon frame structure unaided. A similar heavy-timber building required the labour of twenty men, some of them highly trained. Further, balloon frames were only 40% as costly as traditional heavy-timber frames.

The development of the balloon frame was spurred by necessity and industrial innovation. Its emergence in the American Middle West was in part contingent upon the absence of large trees suitable for heavy-timber construction. Balloon frame construction was ideally suited to the limited forest resources at hand. Its invention was also aided by early nineteenth century advances in sawmill technology. Balloon frame construction required great volumes of precisely milled boards. The modern techniques employed in factory-like sawmills permitted a further impetus as the price of building nails plummeted (from 25¢ per lb. early in the century to 3¢ per lb. in 1842). Had only expensive hand-wrought nails been available (instead of machine-made nails of steel) the cost of balloon frames would have been prohibitive. Since nails, framing, and sheathing could all be mass produced at reduced costs, balloon frame construction prospered.

Balloon frame construction and mass production had a significant impact on church architecture. Literally tens of thousands of North American churches were built around balloon frame skeletons (the first balloon frame structure ever built was, in fact, a Roman Catholic church in Chicago). The
cheapness of mass produced building materials and the speed of balloon frame construction allowed churches to rise in many embryonic communities that might otherwise have gone without. Mass production also enabled congregations to furnish their churches at minimum expense. Almost every conceivable item required (including pews, altars, lecterns, rostrums, fonts, stained glass, vestments, and so forth) could be purchased through mail order catalogues. Just as pre-fabrication and pattern books standardised church exteriors, catalogues of furnishings standardised interiors.
The Frontier Social and Material Environment

The previous chapter identified some of the principal factors that influenced the church architecture of Europe and eastern North America in the nineteenth century. It is the purpose of this chapter to suggest how these stylistic, doctrinal, and technological precedents influenced the churches of the British Columbian frontier. British Columbia's early vernacular church architecture responded to forces both traditional and modern. The particular way in which it responded, however, was largely influenced by the province's context of frontier settlement. In the mid-nineteenth century, southeastern British Columbia was essentially an empty land. Save for a few fur traders, its sole inhabitants were a few thousand Indians whose numbers were declining and whose culture was decaying. The southern interior was a wilderness little touched by European ways, an area of rugged mountain ranges, deep canyons, turbulent rivers, seemingly endless forests, and vast, semi-arid plateaus. For the most part it was a land bereft of local cultural traditions and practices.¹

British Columbia was opened to settlement by the gold rush of 1858 and later, by the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1886-87). Most of those who peopled the
colony (after 1871, the province) came from stock that was ultimately British. Many immigrated directly from Britain (England in particular). A significant number came from eastern Canada (mainly from Ontario) and of these, many were only one or two generations removed from England, Scotland, or Ulster. A smaller group traced itself to American origins (mainly in New England, the Middle West, and the Far West). Lesser numbers of British Columbian immigrants came from the European mainland and the Orient.

Each of British Columbia's immigrant groups had its own traditions of material folk culture, its own belief systems, and its own *genres de vie*. Had British Columbia been settled by people from a single hearth area, then the settlement patterns and ways of life native to that area might have been replicated in British Columbia (with allowances, of course, for the influence of the local physical environment). But since the province was peopled by settlers with diverse cultural backgrounds, British Columbia's cultural landscapes reflect variety, albeit a variety tempered by industrial standardisation.

British Columbia's early immigrant population came not only from different geographical areas, but from different occupational groups and social classes as well. The province's frontier society was built from the fragments of older, better established orders. Not all classes were represented, and since the social hierarchy was embryonic (and hence partly fluid), men occasionally rose to positions previously unattain-
able. This social mobility intrigued the more conservative. As J. B. Good remarked: "One feature of Colonial life is the frequency with which in our pastoral experience we come upon odd characters both of men and women who find in the greater freedom of these new surroundings room and opportunity for impressing themselves on the community at large." This is not to suggest that old social structures were discarded by British Columbia's pioneers. Society was more fluid certainly, but the rudiments of antecedent hierarchies remained and became increasingly visible and entrenched with the passage of time.

The education, values, and ambitions of early British Columbians varied with their class. The British, Ontarian, American, and to a lesser extent, European working-classes were well represented among Kootenay mine labourers. Many such workers were single, semi-literate, suspicious of authority, and concerned more with their immediate, earthly well-being than with distant, religious goals. The backgrounds of the working-class were varied, for farmers, artisans, and factory workers were all within their ranks. Some were drawn from a traditional peasantry but many more had experienced the social and technological upheavals of the industrial revolution.

British Columbia's early middle-class was mainly British and Ontarian. Most middle-class settlers worked as businessmen, professionals, administrators, or orchardists. Many were well educated and had well defined ambitions. Middle-class settlers hoped to re-establish, on the frontier, the same trusted social orders and institutions that prevailed in their homelands.
In this they received support from the agents of organised religion: Methodist preachers (mainly from Ontario and England), Presbyterian elders (from eastern Canada and Scotland), Anglican priests (initially solely from England, but later from Canada as well), and Roman Catholic priests (from France and Belgium, and subsequently from Ireland and North America).

Those who peopled the British Columbian wilderness were thus a varied group of settlers. Because they came from divergent areas and classes their traditions, values, and aspirations differed. Some were practitioners of pre-industrial crafts but most were familiar with the movements and technology of the industrial age. The churches they built consequently reflect both tradition and modernity, as well as the influences of an isolated (and sometimes inhospitable) physical environment.

In determining how these myriad forces shaped the southern interior's early church architecture, it is advisable to discuss the interplay of tradition and innovation at the scale of building components. Accordingly, the sections that follow consider the four elements of building separately: plan; facades (detail and massing); building materials and construction technology; and interiors (decoration, arrangement, and furnishings).

Plan

The southern interior's earliest churches generally adhered to traditional floor plans. Churchmen seldom experimented with innovative plans or made major adaptations to their old ones. Church floor-plans, when traditional, were usually
reproduced from memory. Some were written down, either by church committees planning a building or by publishers disseminating information. Architectural publications advocating innovative floor plans were not widely used in early British Columbian church construction.

The primary influence upon the church architecture of the nineteenth century was, of course, the Gothic revival. Within the ritualist denominations societies emerged to popularise mediaeval doctrines, liturgies, and architecture. By the time British Columbia began to be settled, Gothic architecture and mediaeval worship were largely accepted by Anglicans and Roman Catholics, though Methodists and Presbyterians viewed such innovations with suspicion. Reactions to the gospel of Pugin, Ruskin, and the Camden Society also varied with geography. Britons and Europeans accepted change more readily than North Americans. Since British Columbia was settled by people from both continents, the province's churches were both innovative and traditional.

British Columbia's earliest Anglican clergymen and settlers came mainly from Britain, the birthplace of ecclesiology. As a result, the province's Anglican churches were planned according to English traditions rediscovered at Cambridge. The Cambridge Camden Society had begun its labours in 1839. Throughout the 1840's and 1850's-- the very years in which British Columbia's first Anglican clerics were maturing-- the Society broadcast its rediscovered "rules" of Christian architecture. Although the Society disbanded in 1868 (ten years after the
first British Columbian gold rush), it revived in 1879 and continues to the present (as a quiet, scholarly organisation). Further, though Pugin died in 1852, Ruskin in 1900, and Morris in 1896, their teachings outlived them, and influenced several succeeding generations.

By 1858 virtually all new British Anglican churches were built to the ecclesiological plan. As the century wore on, Methodist and Presbyterian congregations with ritualist leanings also adopted the plan. In pioneer British Columbia, however, only Anglicans adhered to the plan (and then, only partially). The province's Non-conformists retained their traditional meeting house plans or adopted the American Akron plan. That this should be the case is not altogether surprising. The province's Dissenting clergy and settlers were both drawn from Ontario, an area not then fully converted to ecclesiological goals.

British Columbia's early Anglican clergy were strong advocates of the Gothic style and plan. Fully half their number had taken degrees at Oxford or Cambridge, the homes of the Tractarian and ecclesiological movements. Others were educated at High Church theological colleges attached to great cathedrals (Canterbury, Wells, Lichfield, Durham, and Dublin). Some were probably members of antiquarian societies. Most could not help but be familiar with mediaeval architecture and the laws of ecclesiology.

If the province's early Anglican clergy were fully sympathetic to ecclesiological aims, their ecclesiastical supe-
Plate 40. The Ecclesiological Plan: with nave, chancel, and transepts.

Plate 41. Plan for an American galleried meeting house (of the type used by Non-conformists).
riors were even more enthusiastic. Most of British Columbia's early bishops, archdeacons, and rural deans came from Tractarian backgrounds. Many were strong advocates of mediaeval rituals and architecture. Bishop Hills, for example, had served with Dr. Hook at Leeds (where, as has been noted, Dr. Hook rebuilt St. Peter's Church in accordance with mediaeval plans) and shared his High Church interests. Hills' early assistants, Rev. J. Sheepshanks (also a curate of Hook and later, Bishop of Norwich) and Archdeacon H. P. Wright (a military chaplain and Cambridge graduate) shared his concern. Subsequent leaders of the church in British Columbia-- such as Archdeacon Small (of Lytton), Archdeacon Pentreath (born in the Tractarian Diocese of Fredericton), Bishop Dart (Bishop of New Westminster and Kootenay 1896-1910) and Bishop Doull (of Kootenay, also a curate at Leeds)-- continued the tradition.

To assure that churches were always planned and built correctly, bishops and archdeacons raised the subject at diocesan synods. When the first synods of the Diocese of Columbia met, and subsequently, with the earliest meetings of the synods of New Westminster, Kootenay, and Cariboo, church leaders clearly enunciated the basic needs of the Anglican parish church. Close adherence to the ecclesiological plan consequently occurred wherever a clergyman directed construction, though the initial poverty of frontier congregations sometimes led to omissions.

Churches built by Anglican laymen often departed from the strict ecclesiological plan. As was demonstrated in a
previous chapter, laymen were apt to omit chancels and vestries, and rarely placed porches in their liturgically correct position. Under such circumstances, parish priests either made do with temporary chancels (within the nave) or added chancels to their churches. Vestries were built if needed (and if funds permitted) but porches were seldom re-located.

Churches built by congregations (without close, clerical supervision) date mainly from the 1890's. Before that time, church construction was basically a matter between clergymen and contractors. Early churches were consequently built reasonably correctly, though some had only temporary chancels. With the completion of the C.P.R., settlement accelerated and church construction swelled. Churches were increasingly built by laymen, many of whom were Ontarian or British evangelicals unconverted to the ecclesiological plan. Thus, in the 1890's and early 1900's, British Columbia's Anglican architecture was threatened by Low Church and North American influences. Chancels were omitted, ceilings enclosed, porches rose at the west (in the American neo-classic tradition), and roof pitches were lowered.

At the same time churches built by clergymen adopted North American rather than English proportions. Most churches went unaisled and lacked arcades. Few had towers and some even lacked belfries. In 1900, John Dart, the recently consecrated (1896) Bishop of Kootenay responded to the situation. His main address to the diocesan synod observed: "Church building is going on in the Diocese; let us take care that we build on right
principles, and, so far as our means will permit, in accordance with the best types."\(^1\)\(^2\) Dart then identified the proportions and central components of a correctly built church. His decrees were little different from those of the Camden Society a half century earlier:

"Our old Parish Churches in England are mostly cruciform or triple in their structure. Sometimes they combine both forms. They are long and lofty rather than square and low, with ample kneeling room for all the congregation, and seem mostly to follow in their proportions the one Divine pattern in which the length was as 90, the width 30, and the height 45. There is a nave for the ordinary congregation and for baptism, and the Chancel for the Choir and the celebration of Holy Communion. We cannot improve upon these arrangements."\(^1\)\(^3\)

In the following year it was moved in the synod "That the Bishop be requested to appoint a Diocesan architect, and that the plans of all proposed constructions and alterations of permanent churches...be submitted to the Bishop for his approval before being proceeded with."\(^1\)\(^4\) The motion was carried. A subsequent resolution empowered the diocesan archdeacons to act in the bishop's stead. By 1902 George D. Curtis had been appointed Diocesan Architect.\(^1\)\(^5\) Other dioceses had their own architects (Richard Sharp in New Westminster, R. P. S. Twizell in Cariboo, and J. C. M. Keith in Columbia) but there is no evidence to suggest that their services were exploited fully.\(^1\)\(^6\) While Curtis designed churches in Merritt and Phoenix and the cathedral in Nelson, he probably did little else.\(^1\)\(^7\)

Whether or not Dart's appeals had much impact is perhaps conjectural, for from 1900 until the bishop's death in 1910,
very few churches were built in the diocese. Of those that were built, only a handful were "permanent." Even so, the churches of Arrowhead, Summerland, Grand Forks, and Salmon Arm (all built between 1900 and 1910) probably represent the ecclesiological goals espoused by Bishop Dart. Certainly, in 1903 it was said of Dart's Diocese of New Westminster that even its "smallest building (was) unmistakably a church." Similarly, in 1912 the bishop's successor, A. U. de Pencier suggested that the Dart-influenced St. George's School Chapel was the finest church in the diocese.

Dart's initiatives terminated with his passing. His two successors were both Canadians and a generation younger than their predecessor (diocesan reorganisation had created two bishoprics from Dart's one). Neither of his successors shared Dart's background or ecclesiological fervour (though one, Bishop Doull of Kootenay, shared his interest in ritual). Thus, with Bishop Dart's death, the southern interior's Anglican episcopacy no longer guided architectural principles as once it had. At the same time the influence of English vicars and rectors also declined. British Columbia's new generation of Anglican clergy-men came increasingly from Canada, rather than from Britain. Few Canadian-born clerics had direct experience with mediaeval architecture or knowledge of ecclesiology's intricate laws. The departure of British Columbian Anglican churches from the strict ecclesiological plan (including the frequent omission of chancels, transepts, and southern porches) is probably attributable to these early twentieth century developments.
English ecclesiology influenced the floor plans of early Non-conformist churches only slightly. Instead, Methodist and Presbyterian churches adhered to their own denominational traditions, though drawing their floor plans from several hearth areas. British Columbia's Presbyterian elders and congregations came mainly from two continents. British Columbian Methodists were mainly English and Ontarian. Because nineteenth century Ontarian Methodism was influenced by American developments, British Columbian churches adopted North American innovations as well as English traditions.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Methodist and Presbyterian churches both still supported evangelical principles. Both denominations intended their churches as meeting houses and places of prayer rather than as temples. Their churches were accordingly of manageable size, with unobstructed views and commendable acoustics. Non-conformist churches in Britain were built in the manner suggested by Wren:

"...in our reformed Religion, it should seem vain to make a Parish Church larger than that all who are present can both hear and see. The Romanists, indeed, may build larger Churches, it is enough if they hear the Murmur of the Mass, and see the Elevation of the Host, but ours are are to be fitted for auditories." 25

The Presbyterian First Book of Discipline had earlier required that churches be arranged "with such preparation within as appertaineth as well to the Majesty of God as unto the ease and commodity of the people." 26 Mediaeval churches were re-arranged accordingly as emphasis shifted from an isolated priest and a sacramental altar to an evangelist in a pulpit. Chancels
outlawed by the reforms of Knox were filled with pews, sealed or removed. In order that the Word of God might be better proclaimed, pulpits and reading desks were placed in central locations. Sometimes, if population pressures required it, extra wings were added at right angles to pre-existing churches, thereby forming the traditional "T-plan" churches of rural Scotland. As outmoded rural churches were replaced, this latter type of Presbyterian church became increasingly common in the nearby countryside, though T-plan churches survived in large numbers. Indeed, though the galleried preaching house became popular soon after its introduction, the T-plan was not yet dormant. In 1824 Thomas Telford produced a T-plan design for the Scottish Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Forty-seven churches were built to his specifications.

Methodist churches in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain were similar to Presbyterian preaching houses. They too were intended as meeting houses rather than as sanctuaries. Most were simple rectangles with pews facing a pulpit at one end. Many lacked porches and only the largest meeting houses were galleried.

The ecclesiological movement initially had little impact upon British Non-conformist church plans. After about 1900,
however, Wesleyan architecture became more flexible. Churches were increasingly built as Greek crosses (with the pulpit in one of the arms). By the 1920's many English Methodists had accepted fully the ecclesiological plan (complete with towers, nave, aisles, and chancel), though simple meeting houses continued to be built.\(^{32}\)

Scottish Presbyterians showed little interest in Gothic revivalism until the late nineteenth century. At first only facades were influenced. If Scottish church plans evolved at all during the 1860's, 1870's, and 1880's, it was in the direction of "musical meeting-houses," theatre-like churches with interiors dominated by organ pipes.\(^{33}\) In 1886, however, a Scottish Ecclesiological Society was formed.\(^{34}\) Like the Camden Society, the Scottish Ecclesiologists denigrated the pulpit and encouraged the reintroduction of the mediaeval plan.

With ecclesiology striking on all fronts, it is somewhat surprising that British Columbian Non-conformists remained true to older building plans. As has been seen, most of the province's Methodist and Presbyterian churches were of the meeting house (preaching house) type (though few had galleries). Only a single church followed the T-plan (Lord Aberdeen's church at Benvoulin, symbolically built to resemble the royal church at Crathie, near Balmoral).\(^{35}\) By the late nineteenth century the T-plan was largely obsolete and giving way to the meeting house type.

The conservatism of frontier Methodists and Presbyterians probably stems from two factors. In the first place, many Brit-
ish Non-conformists (perhaps a majority) distrusted ecclesiology. They brought their prejudices to pioneer British Columbia. Secondly, many of the province's Methodists and Presbyterians were Ontarians. In the late nineteenth century eastern Canadian Dissenters still adhered to early Victorian liturgical and architectural traditions. Many had probably never heard of ecclesiology. Those who had, particularly Ulstermen, probably saw the spectre of Popery before them and resisted any innovation.  

The province's Non-conformist church plans were influenced more by American movements than by English ecclesiology. In the late nineteenth century Canadian and American Dissenters were on very good terms with one another. American Protestantism had long been noted for its non-innovative Puritanism. Hence, when American Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians adopted the Akron, Beauchamp, and Sunday School plans, Canadian Non-conformists sometimes followed the lead. Nineteenth century American floor plans were not radical departures from traditional plans. They simply retained the trusted meeting house as their nucleus and added auxiliary meeting rooms as wings.

Akron plan churches were more popular with Methodists than with Presbyterians, and more common on the coast than in the interior (as suggested in an earlier chapter). That many Akron plan churches were built in or near Victoria and Vancouver is not surprising. Urbanised areas were fully exposed to industrial innovations while the southern interior was somewhat isolated. When Akron plan churches were built in the southern
interior they were generally copied from published sets of plans (including those supplied through the catalogues of Benjamin Price). While single-unit meeting houses could be built from memory, Akron plan churches were less traditional and less ingrained. Recourse to architectural publications was probably essential to their construction on the frontier.

English ecclesiology and American innovations influenced the province's Roman Catholic church plans only slightly. Oblate missionaries followed their own building traditions. Their architecture in British Columbia derived from the French Gothic revival, not from Oxford or Cambridge. Though some Oblates read Ruskin and knew the work of Pugin, most drew their inspiration from French sources only: Chateaubriand, Didron, Viollet-le-Duc, and others.39

British Columbia's Oblate floor plans resemble predecessors in thirteenth century France (though they lacked the side aisles, apses, chevets, and lateral altars common in mediaeval buildings). The mediaeval plan (consisting essentially of nave, front-central tower, chancel, and sacristy) had many supporters in nineteenth century France.40 The plan was popular among French ecclesiastical architects and championed by Didron's Annales archéologiques.41 In the late 1800's many French churches, though by no means all, were built in the mediaeval manner.

Oblate Superiors-General did not require that overseas missionaries build in any particular style. Instead, such decisions were left to local superiors, if they were made at all. In the British Columbian case, architectural instructions probably
came from Bishops d'Herbomez and Durieu. D'Herbomez and Durieu were to some extent mediaevalists, firm believers in the Génie du Christianisme. Both hoped to revive the glories of mediaeval Catholicism. Their adoption of the mediaeval plan was doubtless part of a greater scheme. D'Herbomez and Durieu both saw frontier British Columbia, with its large Indian population, as a potential City of God on earth. Accordingly, Oblate missionaries evangelised and baptised the natives and attempted the creation of model Christian villages.

Episcopal decisions and decrees were initially felt at regional mission centres (in Fort St. James, Williams Lake, Kamloops, Okanagan Mission, St. Eugene, and St. Mary's Mission). In each of the centres local superiors translated dictates into action. Because each local superior was in constant contact with his fellows and obeyed his bishop unquestioningly, episcopal decrees were uniformly understood and implemented. Thus, when local superiors or their missionaries built a church they followed certain rules. Builders were free to choose Romanesque, Gothic, or Classical motifs, but they had little choice of plan. Because of this arrangement, virtually all the province's Oblate churches follow a single plan, regardless of when and where they were built.

To ensure that churches were built as desired, Oblate superiors either supervised construction personally or drew up sets of plans. White and Indian congregations were subject to the same scrutiny. Neither had difficulty in following clerical instructions. That native congregations could build
on a par with Europeans often surprised outside observers. Catholic priests, however, had long recognised the Indians' imitative skills and wood-working abilities. Even as early as 1842 Father Demers allowed native builders to work from hand-drawn plans (though at this early date the Indians were building crude log chapels rather than Oblate mission churches). Four decades later, Oblate priests left the Indians with more complicated plans—"churches with sacristy, sanctuary, nave, and porch." Native builders generally followed their instructions closely, for as Bishop Durieu noted, "les sauvages n'ont pas le génie de l'invention, mais ils ont à un haut degré celui de l'imitation." The standard Oblate plan lasted only as long as its advocates lived. Bishop Durieu died in 1899. His missionary system crumbled soon after. Secular priests assumed control of European parishes while English-speaking Oblates replaced retiring French missionaries to the Indians. A few local superiors (such as Fathers Le Jeune and Coccola) laboured until the 1920's, though they built few churches after about 1910. With their passing, the last vestiges of Durieu's vision faded. Churches were built to the individual tastes of clergymen and congregations, for parochial (secular) priests enjoyed greater freedom than their Oblate predecessors. The province's parochial Catholic churches (described earlier) clearly reflect this freedom.

**Facades: Detail and Massing**

Church facades in the southern interior closely resemble antecedents in Europe and eastern North America. Since early
British Columbia had no indigenous (white) architecture of her own, traditions from hearth areas naturally re-emerged on the frontier. Church builders were eager to re-establish familiar settings for worship and often imitated antecedent churches from memory. The closer a facade resembled antecedent architecture the better it was judged to be. Facade arrangement was, of course, partly determined by floor plans (since massing is more or less a three-dimensional expression of plan). Because clergymen strongly advocated traditional floor plans, facade innovations were limited.

When facade innovations did occur, they were usually attributable to an absence of clerical supervision. Congregations were not as conscious of liturgical propriety as were their ministers and sometimes (albeit rarely) departed from the strict, traditional practices advocated by the clergy. Exposure to architectural pattern books also led to innovation. Many such publications simply formalised long-followed practices. Others, such as Benjamin Price's, popularised church-types and stylistic interpretations of more recent origin. Were it not for architectural publications, the few innovative church types that did reach the province might have come at a much later date.

The church facades of the southern interior differed from their antecedents more in stylistic detail than in massing. British Columbian churches were simplified versions of antecedent models. The province's builders generally worked in wood, though their models were often stone or brick. Since wood and masonry have different structural qualities, designs executed
in one medium cannot be replicated in the other. In rendering structural components from stone to wood, depth, texture, and detail are inevitably lost. Thus, the churches of British Columbia are in some ways paler reflections of their antecedents. At the same time construction in wood presented new decorative possibilities. Asher Benjamin, A. J. Downing, and Calvert Vaux had already shown how the architectural detail of European buildings could be whimsically re-interpretted by North American carpenters. Though spires and parapets in frontier British Columbia might be erected at a reduced scale, builders had ample opportunity to create innovative details.

The exterior massing of the province's Anglican churches was highly traditional. Many of British Columbia's early Anglican churches, with their naves, chancels, southwestern porches, and western towers or bell-cotes, were reproductions in wood of mediaeval English buildings. Few were exact replicas but most followed the suggestions of Pugin, the ecclesiologists, and the Anglican hierarchy. Though frontier church builders sometimes departed from the strict rules of ecclesiology (by omitting chancels, porches, belfries, or vestries), their buildings were usually "corrected" by clergymen afterward.

As has been suggested above, the province's early Anglican clergy were often enthusiastic advocates of ecclesiological principles. Many were undoubtedly familiar with the broad canons of ecclesiology. Certainly, the British Columbian clergy reserved their highest praise for those churches best exemplifying the ecclesiological ideal. Victoria's second Cathedral, for example,
was judged by H. P. Wright (Archdeacon of Columbia) as "thoroughly ecclesiastical in design...better far than many churches of its size in England." The building's facade and interior arrangements both conformed to ecclesiological rules. Ecclesiologically "incorrect" churches received few adulations. When, in 1880, A. W. Sillitoe (first Bishop of New Westminster) considered his cathedral "he was indeed (and not unjustly) severe," for the building rejected ecclesiology's most essential rules.

No evidence exists that the province's bishops recommended any single English church as a model for British Columbian builders to copy. The only bishop forcibly to assert his will on church designers was John Dart. In addressing the Synod of New Westminster in 1899, Bishop Dart suggested that his projected cathedral in New Westminster could serve as a model for future parish churches:

"...the Cathedral, the centre of diocese, should correspond in structure with its position,...it should present a pattern, after which, as far as circumstances be permitted, other churches might be designed,...it should bear emphatic witness to the principle, that only the very best of its kind in architecture, music, and equipment is worthy of being offered to Almighty God." 56

Bishop Dart's cathedral was never built. The province's church builders were thereby deprived of the guidance it might have offered. 57

During 1844 to 1849, the Ecclesiologist offered at least five English churches for imitation in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. 58 Of these, all but one
were large, ambitious structures, and far beyond the means (or needs) of frontier colonists. Only the small and modest Church of St. Michael, Long Stanton (Cambridgeshire) was suitable for the pioneer context. St. Michael's consisted of a nave with aisles, a chancel, a southwestern porch, and a western, gabled bell-cote. The church had a single-sloped roof, lacked a clerestory, and had an eastern Trinity window. Ecclesiologically correct, St. Michael's was a realistic model for Anglicans overseas.

Several of British Columbia's early Anglican churches (Lillooet, Yale, Hope, Port Douglas, Sapperton, Saanich, Metchosin, and Cedar Hill) resemble St. Michael's Church (they are described fully in a previous chapter). That published elevations of St. Michael's Church at least indirectly influenced British Columbian builders seems quite probable, although the paths of influence are not as clear. The initial impetus, of course, came from the Camden Society. After the collapse of the Camden Society in 1868, British Columbian churches ceased to be built to the Long Stanton model. Whether this was a matter of cause and effect or simply coincidental is uncertain.

Many early British Columbians were undoubtedly familiar with the Long Stanton model. The military, professional architects, or Anglican clergymen may have transferred the design to the colony. The Camden Society had earlier presented copies of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica (1847 and 1856) and tracings of St. Michael's, Long Stanton to several colonial bishops. George Hills was possibly among the recipients. Alternatively,
the Royal Engineers may have popularised the design. Several of the early colonial churches (Sapperton, Hope, and Lillooet) have long been ascribed to the Royal Engineers. Since the regiment was entrusted with construction throughout the Empire (including roads, bridges, public buildings, and churches), some of its officers probably knew the Long Stanton model. Whether they, the clergy, or professional architects (two of the churches are sometimes attributed to the firm of Wright and Saunders) implemented the Long Stanton design remains uncertain. In any case, the Anglican clergy strongly admired St. Michael's descendants. Archdeacon Wright called Christ Church, Hope "a pretty little building--simple but quite ecclesiastical." To Bishop Hills the church was "convenient and in good taste." More importantly, Bishop Sillitoe considered St. Mary's, Sapperton "a model of what all wooden churches might be and ought to be."

After about 1868 British Columbian Anglican churches ceased to be based on the Long Stanton model. Each new facade expressed the tastes of its builders, congregation, or cleric. The decline of the Long Stanton type was due to three major factors. In the first place, the Camden Society dissolved in 1868. Though its principles outlived it (and though it revived in 1879 on a reduced scale), no means existed through which its supporters could recommend particular designs. Secondly, few churches of any description were built during the province's first period of economic depression (the late 1860's, the 1870's, and the early 1880's). When churches began to
Plate 42. Church of St. Michael, Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire. A church offered by the Camden Society as one worthy of imitation overseas.

Plate 43. St. Mary's Anglican Church, Sapperton. The church has much in common with Long Stanton.
be built again in the 1890's the Long Stanton plan was over four decades old. Tastes had probably changed in the interim. The Long Stanton model lacked its former freshness and appeal. Finally, by the 1890's a new generation of settlers and clergymen had arrived on the scene. While they adhered to the broad tenets of ecclesiology, the specific recommendations of the first Ecclesiological Society were either unknown or of little interest to them.

The individuality of post-colonial churches is partly attributable to the absence of a single compelling model for imitation. Church builders based their facades on memories of hearth area buildings instead. Because they worked from memory, facade details were invariably lost. Further, since many facades were planned without ministerial guidance, facades reflected North American influences. Many of the early twentieth century churches described above--with their western porches, chancel-less naves, missing belfries, and squarish proportions--are due to these influences.

In the transfer from the old world to the new British Columbia's Anglican churches lost much exterior detail. Lofty, polygonal spires became squat and unambitious pyramidal roofcaps. Full peels of five to seven bells were replaced by smaller, single bells. Wooden porches, approved by the Ecclesiologist for "their elegant and picturesque effect," were enclosed (they were open in Britain) and made less showy. Crockets, gargoyles, water-spouts, parapets, pinnacles, hood moulds, and buttresses were all but totally abandoned.
Whether such losses simply reflect frontier simplification is uncertain. Other types of Late Victorian buildings used wooden detail far more extensively. Houses, for example, often had Gothic bargeboards, turned ballusters, fretted brackets, and decorative shingle-work. The province's church facades were surprisingly stark in comparison. Significantly, none strongly resembled the polychromatic facades advocated by High Victorian Gothicists.

The external simplicity of Anglican churches is probably attributable to settler origins and the moderating influence of clergymen and architects. Most of the province's Anglicans were, of course, English. In coming from a building environment of stone, brick, and iron, few were aware of the decorative possibilities of wood. Clergymen, on the other hand, were frequently warned of the dangers of building with wood. No one disputed that all churches ought to be built in the Gothic style, but several writers demanded that wood not imitate stone. Writing in the Ecclesiologist in 1848, one William Scott suggested that if wooden buildings were indeed necessary, their decoration ought not to mimic Gothic forms (hood moulds, pinnacles, and buttresses) originally executed in masonry. Scott was perhaps echoing the thoughts of Pugin whose True Principles maintained:

"The two great rules for design are these: 1st there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building."
In Pugin's eyes imitation and the denial of the nature of materials was both deceitful and unChristian, perhaps even blasphemous. Pugin's pronouncement found support in the Camden Society and in the ever-popular John Ruskin (one of Ruskin's Seven Lamps was, after all, the "Lamp of Truth"). Many Anglican clerics were undoubtedly aware of these arguments, for they resounded not only in England but in the colonies as well. In 1898, Robert M. Fripp, a British Columbian architect condemned his province's sham Gothic woodwork and suggested:

"...a healthy regard for the appropriate utilization of materials and a stern refusal to countenance a cheap and flimsy mockery of detail...will do much to lift us out of the abyss into which we are fallen." 71

Fripp's sentiments were shared by Bishop Dart and his clergy. Their statements and resolutions in the diocesan synods confirm this.

The southern interior's Oblate facades were no less traditional than their Anglican counterparts. Since Oblate priests employed a single floor plan in building their churches, one might have expected uniform facades as well. That Oblate facades shared a common massing--of nave, front-central tower, chancel, or sacristy--has already been demonstrated. In one sense then, Oblate facades were all alike, differing little either temporally or regionally. In terms of style, however, they varied widely.

Three regional styles and one regional aggregation of Oblate town and mission churches have been identified: the Boundary-Kootenay style, the Fraser-Lillooet style, the Okana-
gan-Similkameen style, and the Thompson-Nicola aggregation. Each regional grouping was spawned by a particular central mission. Priests from St. Eugene, for example, built all the churches comprising the Boundary-Kootenay style, while clerics from Kamloops (St. Louis Mission) designed the churches of the Thompson and Nicola Valleys. Okanagan-Similkameen churches were supervised from Okanagan Mission (Mission of the Immaculate Conception), Fraser-Lillooet churches from St. Mary's Mission (at Mission).  

Each regional style or aggregation originated with a single priest or lay brother. Unlike Protestant missionaries, Oblate priests usually devoted their entire adult lives to service in a single mission field. Postings to central mission stations tended to be long. A single Oblate might spend several decades in one part of the province. Since particular priests or brothers were entrusted with church construction (regional superiors often oversaw the work) through many years, and since their tastes were apparently constant, distinct churches emerged in each mission district. Regional styles sometimes outlived their creators, for mission staffs were very conservative. Father Charles Pandosy died in 1891, yet even in 1914 Okanagan churches were still being built in the style he began.

Only the Oblate Congregation built regionally distinct churches. Protestant churches were individually designed, without reference to regional norms. Their diversity resulted from the Protestant missionary system. Unlike Oblate priests,
Anglican and Non-conformist ministers enjoyed considerable freedom of action. Few remained in the province for any length of time and none were beholden to local superiors. The Protestant system was less authoritarian. When bishops and mission boards gave directions, scope was left for innovation. In the Protestant context churches were built by individual congregations or clergymen. Few ministers oversaw construction of more than one or two churches. Though churches generally conformed to broad denominational guidelines, conditions forbade the development of regional styles.

Particularly early churches sometimes served as models for subsequent construction by Oblate builders. The New Westminster churches of St. Charles (Indian) and St. Peter (white cathedral) were both built in 1861. Their facades were copied throughout the Fraser-Lillooet missionary district (headquartered at St. Mary's Mission at Mission). Okanagan-Similkameen churches were modelled on Father Pandosy's central church at Okanagan Mission (1884). Designs of Boundary-Kootenay churches were apparently based on those of churches at St. Eugene and Fort Steele (both 1879). Thompson-Nicola churches, a diverse group of buildings, had no single prototype. Their facade characteristics reflect the varying tastes of their builders (Fathers Le Jeune, Michel, and others).

Though priests often wielded hammer and saw themselves, they sometimes entrusted congregations with construction. The integrity of local styles was ensured by the use of hand-drawn plans and by the influence of prototypes. In 1880, for example,
Plate 44. St. Peter's Oblate Church in New Westminster. The first Oblate church in the Fraser-Lillooet area.

Plate 45. St. Mary's Oblate Mission Church. Okanagan-Similkameen churches resemble St. Mary's.
Father Le Jacq reported on building activity in the northern interior:

"Il y a seize villages dans le district, répartis en six centres de réunion...Ils se proposent de bâtir dans les centres de réunion des chapelles convenables assez grande pour contenir la population, et cela, sur la modèle de la chapelle que nous venons de construire à la mission. En retournant chez eux après la réunion de Noël les différents chefs ont emporté un petit plan tracé par le R.P. Blanchet; ils se proposent d'équarir les grosses pièces de bois et les réunir sur place avant la fin d'hiver." 80

A few years later Bishop Durieu described one of these churches (Stony Creek):

"Nous avions devant nos yeux la parfaite reproduction, dans les dimensions restreintes, de la grande église de Notre-Dame de Bonne Esperance du lac Stuart, bâtie sous la direction du R.P. Blanchet, excellente architecte." 81

Few churches (as has been seen) were exact replicas of their prototypes, but within each district facade characteristics were generally similar. Town and mission churches and reunion centre churches all relied on the same models (though reunion churches were themselves prototypes in several regions). 82

The ultimate source of Oblate church facades probably lay within the memories of individual priests. The congregation's missionaries came from several areas of France (including Champaign, Provence, Lyonnais, Finisterre, Corsica, Brittany, Artois, Maine, and Auvergne). 83 Apart from attending the Oblate seminaries in L'Osier, Nancy, and Autun, the order's priests were not always well travelled. Neither were their educations rounded. Even in the industrialising France of the latter nineteenth century, priests probably remembered local archi-
tectural traditions. Thus, the Flamboyant Gothic of Fraser-Lillooet facades may reflect Father Fouquet's memories of his native Champaign. Similarly, Breton facades may have influenced Father Le Jeune's construction in the Thompson and Nicola Valleys. This is not to suggest that all Oblate churches were transmitted by memory. Irish Oblates knew Pugin's work well. Like other English-speaking missionaries, many had access to published sets of plans. Published elevations may indeed have been used by British Columbian Oblates, though probably only for inspiration. Since most of the province's earliest Oblate missionaries were French (and somewhat traditional), North American published designs had only a limited impact.

Oblate facades display far more decorative detail than churches of other denominations. The Gothic detail of Fraser-Lillooet churches, for example, has no parallel among Anglican or Non-conformist churches. The same could be said of the classical pediments, pilasters, and dentils of the Okanagan-Similkameen district. That French Oblate priests were so skilled in carpentry is not as curious as might be thought. French Oblates had long been familiar with construction in wood, for members of the order were working in Oregon by 1847 (about a decade before their removal to British Columbia). Experiences gained by early missionaries were transmitted to those arriving later. In some instances priests learned their skills from paid white carpenters. Two of the southern interior's principal church builders (Fathers Le Jeune and Coccola), for example,
learned carpentry while working with the builders of the Kamloops residential school. Priests, in turn, taught their Indians how to build. The province's missionaries had long been aware of the native's wood-working skills and had little difficulty in turning them toward building. As the Anglican vicar B. Appleyard reported in 1899:

"The Indian is a born carpenter; as a child he takes to tools as a duck takes to water; whatever we see around us bears witness to his skill...(his) faculty for imitating and picking up practical knowledge is wonderful; anything (he sees) done (he) will reproduce without trouble." 87

The decorative detail on Oblate mission churches derives in part from the skills of Indian artisans.

Indians, priests, and white congregations had similar reasons for producing extravagant facades. All wanted to glorify God. For white congregations, a decorative church was a statement of piety and an indication of material progress. For Oblate priests such facades pointed toward success, elevated the heart, and ridiculed the Protestants. 88 In Indian eyes, exterior decoration was a measure of faith and commitment. Villages competed to see which could build the finest facade. In 1891, for example, Father Charles Marchal reported from the northern Cariboo: "Tous les camps veulent avoir une église, et ils la veulent, disent-ils, plus belles que celle d'Alcali-Lake." 89 Village rivalries approached the ridiculous. In 1890 Father Marchal led the Shuswap tribes to a reunion at Sechelt, site of a grand reunion church. The Sugar Cane Band was particularly moved and resolved to replace their already impressive
church. As Father Le Jacq reported in 1896:

"Ils avaient déjà une église assez présentable pour le pays; mais ce qu'ils avaient vu chez les Sisheles, ce qu'ils virent à Alkali Lake, leur ouvrit les yeux; ils se dirent entre eux: 'Notre église n'est pas digne du bon Dieu, n'est pas digne de servir de demeure à Jésus-Euchariste.' Il fut donc résolu, dans une assemblée générale de tout le village, de bâtir une nouvelle église." 90

Without such rivalry Oblate facades would still have been decorative, but by no means as elaborate as they were.

In comparison with Oblate churches, the province's Non-conformist facades were very sober indeed. Both Methodist and Presbyterian builders followed traditions distrustful of symbolism and display. To these traditions they remained true, even on the frontier.

British Columbian Dissenters were heirs to Puritanical creeds which identified beauty "and idolatry to be nearly akin."91 The poverty of exterior detail on Non-conformist churches, and the relative simplicity of their exterior massing derives from this conception. In striving for simplicity, the province's Non-conformists rejected all but the least offensive aspects of Gothic revival architecture. British Columbian Dissenters were thus even more conservative than their counterparts in Britain. Eastern Canadian Methodists were unambiguous in their condemnation of the Oxford and Cambridge Movements, in 1860 labelling Puseyism "the most deadly enemy to vital godliness in the Established Church of England."92 Subsequent judgements were less vitriolic but nonetheless warned of the dangers of a ritualist architecture. Gothic might be "the
noblest and grandest architecture the world (had) ever seen," indicative of "the awe and mystery and sublime emotions of the Northern soul," awakening "deep echoes in the soul, as no classic or Renaissance architecture ever" could, but it was inappropriate for evangelical worship. In 1884 the *Canadian Methodist Magazine* suggested:

"the thousand mission services among the poor in lowly chapels, and 'tabernacles,' and 'conventicles,' are the truer hope for... moral regeneration...than stately pageants in cathedral fanes."  

Presbyterian opinion was only slightly more liberal, but it too feared mystery, art, and ritual.

The eastern Canadian and British Columbian rejection of ecclesiological facades and Gothic ornamentation was partly impelled by contemporary American writings. The Rev. George Bowler, for example, a Non-conformist minister turned architect, designed for congregations "who worship not Art, but God." Similarly, the author of *Atwood's Country and Suburban Houses* suggested that "humility and simplicity should be the ruling thought in all...rural chapels, in the arrangement of their proportions, and in their decorations." American writers were concerned more with functionalism than symbolism (and apparently needless ornamentation). Their designs and rhetoric display interest in acoustics, heating, lighting, drainage, and ventilation. The simplicity of the southern interior's Non-conformist facades (and the Methodist preoccupation with good ventilation) stems at least indirectly from practices in the United States.
American architectural sentiments reached British Columbia through settlers from Ontario and the Maritimes. Since eastern Canadian Dissenters had Georgian architectural traditions (like their American fellows), many feared not only the evocative ornamentation of Gothic, but its hidden symbolism as well. Their Puritanism was tempered only slightly by immigrants from Britain (by 1900 many British Dissenters had accepted neo-Gothic plans, massing, and detail). Even in 1926 eastern Canadian Non-conformists warned of the dangers of Gothic architecture. According to the United Church's Committee on Architecture for the Presbytery of Montreal:

"It should be borne in mind that the affinity between Reformed Christianity and the main stream of Mediaeval Christianity is slender; consequently the elements constituting the United Church of Canada have little immediate concern with Mediaevalism and the Gothic culture." 98

The squarish proportions of British Columbia's Non-conformist churches, their omission of transepts and chancels, and the absence of all but the simplest Gothic detail, reflect this continuing sympathy with traditions from eastern Canada and the eastern United States. Only in their windows and occasionally in their belfries did British Columbian churches embrace the architectural detail of British Non-conformity.

As has been seen, most of the southern interior's Dissenting churches were traditional meeting houses. None were massed in the ecclesiological tradition though one (the Vice-Regal church at Benvoulin) was modelled on a T-plan prototype. Those few facades that departed from traditional massing were
influenced by American innovations, including the Akron plan (most Akron plan churches were by virtue of their floor plans two-winged rather than one). Unlike Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, Non-conformist buildings were often produced from pattern books. Salmon Arm's first Methodist church, for example, conforms to design no. 103A in Benjamin Price's Catalogue of Church Plans. Methodist facades at Sumas and Richmond were built to designs no. 19A and no. 109. Presbyterian churches in Fort Steele and Midway followed pattern no. 1A and no. 234. Other churches doubtless derived their exterior designs from other publications. Methodist churches at Hedgeman's Corner, Mt. Ida, and Maple Bay, for example, are all identical. Since each was built by a different minister, published plans must surely have been used.

At the provincial scale, the use of pattern books led neither to standardisation nor to regionally distinct styles. In the first place, there were far too many patterns available (in 1907 Benjamin Price alone offered a choice of more than 270 designs), and only a fraction of them were in fact used. No single design proved more popular than the others that were used. Secondly, the Non-conformist mission system prevented both standardisation and the regionalisation of styles. Methodist and Presbyterian churches were built by both congregations and individual clergymen. Few ministers stayed in a single area for more than a half-dozen years and none built more than one or two churches (many churches were in fact begun by Ontarian theological students during their summer breaks).
Plate 46. Design No. 103A from Benjamin Price's catalogue of plans.
Plate 48. Richmond Methodist Church (Minoru Chapel).
Perspective No. 109. Price, $15.00.

Brick Veneer. Auditorium, 31 x 41 feet, 180 seats; inclined floor. Class room, 15 x 27 feet, 55 chairs. Auditorium, 33 x 44 feet, 210 seats; inclined floor. Class room, 15 x 24 feet, 65 chairs.

Frame. Auditoriums, 30 x 40 feet, 20 x 45 feet, 22 x 40 feet, 32 x 45 feet, 180 to 250 seats; inclined floor. Class room, 15 x 21 feet, 60 chairs.

Rooms connect by folding doors or rolling partitions. Heated by furnace in cellar. Walls, 14 feet. Ceiling, 20 feet high, decorated with wood work. Tower, 9 x 9 feet, 60 feet high.

Approximate cost, $2500 to $3000.

Please read pages 2 and 3.

Plate 49. Design No. 109 from Price's catalogue of plans.
Since mission boards gave little specific direction either to congregations or to missionaries, many churches were built from memory and were consequently unique.

**Building Materials and Construction Technology**

With very few exceptions, the southern interior's church builders adopted the construction technology of modern North America and abandoned the pre-industrial crafts of Europe. To a certain extent, the province's builders also discarded distinctively European industrial technologies. European building materials were also abandoned, for stone, brick, and iron were far too costly for use by pioneers. Most British Columbian churches were built of wood, and of these, virtually all were balloon frame structures.

The balloon frame's popularity in early British Columbia stems from factors both environmental and technological. Firstly, wherever they were, the province's pioneers had access to wood. Forests were all around. When a settler built he often felled trees on his own lot for lumber. Secondly, because of its very abundance, wood was the cheapest building material available. Congregations owning woodlots often built at little cost, sending logs to mills and obtaining lumber in exchange. Even if a congregation had no logs of its own, milled lumber could be bought from the nearest sawmill at little cost. Affluent parishioners or sympathetic businessmen sometimes donated lumber. Finally, balloon frame construction was efficient. Buildings could be raised in a matter of days by workers with little skill or experience. A single skilled carpenter--
to the traditions of Asher Benjamin, Calvert Vaux, and a host of builders' magazines--could supervise construction. Sets of published plans and mass circulated guides to construction made building all the easier.

The balloon frame virtually eliminated (at least temporarily) the building traditions and crafts of many British Columbian settlers. Heavy timber construction, for example, was abandoned entirely by Ontarians (save in their barns) and used only briefly by the English. Similarly, despite the presence of a few Oblate priests from Quebec, pièce sur pièce construction was limited to a very few early churches in Oregon. The log cabin technology of the North American frontier--possibly introduced by the Swedes, Danes, and Germans of the Middle Atlantic states--lasted longer (and spread more widely), but it too disappeared as the balloon frame prospered.

The merits of the balloon frame rendered unnecessary a pre-industrial log technology. Construction with logs occurred mainly in places where congregations were exceptionally poor. Hence, as has been seen, log construction was largely confined to Indian churches, and then, only to the earliest ones. As roads, railways, steam-boats, and portable sawmills proliferated, milled lumber became more widely available, and log construction faded. Balloon frame structures were generally more expensive than those of log, but they were much to be preferred. Log buildings were small, dark, and rough. Timber buildings were larger, brighter, warmer, and rather more elegant. Few white congregations deliberately chose log churches when lumber was
available. White Catholics never built with log. Methodists and Presbyterians inevitably preferred frame buildings to log ones. Anglicans, however, were sometimes enamoured by the picturesqueness of log facades and built accordingly (as at Sorrento, for example).

Over 90\% of the southern interior's churches were balloon frame structures. Their numbers, however, do not necessarily mean they were popular. Many builders simply considered them expedient. Anglicans in particular judged wood of any sort "defective and inferior," fit only for temporary churches in the colonies.\(^{108}\) For many Anglican clergymen, construction in wood was a lamentable departure from English traditions and a denial of the Gothic spirit. As William Scott wrote in the Ecclesiologist in 1848: "It is obvious that the prevalence of flat, horizontal lines in both the frame church and log church is fatal to the great principle of Christian architecture, its verticality."\(^{109}\) Curiously, Non-conformists refrained from uttering similar sentiments. Methodists and Ontarians from Ontario had long been familiar with wood construction (log, heavy timber, and balloon frame) and probably considered it normal and sometimes even permanent. Similarly, Oblate builders often made concessions to local environments, adapting European forms to hyperborean and tropical environments.\(^{110}\)

The Ecclesiologist first approached the question of wooden churches a decade before British Columbia's first gold rush. Realising that churches had to be built "in poor places, deficient in materials, quarries, and roads,... just as they are
required in Canadian forests, or at Newfoundland fishing stations," the Camden Society attempted to establish guidelines for construction in wood. Writer William Scott suggested that wooden churches ought to maintain their structural integrity and not imitate stone. The *Ecclesiologist*'s editors agreed, and in 1849-56 publicised R. C. Carpenter's designs for a wooden church for Tristan da Cunha (New Westminister's first Holy Trinity Church resembled Carpenter's published elevations). Speculation about correct construction with wood was, however, not one of the Society's major interests. The *Ecclesiologist* soon abandoned its line of inquiry and directed its attentions solely toward masonry.

The Society's interest in masonry was shared by Anglican clergymen and congregations. Of all British Columbia's pioneer Christians, only the Anglicans longed to replace their wooden churches with more substantial buildings of stone. When, for example, Victoria's cathedral burned in 1869, Bishop Hills solicited plans for a stone replacement from architect Benjamin Ferrey (friend to Pugin and architect to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts). Construction of a stone cathedral was delayed for over half a century, but clergymen continued to express hopes for stone churches in Victoria and other centres (including Summerland, Cranbrook, Penticton, Kamloops, and Oyama). The Anglicans eventually built more churches of stone than all other denominations combined. Although Non-conformist writers on architecture (such as Egleston and Bowler) extolled the virtues of masonry, Methodists and Presbyterians remained unmoved.
Similarly, though Oblates in France, England, and Ireland wrote rapturously of their achievements with stone, British Columbian Catholics continued to build with wood. 116

Temporal variations of exterior building materials have already been discussed in a previous section. After an initial period of log construction (experienced in only a few areas) and heavy timber construction, churches were built increasingly around light-weight balloon frames. A few wealthy congregations (mainly Protestant) eventually built churches of stone or brick. Frame churches were built throughout the study period (1858-1925) and in all areas of the province. Their exterior finishes varied through time, reflecting changes in technology and taste. The clapboards and boards and battens of the earliest churches were quickly replaced by American-invented shiplap. Shiplap was preferable to earlier sheathing materials since its slots and tongues made exteriors weather-tight. It continued in use well beyond 1925, though it was sometimes covered with other materials. After about 1900 other sheathings became available as polite architectural concepts infiltrated the vernacular zone. The extensive use of shingles derived from late nineteenth century American practices. 117 Stucco and half-timbering emerged slightly later (after about 1910) and reflected the domestic and Tudor revivals of contemporary Britain. 118 That these latter two sheathings were popular with Anglicans is not surprising. Stucco and half-timbering disguised the wooden frames of the province's churches and created facades that looked rather English.
British Columbia was a distant colony in a far-flung empire, but her outside connections ensured exposure to the innovations of the industrial world. If British Columbians could not manufacture their needs locally, steamboats and clippers could carry goods from San Francisco, New York, and London. Later, transcontinental railways and telegraphs cemented links with North America's industrial heartland. If British Columbians required tools, nails, or sawmill components they had only to place an order. Railways, inland waterways, and roads could carry freight from coastal ports to most centres in the interior. Hence, when Presbyterians in Ashcroft and Anglican Indians in Spences Bridge decided to build churches and found materials locally unavailable, lumber milled in Vancouver was brought by the C.P.R. For many communities, connections with the coast were probably more direct than those with closer settlements inland. At any rate, the purchase of lumber, hardware, and other supplies from dealers in New Westminster and Vancouver was not at all uncommon. Several manufacturers made a point of pursuing ecclesiastical customers. Among their number were several lower mainland firms, including B.C. Mills Timber and Trading, Brunette Sawmills, and Robertson and Hackett. All advertised in Roman Catholic periodicals. Thus, in 1896, when Father Blanchet completed his church at the Sugar Cane Reservation, he ordered his materials from firms on the coast. As his superior, Father Le Jacq noted:

"...les bardeaux, les clous, les portes, la peinture, etc., etc....Toutes ces affaires, il faut les commander à la côte, c'est-a-dire..."
Similar orders were doubtless placed by dozens of congregations drawn from all four denominations.

With precisely milled lumber so readily available it is perhaps surprising that pre-industrial crafts survived at all. Generally, craft re-emerged only when isolation and extreme poverty necessitated it. Most examples of pre-industrial building technology are found in distant Indian reservations where balloon frame construction was either unavailable or far too expensive. Impoverished native builders were not thrown back to their stone age technology, but rather, adopted the wood-working skills carried by missionaries. In some instances trees were felled and sectioned, their logs squared and notched (or dovetailed) and subsequently formed into churches. In other cases the work was more sophisticated, as Indian builders labouriously planed logs into studs, planks, and sheathing.

Father Marchal described one such scene at Alkali Lake in 1891:

"Je fus architecte et charpentier. Dans le pays, n'est besoin d'être maçon pour bâtir: on n'y emploie pas de pierres. Habitué à faire un peu tous les métiers, c'est qu'on appelle ici Jack of all trade, je formai mes gens à pousser la varlope et le rabot. Des centaines de planches furent dressées, blanchies et bouvetées..." 122

All members of the village were involved in the work and took pride in their individual tasks. At Stuart Lake, for example, the band's young girls split shakes for the roof and helped "make nails" as well. 123
Prefabrication, an extreme form of industrialised construction, was even less common than traditional crafts. Save during the colony's earliest years, prefabrication was generally unnecessary since most settlements at least had portable sawmills. Only a single iron church was sent to the province, and it to Victoria rather than to the interior. That it was sent at all indicates how little English Anglicans knew about British Columbia. As J. B. Good relates:

"The Bishop's iron (church and cottage)...had been shipped by long sea route from England, with the idea, so it was said, that wood for building material would be scarce in Vancouver Island, or if procurable, so costly and involve such a time to form...that it would be both an economy of expense and time to import all that was required. It was a standing joke either against the Bishop or his advisors that was facetiously termed 'carrying coals to Newcastle.'" 124

After this initial embarrassment (1860) the Anglican clergy were content to build individualised churches with local materials. Prefabricated churches of wood did not appear until several decades later. Even in the early 1900's, years of rapid growth and expansion, "prefab" churches remained uncommon. Three main factors conspired against their popularisation. Firstly, prefabricated churches were probably too expensive. They were manufactured on the coast, and the further they were shipped inland, the more costly they became. Locally built balloon frame churches were just as sophisticated and usually cheaper. Secondly, prefabricated churches were not marketted with vigour. The mammoth B. C. Mill Timber and Trading Co., manufacturers of prefab houses, bamks, schools, sheds, and offices, apparently
had no designs for churches. The smaller Colonial Portable House Co. offered churches in its advertising, but if any were built in the southern interior they no longer survive as churches. The erratic character of the province's development probably discouraged manufacturers from actively pursuing the ecclesiastical market. Potential customers were, at any given time, both scarce and dispersed. Only in the largest centres, where congregations were numerous and concentrated, did prefabrication prosper.Prefab churches were built in Vancouver (Robertson Presbyterian, Kitsilano Methodist, Eburne Methodist, and Dundas Methodist), but not in the interior. Finally, prefabricated buildings had a stigma about them. Many considered them flimsy and draughty. Further, they were standardised. Congregations and clergy, had they accepted prefabrication, would have had little scope for individual expression.

In the strict sense of the word, prefabrication met only limited success. The sectional pre-built churches offered by coastal factories seldom appeared in the interior. Entire pre-built churches, however, were shunted about the province like matchsticks. These were not new, factory-produced churches, but buildings whose careers elsewhere had been terminated by changing economic conditions. When mines failed, when transportation routes altered, and when populations waned, superfluous churches often remained. Rather than see them decay, owners of redundant churches often encouraged their removal to more convenient sites. Transport was achieved through railways,
barges, oxen and rollers, and sheer brute force. All denomina-
tions moved their churches about, though the Anglicans (builders
of many churches in short-lived communities) apparently moved
the most. The tremendous portability of frontier buildings
intrigued many early missionaries (such as J. B. Good) who
were quick to see its merits.129 The Anglican church at Port
Douglas, for example, fell out of use almost as soon as it was
dedicated. Several years later, Anglican clergymen arranged
for its removal to Chilliwack.130 Similarly, Derby's redundant
church was sent to Maple Ridge, Donald's to Windemere, Lans-
downe's to Armstrong, East Arrowpark's to Nakusp (1967), and
Rock Creek's to Kettle Valley.131 Donald's Presbyterian church132
was sent to Field while the Methodist church at Achelitz was
moved to Sardis. Slocan's Anglican church was moved to its
site while Penticton's (first church) was cut into sections
and reassembled to form two churches.133 On some occasions
churches were moved simply for convenience. Builders at Alkali
Lake moved their church to a hilltop for reasons of symbolism
and drainage.134 Students at St. George's School at Lytton
moved their chapel, stone by stone, simply to have it nearer
the school.135 Finally, Archdeacon Small of Lytton had his
central church moved from its symbolic hillside site to a
spot in the centre of the village.136 Other examples doubtless
exist, peculiar examples of industrial technology working in
a frontier context.
Interiors: Decoration, Arrangement, and Furnishings

British Columbian church interiors were moulded by industrial technology, traditional liturgies, and frontier exigencies. The liturgical and doctrinal positions of each denomination required particular and immutable interior arrangements. To a lesser extent they also required furnishings of particular design. Practices and forms remembered from hearth area churches provided builders with models from which to work. Generally, copyism outweighed innovation, but there were departures from tradition. That frontier losses and innovations were as few as they were was due to the strength of tradition and the watchfulness of clergymen.

The interior decoration of the province's early churches was influenced by three major factors: antecedent images, contemporary tastes in domestic architecture, and the woodworking technology available. While builders might have liked to decorate in full accord with tradition, their choices were limited by frontier conditions. Balloon frame technology forbade the construction of arcades and side aisles. It narrowed the choice of vaults and prohibited the erection of elaborate open timber roofs. In the absence of masonry, techniques used in finishing domestic buildings of wood were also used in churches. The vertical wainscotting employed by all denominations was a North American invention, designed to eliminate wear on plaster walls. Similarly, wooden floorboards replaced European flagstones while mass produced, domestic doors ensured entry and exit. Even the placement of windows faced
obstacles. Balloon frame walls (with studs set at 18 inch centres) were designed to accept domestic rather than ec-eclesiastical windows. Hence, to ensure structural stability, windows were sometimes reduced in size. In the case of Anglican churches, eastern and western windows were often omitted.

As has been seen, church interiors were seldom flooded with coloured light. Stained glass windows were anathema to many Non-conformists while Anglicans and Roman Catholics, though more favourably disposed toward their use, could seldom afford them. French Oblates usually sent to France or Quebec for stained glass while Anglicans sent to Britain. English craft workshops advertised their wares in Crockford's and Nisbet's clerical directories, and in the *Yearbook and Clergy List of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada*. Many sent catalogues and books of designs to prospective customers. One only needed to choose a design, specify measurements, and forward the costs of the window. Thus, firms such as Morris and Sons; Cox, Sons, and Buckley; and A. L. Moore and Son all sent designs to Canada. Moore and Son, for example, sent glass to the Anglican church at Ewing's Landing (Okanagan). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian firms such as Robert McCausland (of Toronto) and William N. O'Neil (of Vancouver) began to claim a share of the market. O'Neil directed his advertising towards Catholics while McCausland claimed a Protestant following. Stained glass windows were, however, still beyond the reach of most congregations.
Most southern interior churches have clear glass windows. Unusually poor or isolated congregations sometimes built their own window sashes (thereby accounting for the crude Gothic windows and triangle-headed windows found on a few Indian churches), but most congregations had ready access to factory manufactures. Firms in San Francisco, Portland, Victoria, and New Westminster offered early builders a wide array of products. In later years, the same coastal firms who offered interior congregations lumber, siding, and shingles (B. C. Mills, Robertson and Hackett, and Brunette Sawmills, among others), also advertised windows and doors. In 1903, for example, B. C. Mills announced in the Catholic British Columbian Record:


To a certain extent windows produced by sash and door factories were standardised. Custom work was undoubtedly performed but most churches were probably supplied from existing stocks of windows. Presumably, customers had a limited number of styles from which they could choose; according to personal or denominational preferences. The Gothic sashes of Oblate churches in the Fraser-Lillooet district, for example, were probably chosen by a single missionary (Father E. C. Chirouse Jr., principal missionary in the district). Similarly, the leaded Romanesque sashes of some Okanagan-Similkameen Oblate churches probably reflect the taste of that district's missionaries (Fathers Pandosy and Michel among others). The emergence of local sash
and door factories in the late nineteenth century contributed to the regionalisation of styles.140

The interior arrangements of frontier churches were highly traditional. While missionaries might permit exterior innovations, the conservatism of liturgy and doctrine forbade significant internal experimentation. This is not to say that pioneer church interiors were replicas in wood of ante-cedent structures. Unique admixtures of frontier forces--social, environmental, and technological--forbade such replication. Instead, pioneer church interiors underwent modest yet revealing transformations. Although interior arrangements remained traditional, superfluous features were lost or temporarily discarded.

Regulations governing the internal arrangement of Anglican churches were proposed by the Cambridge Camden Society in the 1840's. By the 1850's most Anglican clergymen had accepted their doctrines. In England, accordingly, whenever churches were built or restored, ecclesiological rules governed their internal arrangements. For Anglican ecclesiologists, the mediaeval parish church was a building laden with symbolism. In Pugin's opinion, "every portion of it answered both a useful and mystical purpose."141 Each part of a correctly designed parish church had a symbolic meaning. The nave symbolised the earthly body of Christ (the congregation), the church militant. To enter the nave one passed the font, for entry to the church was gained through baptism. The chancel symbolised the church triumphant and the heavenly Christ. Passage to the chancel was
through the roodscreen, symbolising the sacrifice and the Resurrection. The roodscreen separated priesthood and laity, eternal and temporal, sacred and profane. Triplet lancets, three flights of steps, and naves with side aisles represented the Trinity. Lesser symbols abounded.  

Mediaeval builders, of course, had never intended such symbolism in their churches. The churchmen and builders of the nineteenth century simply invented symbolic interpretations and convinced themselves of their validity. That they were wrong in their assumption does not matter. What is important is their belief that they were right. Not all clergymen and only a minority of laymen thoroughly appreciated ecclesiological symbolism. In the British Columbian wilderness even those symbols that were understood were not always remembered. Pioneer congregations retained only the most meaningful symbols. Clergymen were somewhat more conscientious, since several bishops had pronounced ecclesiological sympathies.

For those who bothered to read them, diocesan regulations left little doubt about church interior arrangements. Lists of essential church furnishings were announced at the initial synods of each diocese. Requirements were consistent with those of the English Church and did not vary between dioceses. Diocesan regulations required all churches to obtain:

"...a Baptismal Font; a proper Table for the Celebration of the Holy Communion; a cover to the Holy Table of silk or other decent stuff; the usual altar linen...; a decent Vessel or Alms-Dish; a Reading Desk and Pulpit, Lectern, and Faldstool..." 143

Rood-screens were desirable but not essential.
Reference to a previous chapter will show instances of departures from traditional Anglican arrangements. Generally, British Columbian interiors were (and continue to be) more evangelical than their English antecedents. While the altar was all-important in frontier churches, it was not as isolated as it had been in Britain. Few congregations erected screens to separate the nave from the communion place. Reredoses were few, and of minor dimensions. Nor was the altar raised nine steps above the congregation (as was the English practice). Further, the altar was nearer the congregation, for frontier chancels were abnormally shallow, consisting only of sacrarium and clergy stalls. Choir stalls were rare, for although Bishops Hills, Dart, Doull, and de Pencier all supported the choral service, choristers were scarce in pioneer society (the age-sex structure of early populations no doubt had something to do with this, though in agricultural Anglican areas it may have been fairly normal). Many churches (including all Indian chapels) lacked pulpits and used their lecterns both for lessons and the sermon. Similarly, many faldstools doubled as clergy stalls. Such measures probably reflect constraints of space and money. Pioneer churches were usually small but the scale of their furnishings remained undiminished. Fonts, finally, were often missing in early churches, though diocesan opinion said they should be one of the first items in a church. When frontier churches were first furnished, births were sometimes few and baptisms consequently rare. Few (other than bishops) considered fonts an immediate necessity.
If Anglican church exteriors tended toward evangelicalism, Oblate churches were increasingly ritualistic. As has been demonstrated, grand altars and elaborate reredoses dominated Oblate church interiors. Every image in a church—the stations of the cross, statues of the Virgin and of Christ, and instructional tableaus—focused directly or indirectly on the sacrifice of Christ. Worship centered on the sacrament of the Eucharist; on preparations beforehand, on its actual administration, and on thanksgiving afterward. It was therefore appropriate that the altar should be so important. Located in the holiest part of the church, it symbolized the meeting of heaven and earth, of Christ and his church. Through the Celebration of the Eucharist men could feel the Real Presence of Christ, rejoice in Christian fellowship, and obtain absolution.

Most Oblate altars were adorned by statues of saints. Since many churches commemorated either Christ or the Virgin, images of Mary Immaculate, the crucified Christ, and the Sacred Heart of Jesus abounded. Churches dedicated to the saints generally had similar statues, often displacing more appropriate images (images, for example, of their own saints—St. Joseph, St. Ann, St. Michael, St. Peter, and St. Paul, among others). These practices made the themes of the Passion—suffering, sorrow, and sacrifice—dominant in Oblate churches, and drew increased attention to the altar.

The Oblate emphasis on the altar and the Eucharist was achieved at the expense of the pulpit and the service of the Word. Even in the evangelicalised atmosphere of the 1970's
(achieved by the Second Vatican Council), most Oblate churches still lack pulpits and lecterns. Such omissions are not wholly in keeping with Catholic practices elsewhere. Though the Catholics of nineteenth century France showed renewed interest in the Eucharist (Catholic worship, after all, does centre on the Mass), they did not belittle the lessons and the sermon. In France, even Oblate clerics, more ritualist than many priests, furnished their churches with pulpits and lecterns.\textsuperscript{147}

The Oblate emphasis on Eucharistic ritual also denigrated the role of music in worship. As has been seen, Indian Oblate churches rarely had organs (unlike Indian Anglican churches). Further, few had western choir galleries (contemporary Catholic churches in France and Ireland often did have galleries-- or tribunes-- for organs and choirs).\textsuperscript{148} No evidence exists of choirs having been organised though several central missions were famous for their brass bands.\textsuperscript{149} Music in worship was not abandoned entirely, of course; it was simply de-emphasised by the altar's ceremonial.

That Oblate churches in British Columbia were arranged with ritualist intent was due to Bishops d'Herbomez and Durieu. Durieu in particular taught his subordinates respect for ritual and mysticism. Much of his "success" in converting the Indians stemmed from a shared interest in ceremony. Bi-annual reunions (held at central missions), heightened by processions with torches, lanterns, banners, incense, candles, and statuary, appealed to the Indians and priests alike, and culminated with ritual at the altar. Ritual dedications, consecrations, and
passion plays helped create a further bond between natives and missionaries. Such events also impressed the general public. In 1892, for example, the press recorded that the passion play at Mission "was the most impressive sight ever witnessed in the North-West. It had all the grandeur and solemnity of a sacramental, and all the power and pathos of a tragedy. It was magnificent!" 150

Durieu's priests took every opportunity to emphasise the stature of the altar and its ceremonies. New churches were dedicated with the utmost ceremony. After the reading of litanies and chants, the recitation of the Rosary, and the reading of prayers, worshippers at Quilchena prepared to dedicate an altar:

"...all formed into a circle in front of the church, where, upon a rustic altar, stood a magnificent statue of Our Lady of Lourdes, five feet high, presently to be blessed. After the blessing, under the dazzling light of Bengal fires, the Indians read their act of consecration. Then the statue was carried into the church and placed in an azure coloured niche, in the centre of a background of red drapery above the altar. All followed, chanting the Litanies of the Blessed Virgin. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament crowned the ceremonies of the day." 151

Similar scenes were repeated at scores of other churches.

Critics of Oblate practices in British Columbia condemned what they considered idolatry and superficial conversions. Their misgivings were not without foundation. The province's Oblate priests encouraged mysticism among their congregations, particularly with respect to the Eucharist, the altar, and its statuary. Of the Indians of Alkali Lake,
for example, Father Marchal stated:

"Il sembla aux sauvages ravis que le visage de la statue transfiguré par le reflect des lumières, souriait à la foule et disait aux enfants de la terre le contentement de leur auguste Mère du ciel." 152

Protestants such as the Anglican L. N. Tucker questioned this Catholic emphasis on ritual and mysticism:

"The authority, pomp, and ceremonial of the Roman Church are, in some ways, suited to the ignorance and to the child-like and dependent condition of the Indians;...its agents (have) sometimes been content to rely on mere outward rites, leaving (their) so-called converts as ignorant and degraded as they were in their native condition." 153

Such objections had merit, for many Indians enjoyed the ritual at the altar without understanding a shred of its meaning.154

The Oblate obsession with highly ritualised celebrations of the Eucharist faded after Durieu's death. As parochial priests took over Oblate responsibilities in white parishes, altars declined in size and in grandeur. Lecterns and organs (or pianos) were increasingly introduced though requirements of space forbade choir lofts. Durieu's emphasis on the Eucharist, on the altar, and on ritual had depended on a freedom of action that only frontier isolation could provide.155 His liturgical arrangements were understandably discarded by those who did not fully share his sentiments.

The interior arrangements of Non-conformist churches were little affected by movements toward ritualism. Methodists and Presbyterians, whether in Britain, eastern North America, or British Columbia, accepted liturgical changes slowly and reluctantly. Some areas, of course, were rather more conserva-
tive than others. Since the southern interior's Dissenters came from regions with varied liturgical practices, pioneer congregations made liturgical--and hence architectural--compromises. The high proportion of Ontarians among the province's Non-conformist population, however, ensured that interior arrangements often bore an eastern North American stamp.

As described in an earlier chapter, most of the southern interior's Non-conformist churches were arranged along evangelical lines, with pulpits or rostrums in dominant positions. Most had movable communion tables and an organ or piano. Stained glass windows, religious sculpture, pictures, and symbols were virtually unknown. Such interiors were more in keeping with late nineteenth century Ontarian practices than with contemporary British ones (the acceptance of Anglican internal arrangements by British Non-conformists has already been documented). Ontarian Dissenters were unambiguous in condemning the ritual and architectural arrangements of British Puseyites. In 1860, for example, the Christian Guardian suggested that Puseyism "may have the eye, the ear, the imagination charmed by the gaudy trappings, the pompous ceremonies it introduces," but the Guardian also cautioned that Puseyism, and hence ritualism, could only lead to misery and Popery.\(^{156}\)

The conservatism of Canadian Non-conformists found support in America. The author of Atwood's Country Houses, for example, declared: "Humility and simplicity should be the ruling thought in all...rural chapels," and added that symbolism and ritual ought to be avoided.\(^{157}\) Similarly, in Villages and
Village Life, N. H. Egleston decried both ritualism and fundamentalist ranting, and suggested interior arrangements similar to those of Canadian Non-conformity. Egleston's ideal church was a democratised version of eighteenth century Protestant structures:

"The pulpit or reading desk is not perched high above the people, but is only a step removed from them, and the choir and organ have their appropriate place by the side of the pulpit. Minister and choir being thus near each other and among the people, the latter recognise the fact that they are leaders in the various acts of worship, and not performers come into church to play their part, whether in oratory or music." 158

Other writers, such as Bowler and Tralle, suggested similar arrangements.159 Unlike the British, American evangelicals had an abiding interest in architectural functionalism (rather than style or symbolism). Atwood, Egleston, Bowler, and Tralle (and in the twentieth century, the Baptist writers) all concerned themselves with lighting, ventilation, heating, visibility, and acoustics. New churches were viewed not so much as temples as auditoria. Thus, whenever British Columbian Non-conformist churches were reviewed, they were praised for their propriety and sound functional characteristics.160

The province's earliest Dissenting churches made few concessions to the ecclesiologically minded. Rural builders abandoned the galleries they might have had and put parish halls in wings rather than in basements. Further, save for a few large Presbyterian structures, most churches had central aisles with two ranges of seating (eastern American practice sometimes demanded two aisles with either one or three ranges of pews). It
was in music, however, that Non-conformist churches most closely approached British practices. Ministers added music to services, and organs to churches, at a very early date. Curiously, in matters of music, North American Non-conformists were initially more liberal than Britons. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Toronto, for example, received an organ in 1852. In 1863 Edinburgh's Dr. Lee obtained an organ for his church and was labelled "a Jesuit in disguise." Only in 1866 did Scotland's Established Church sanction organs in worship. The United Presbyterians withheld their consent until 1872, the Free Church until 1883. Once Scottish Presbyterians received their organs there was no stopping them. Their enthusiasm for music equalled and legitimised that of eastern North Americans, and gave British Columbians all the more reason for obtaining organs.

In accepting North American practices, Non-conformists from Britain abandoned altars, octagonal pulpits, lecterns, and other items derived from English ecclesiology. The acceptance of liturgical music by Methodist and Presbyterian congregations in Canada created a chink in their evangelical armour. By 1925, Canadian Non-conformists showed increasing interest in ecclesiological arrangements, though many still resisted the Gothic style. Urban churches in particular, followed the models of British Dissent, and sometimes even incorporated chancels, choir stalls, and elevated altars. In rural British Columbia, though, church builders remained somewhat more conservative. New churches might be built in accordance with altered fashions but pre-existing churches remained little altered.
Church furnishings in the southern interior were just as traditional in design as they were in arrangement. Each denomination had its own preferred style of furniture and ornament and countenanced few deviations. Admittedly, Oblate furnishings varied regionally, but strictly speaking, their variation was one of mode rather than style. No denomination's furnishings varied significantly over time, since liturgies were essentially conservative. Certainly, Roman Catholic altars became less grand as Oblate influences faded, but no major stylistic shift accompanied the event. Further, while the United Church finally admitted in 1926 that "the adornment of the fabric of a church is an act of praise in itself," southern interior congregations retained sober furnishings to which they had become accustomed.

Frontier churches generally obtained their furnishings through one of three ways: either by having them donated from outside the province, or by making them by hand, or by purchasing items from local or distant manufacturers and dealers. Anglican furnishings were frequently donated by sympathisers in England. Oblates received gifts of money from France and either bought or built their furnishings themselves. The origin of Non-conformist church furnishings is somewhat less clear, though most were doubtless produced somewhere in North America. Appropriate items were available from Ontario and San Francisco, and to a lesser extent from Vancouver and New Westminster.

Efficient transportation systems permitted missionaries to maintain contacts with the outside world even in the earliest
years. In 1840, for example, Father Demers received boxes from London containing "ornaments, images, crucifixes, rosaries, and... books." In the early 1860's, melodeons, vestments, cushions, bells, and other items donated by Angela Burdett-Coutts reached their destinations with a minimum of bother. The combined resources of clippers, steamboats, mule trains, wagon roads, and later, railways minimised isolation and permitted most settlements to obtain industrially produced furniture and fittings. Whether interior congregations wanted or could afford professional manufactures was, of course, another matter. No denomination was averse to receiving donated goods, for since donations usually came from more industrialised areas, they were often superior to British Columbian manufactures. Donations generally came from those with a personal interest in British Columbia; from friends and relatives of settlers and missionaries, from missionary societies, and sometimes, from romantic philanthropists whose imaginations had been stirred by reports from the west. Thus, Father Demers frequently carried a portable altar presented by the Count de Chambord while the Methodists of Sandon worshipped on chairs financed by the Ladies' Home Missionary Society in Toronto. Anglican churches in New Westminster, Lillooet, Hope, and Donald received bells from the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. The Anglicans undoubtedly had the most efficient machinery for obtaining donations. Missionaries and sympathetic Churchmen often addressed meetings of mission societies and lamented over conditions in British Columbia. In 1903, for
example, the organising secretary of the New Westminster and Kootenay Missionary Association reported:

"Out in the Far West the worship of Almighty God is frequently conducted on the very simplest scale. Even some of the most ordinary decencies, such as not even an iron church in the Old Country would be without, are wanting there." 172

Potential donors were advised:

"Those who prefer to send gifts instead of money have plenty of scope for their generosity. Many churches have hardly any furniture; altar frontals, altar linen, dossals, kneelers, ... are all most thankfully received; altar vessels, altar crosses, candlesticks, vases, and fonts are also most welcome gifts." 173

As most of the province's Anglican settlers and clergy came directly from Britain, most appeals were directed toward the English. Notices in Work for the Far West, the Monthly Record (Diocese of New Westminster), the Yearbook of the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society, Across the Rockies, and other journals, identified the particular needs of individual churches in the southern interior. In July, 1890, for example, Rev. A. Shildrick announced in the Monthly Record that his church required a font.174 Similarly, other ministers requested other items of furniture, sometimes even specifying dimensions and colours. Prospective donors then approached Diocesan commissaries in England and arranged for the transport of offerings. Through this procedure many British Columbian churches completed their furnishings with English manufactures.

Many churches were furnished (and sometimes even built entirely through the generosity of single sponsors. The entire
Arrow Lakes Mission, for example, was sponsored by one London parish (St. Peter's, Eaton Square).\textsuperscript{175} St. Andrew's, Willow Point received considerable assistance from St. Andrew's School in Southborough.\textsuperscript{176} Fishpond College (Bristol) sponsored the church at Kaslo.\textsuperscript{177} Other examples abound.

All denominations, of course, were sometimes obliged to purchase missing furniture. Generally, Non-conformists and Roman Catholics bought more than Anglicans, since the Anglicans were well supplied by donations. Few congregations of any sect bought much during their earliest years as other requirements were more immediate. Indeed, it was not until the 1890's that sellers of ecclesiastical furnishings received significant patronage from British Columbia (admittedly, it was not until the 1890's that many churches were in fact built). Many early furnishings were obtained from outside the province, but as manufacturing progressed, congregations bought increasingly from local producers.

Non-conformists purchased many of their earliest furnishings in Ontario. Pews, pulpits, and benches came from factories in Dundas, Walkerville (Globe Furniture Co.), and other Ontario towns.\textsuperscript{178} Memorial brass tablets, increasingly common after the First World War, usually came from Birks in Toronto or Montreal.\textsuperscript{179} Oblate furnishings were bought from further afield. Manufacturers in Montreal and Toronto (D. and J. Sadlier & Co., and R. Beullac) and in Dublin (Thompson Bros., Earley & Co., Clery & Co. Ltd., and George Smyth & Son) frequently advertised in Oblate journals, and offered missionaries
Plate 50. Oblate altar at Enderby. The altar was probably manufactured professionally, the mural tablet coming from Quebec or Europe.
every conceivable sort of furnishing. George Smyth & Son, for example, described themselves as "ecclesiastical sculptors," and offered the "highest clerical and architectural references, photographs of work executed or finished, designs sent free on application." Clery & Co. advertised book cases, vestments, and altar furniture, and were willing to send catalogues on request. Thompson Bros., finally, offered altars, pulpits, fonts, and mural tablets. Doubtless, British Columbian Oblates availed themselves of these sellers' services, if not buying major items, then at least obtaining linen, crosses, candle holders, and the like.

Anglicans also bought furnishings on occasion. Their suppliers were usually English and included craft workshops such as Morris & Sons, Jones and Willis, A. R. Mowbray & Co., Whipple and Sons, and Cox, Sons, and Buckley. The font of Holy Trinity Cathedral (New Westminster), for example, derived from the Exeter works of Whipple and Sons. Summerland's brass eagle lectern came from the catalogue of Jones and Willis (design no. 28), while a memorial tablet in Vancouver's Christ Church Cathedral resembles their design no. 14. Bishop John Dart of New Westminster and Kootenay, always a keen ecclesiologist, encouraged his clergy to buy from English producers. The bishop permitted little advertising in diocesan publications but in 1899 made a rare exception for one craft workshop. As the editor of Work for the Far West recorded:

"It is by the Bishop's own wish that Messrs. A. R. Mowbray include an advertisement of their Altar Vessels and Church Furniture. They provide such articles at a moderate
Plate 51. Stone font at Yale, obviously professionally made.
Plate 52. Brass lectern from the Anglican church at Summerland. The lectern probably came from the works of Jones and Willis in London.
Plate 53. Designs for brass eagle lecterns from the catalogue of Jones and Willis in London.
price as are consistent with good quality, and pack and send them direct. The Bishop hopes that congregations will endeavour to purchase for their churches the essentials of reverently and decorously conducted Divine worship." 186

Whether or not Mowbray's experienced a rush of business after Dart's testimonial is not recorded, but certain it is that congregations became increasingly aware of English offerings.

The practice of buying from catalogues standardised interiors. Mural tablets depicting the Last Supper (in relief), for example, can be found in Catholic churches at Vernon, Kaka-wis, Kamloops, Enderby, Nelson, St. Eugene, and other locations in British Columbia. Many are identical, not only to each other, but to tablets across the country as well. Some items were even standardised across denominational lines. Bells, in particular were no respectors of sect (though the Anglicans had several of their earliest bells cast where no other denomination could-- at the Whitechapel bell foundries in London). The province's church bells were usually cast in the eastern United States; in Cincinnati (Blymyer Bells and the Buckeye Bell Foundry), Baltimore (McShane Bell Foundry), or Troy, New York (Meneely Bell Foundry). Bells in Oblate churches at Neskainlith and Enderby, for example, were cast in Troy. The Oblate publication, The Month openly endorsed Blymyer Bells and described them as suppliers "to all our missions up the country." When Anglican builders required bells, they too chose Blymyer products (Blymyer agents were close at hand in Seattle). Dissenters too, bought Blymyer and Meneely bells, since any design of bell suited any denomination (foundries advertised without discrimi-
nation in Catholic and Protestant publications alike).

Builders seldom bought furnishings from local manufacturers, for there were few local producers from which they could buy. The situation improved slightly in the early twentieth century but competition from eastern Canada, Britain, and Europe precluded the growth of a British Columbian industry. When furnishings were made in British Columbia they were often specially ordered. Holy Trinity Cathedral's faldstool, for example, was built to order by the Royal City Planing Mills.¹⁹³ Furnishings in Ashcroft's Anglican church were designed by an Ashcroft man and built in Vancouver.¹⁹⁴ Only the mills of Robertson and Hackett went out of their way in building interior fittings. Their advertisements in the British Columbian Record proclaimed: "Altar-Building a Specialty."¹⁹⁵ Significantly, Robertson and Hackett produced three altars for Holy Rosary Cathedral (then a parish church) which strongly resemble Oblate altars in the southern interior.¹⁹⁶ The firm may well have been a major supplier of altars to the Oblate Congregation.

Pioneer congregations sometimes built their furnishings themselves. Frequently this was done to save expense. Impoverished Indians, for example, could not always afford professional manufactures, not even those produced in the province. Extreme isolation also encouraged local craftsmanship. Hence, particularly early churches, built when transportation systems were in their infancy and funds in short supply, often had locally built furnishings. While white congregations could work unsupervised, Indian builders were subject to somewhat closer scrutiny. In
Oblate churches, priests or brothers sometimes took up tools themselves. Father Blanchet, for example, built many altars himself (in the lower Fraser Valley and the northern interior). Father Chiappini decorated many Oblate altars, including Stuart Lake's. Locally built altars were often crafted with such skill that they were virtually indistinguishable from professional manufactures.

Apart from being impelled by poverty and isolation, many congregations engaged in handicrafts simply because it pleased them. Builders of the Anglican church at Queen's Bay, for example, were by no means poor. Neither were supplies locally unavailable. Yet the Queen's Bay congregation felled their own trees, milled their own lumber, forged their own nails, and built their own furnishings. Their craftsmanship was impeccable. Similarly fine furnishings were locally built by middle income congregations in Cranbrook, Kaslo, Sorrento, Enderby, Armstrong, and Grindrod. Bishops rejoiced whenever artisans "entered into the true spirit of the building," but to say that the southern interior's craftsmen modelled themselves on the Christian artisans of Ruskin, Morris, and Pugin would be to say too much. Oblate priests, however, were ready enough to attribute fine artistry to Divine intervention.

In the opinion of Father E. C. Chirouse Jr., the beauty of Hope's Indian church could be ascribed to the Eucharist:

"Leur respect et leur amour pour le Saint Sacrement les ont rendus artistes. Sous la direction des pères qui m'ont précédé, ils ont construit une église objet d'admiration pour tous les blancs qui la visitent. Rien n'y manque: clocher de style gothique,
maître autel, table de communion, même des sculptures à l'intérieur, ornements délicats qui encadrent avec grâce les statues de la Sainte Vierge et de Saint Joseph. Il n'y a pas jusqu'au tapis d'autel qui ne soit l'oeuvre des sauvagesses." 203

The local construction of interior furnishings was not as difficult as might be assumed. Local sawmills (including portable mills) ensured a ready supply of lumber. Most settlements also had access to skilled labour: white carpenters, Indian wood carvers, and gifted missionaries. Further, sash and door factories often supplied building components that local craftsmen could not easily manufacture themselves. B. C. Mills, Timber, and Trading, for example, offered standardised "Posts, Ballusters, and all kinds of Turned Work..., Spiral and Fluted Turned Work, Machine-turned Head and Corner Blocks, Rosette and Base Blocks." Builders could choose whichever items suited their needs and tastes and assemble them into altars, reredoses, communion rails, and other items. In the case of Oblate churches, components were doubtless chosen in accordance with the stylistic traditions established by district superiors.

Local craftsmen had little difficulty in finding suitable designs from which to work. In some instances, designs were drawn from furnishings in pre-existing churches. The altar in the Anglican church at Pokhaist was designed expressly for imitation by other Indian congregations. White artisans derived some of their designs from architectural publications, manufacturer's catalogues, and published parish histories. On many occasions such publications were probably used only for
Plate 54. Font in the Anglican church at Mara, an example of a locally crafted piece of furniture.
Plate 55. Lectern, Pulpit, and faldstool in the Anglican church at Hope. Examples of locally crafted furnishings. Their designs may have been inspired by architectural publications.
inspiration. In other cases designs were unashamedly plagiarised. The font in the Anglican church at Cowichan, for example, was copied directly from *Cox and Sons' Illustrated Catalogue*. Surprisingly, bishops and presbyters did little to discourage such activity. It remained for the publishers themselves (usually English craft workshops) to warn against the unauthorised imitation of their copyrighted designs.
Chapter 7

Church and Society in Early British Columbia

Most early British Columbians viewed their churches in much the same way as they viewed organised religion. The miners of the Fraser and the Cariboo had little interest in either building or attending churches. A few Methodist and Anglican miners gave substantially toward the construction of churches in Barkerville, but most mining settlements were smaller and short-lived, and their inhabitants neither wanted nor required churches. Many miners willingly attended weddings and funerals, or visited church libraries and institutes, but few made church attendance a regular habit. The province's middle-class—merchants, clergymen, administrators, professionals, and agriculturalists—had a somewhat different view. Such people usually considered religion and churches a necessary part of frontier life. They believed that wherever churches were built, prosperity and order were likely to follow. The construction of a church provided a sense of rootedness and continuity in the new land. It signalled that the builders of the church intended to settle permanently, and that they hoped to re-establish the cherished institutions of their homelands. For these reasons, in the opinion of the Colonist, the construction of churches was much to be applauded:
"We rejoice to see the Christian Church extending itself further and further into the country. We cannot but regard the fact as an omen for good. These churches are witness to our sordid and forgetful age of a redemption and a heaven. Wherever Christian civilization comes it establishes these sacred signs of its presence. Churches give stability and a character to a country. Sacred remembrances of the past, sources of weekly consolation, instruction and strength in the present, they bid us also look with hope to the future."

Yet pioneer churches were far too modest, rustic, and new to engender deep affections. They were generally respected more for what they represented— the homeland, family life, morality, spiritual security, and material progress— than for what they were. Thus, when Barkerville's Anglican church was opened in 1870, the Cariboo Sentinel praised its associative merits. The paper asserted that "those who wish to pray as their father did before them" would be well pleased, for St. Saviour's was "a church which in form if not material (would) remind them of the village churches of their 'fatherland.' "

Anglicans in particular were pleased whenever their churches closely resembled those of their homeland. In Bishop Dart's opinion, English parish churches evoked feelings "of peculiar reverence" in "any earnest Christian of any denomination." Because they reminded worshippers of buildings in England, British Columbia's earliest Anglican churches sometimes elicited similar reverent feelings. An anonymous miner recorded his impressions of New Denver's church in 1899:

"Say, Bill, what was that chimin' sound I heard a while ago?
It sounded like a Church bell,
A-rinin' soft and low,
And stirrin' up old memories
With its echoes, don't you know."
"Another time, - a Church, - a bride, -
   Like some old forgotten song,
Memory brought back to the searcher,
   As he heedless strode along.
Another time, - a Church, - a bier, -
   Came with memory's rushing throng."  

Many settlers valued the spiritual benefits of a local church, but some considered the construction of churches a mark of material progress as well. Churches became indicators of economic stability and their erection spoke well for the future. As the Colonist wrote in 1862:

"That land shall not perish, however fluctuating its prospects, where these symbols of the Eternal Presence are found. They testify of a coming time when the 'wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad,' and the Sunday-morning bells shall cheer now unpeopled wastes."  

Churchmen were fully aware that the motives of some of their supporters were mixed. As the Rev. A. C. Lundin Brown noted of Lillooet in 1869, some acted out of Christian devotion while others

"...wished to see a church built, but only because the place would thereby acquire a certain stability and status; property would rise in value, trade would increase, and they would have a better chance to speedily 'make their pile.' "  

In later years, interior land developers sometimes promoted sales by building churches on their properties. Prospective buyers were impressed by the spiritual life of a community and by its material ammenities. As the Rev. H. C. Thursby-Pelham explained in 1915:

"At the same time, those accounts you hear of the readiness of people to build churches, to give sites, and to support their clergy, are very true indeed. In certain town sites,
sometimes it is done very largely for advertising purposes; I do not think I am giving them away in saying that. It does help to sell town lots if they can show a picture of a magnificent church. It may be the only building in the place, but still it is a building, and it helps a good deal more if it is a church..." 7

Church sites in most places were either donated by generous settlers or bought by congregations, but many others were obtained from business and industry. Churches in Phoenix, Kaslo, Wycliffe, Falkland, Fruitvale, Oyama, Trail, and Sorrento, for example, were all assisted by grants of land from mining, orcharding, milling, or land development companies. 8

Similar motives sometimes lay behind construction in better-established areas. In 1912, for example, John Charles Roper, Bishop of Columbia, reported to the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society:

"In all probability, in Victoria and in Vancouver, large and beautiful cathedrals will be built. At the present time, ours in Victoria is only of wood. It stands upon one of the most beautiful sites, I think, in the world, and we are about to make an appeal to the people of Victoria. We expect to get a response from them, and that money will be forthcoming to erect a magnificent building. But why? Partly, of course, because of their desire to give the very best to God, but partly because it will be, if I mistake not, an advertisement for the splendid position commercially of Victoria." 9

Urban land developers sometimes made their choicest lots readily available to churches. In 1914, for example, the Canadian Pacific Railway's real estate division sold several acres of hill-top land in Vancouver to the Anglican Diocese of New
Westminster. Located in the heart of the prestigious Shaughnessy subdivision, the property was intended as the site of a large Anglican cathedral. The C.P.R. made similar land available to the Roman Catholic Church. The *Point Grey Gazette* reported in 1925:

"The Granville frontage, between 38th and 39th Avenues, is being reserved as the site of the future Catholic Cathedral of Vancouver and the residence of the Archbishop. All in all, the Catholic Church has ten acres on this ideal spot for her several institutions."

Once churches were completed, clergymen and congregations, as well as developers, cited them as examples of their communities' progressive spirit. The churches of one town were often compared favourably with those in better-established centres. In 1906, for example, the builders of Cranbrook's Knox Presbyterian Church described their building as "the finest church between Vancouver and Calgary." Similarly, in 1899, the Oblate Fathers reported that Vancouver's Holy Rosary Church would be "the largest and handsomest (church) west of Toronto, ...an ornament to the city, and a valuable acquisition to the beauty of her buildings." Admiration for fine church buildings sometimes crossed denominational lines. In 1892, for example, Protestants joined their rivals in applauding Victoria's new Catholic cathedral, for the building was "a sign of the growth and stability of" the city.

Indian churches elicited a similar range of responses. At first, native Indians built mainly to please their missionaries and probably felt little affection for their creations. Missionaries and other white observers, however, considered
even the smallest and simplest chapels significant buildings. As an Oblate priest suggested at Williams Lake in 1876: "Il est bien pauvre, le temple que je visite ici, mais les delices du Seigneur et les miennes ne s'y trouvent pas moins que dans les plus belles et les plus riches églises."  

Subsequent native churches were more sophisticated structures; and admired by Indians, missionaries, and white laymen alike. Many Indians understood that their churches were meant as holy places. Others simply considered them as sites for pageantry. In a climate of cultural uncertainty, the nature of the ceremonies observed was to some extent immaterial. Hence, when Indians built churches their motives were often mixed. Missionaries, however, seldom admitted that native actions were impelled by anything other than faith. Bishop Durieu considered the church of the Stoney Creek band "une preuve de leur amour pour leur religion et des bonnes dispositions qui les animaient." Similarly, in 1913, an Anglican observer saw Canford's Indian church as "evidence of (the Indians') love for the Master."  

Though seldom better built than churches in white communities, Indian churches often received considerable praise. The church at Sugar Cane, for example, was a solid but rather plain structure. Even so, Oblate priests called it "une église qui n'a pas sa pareille dans l'intérieur de la Colombie Britannique, et qui ne ferait mauvaise figure dans aucun pays civilisé." Similarly, the Oblate church at Alkali Lake was said to "seem like a queen among the houses of
the village." Criticism of Indian churches was rare and usually restrained. Father Morice considered the churches of the northern interior "edifices as well constructed as could be expected from builders with their special environment." Robert M. Fripp, a professional architect, was more severe in his criticisms, in 1898 labelling the province's mission churches "sorry apologies" unworthy of the "romantic traditions and noble heritage of the Romans and the Anglicans." Fripp's opinions, however, were those of a minority.

The early churches of the southern interior emerged as traditions carried by settlers and clergymen were altered by the material and environmental constraints of the frontier. Many settlers and missionaries hoped to create permanent churches reminiscent of those in their homelands, yet expense, time, materials that were often unfamiliar, and lack of skill intervened to arrest their ambitions. Instead of building large and impressive churches of stone, richly furnished and decorated, pioneer builders contented themselves with small and humble buildings of wood. Wood was in fact an ideal medium for frontier builders. Unlike stone, it was cheap, plentiful, and easily worked. Few settlers could afford anything else, for immediate needs (such as land, shelter, provisions, and so forth) consumed the bulk of their funds. Wooden churches were adequate for temporary use, and since they could be built quickly, considerable time was freed for other purposes (land clearing, house construction, planting, attending to live-
Settlers were generally pleased with their earliest churches, but few hesitated to demolish them if superior structures could be built. Clergymen shared their sentiments. In 1885, for example, an Anglican missionary described Lytton's newly-built wooden church as "a bright, clean, waterproof building, with a sanctuary which in decency would compare with many, if not most, of the churches...at home." In eleven years time another missionary called the same church an "old barn of a building" and had it replaced with a more pretentious structure. Surprisingly, though, even temporary churches were built with painstaking care. When Anglicans built churches of wood their bishops required that "the materials (be) the best of their kind, and worked to the best advantage." Even so, many builders (Anglicans especially) longed to supplant such churches with masonry structures. As Bishop Dart told his Synod of Kootenay in 1900: "Most of the churches that we shall be engaged in raising will probably be of wood, intended to last only one or two generations, and to be replaced by stone structures."

Stylistic innovation was rare on the British Columbian frontier. The architectural traditions of Europe and eastern Canada were far too strong and much too revered to be supplanted easily. Conscientious settlers, authoritarian clergymen, and architectural publications together ensured that pioneer churches would strongly resemble those of the homeland. True, negligent laymen sometimes omitted features that clergymen considered
essential (in the Anglican case, for example, evangelically-minded congregations often deleted chancels from their churches), but mistakes were easily remedied (missing chancels could always be added later), and in temporary churches, minor omissions could often be tolerated. Clergymen themselves sometimes made slight alterations to their architectural traditions (Oblates, for example, emphasised their altars at the expense of lecterns and pulpits), but such changes were of only passing consequence. For the most part, floorplans, interior furnishings, and facade details remained conservative.

Technological innovation, on the other hand, was common in early British Columbia. Settlers and missionaries might draw their liturgical and stylistic practices from European and eastern Canadian precedents, but the techniques through which they built were those of the modern North American frontier. The pre-industrial crafts of Europe were largely abandoned, for industrialisation and the British Columbian environment had rendered them largely irrelevant. Mass production in sawmills and in sash and door factories provided pioneer builders with inexpensive and easily assembled materials. Efficient transportation systems overcame isolation at an early date, thereby ensuring that wherever the settlement frontier spread, industrial innovations would shortly follow. Only extremely poor or isolated builders (mainly Indians) were forced to build with logs or make their own siding, shingles, or window frames. A few congregations and clergymen built with traditional technologies simply because it suited them (they were mainly
Anglican laymen and Oblate priests who enjoyed carving in wood), but for the most part churches were built with factory-produced tools and materials, and occasionally, with mass-circulated plans.

This is not to suggest that the extremities of industrialised production (including iron and prefabricated buildings, and construction through pattern books and published plans) had a major impact in the frontier province. Many of the province's churches were built before the full development of industrial technologies appropriate to construction with wood. Only one iron church reached the province (St. John's Anglican in Victoria) and prefabrication was largely confined to the cities of the coast. Several churches in the interior (and many on the coast) were based on pattern book designs, but for the bulk of the area's churches, industrialised production meant moulding factory-produced materials into individualised buildings. Though building components might be mass produced and standardised, the churches into which they went were just as diverse as the tastes that shaped them.

The early churches of British Columbia's southern interior had much in common with those of other late Victorian frontier areas. The construction technologies used by the province's pioneers were generally those of the American West. Further, both areas were subject to the same frontier simplification of forms. Just as the churches of the American West did not wholly mirror their eastern American counter-
parts, neither did those of British Columbia fully reflect models in Europe and eastern Canada. True, floorplans and general architectural style were preserved in the transfer from the old world to the new, but at the same time much detail was lost. Churches were reduced to their most essential elements—those features of plan, arrangement, and style inseparable from the doctrinal and liturgical heritages of their respective denominations.

Anglican churches generally retained a tower or belfry and porch, a nave, and a properly furnished chancel (or chancel platform). Oblate churches usually kept towers (front-central), naves, and chancels or sacristies. Parochial Catholic churches required little more than porches (sometimes omitted), naves, and chancel platforms. For both denominations construction on the frontier entailed the loss of much decorative detail (though Oblate facades were still frequently quite elaborate). A few basic features survived to suggest the ecclesiastical nature of their buildings (pointed or rounded windows, open timber roofs, barrel vaults, towers or belfries) but much unessential detail was lost (elaborate window tracery, stained glass, pinnacles, canopies, parapets, turrets, complex spires, gargoyles, hood moulds, buttresses, arcades, and transepts).

Non-conformist churches did not undergo the same degree of frontier simplification, for they were relatively humble buildings to begin with. Methodist churches retained their nave-meeting rooms and occasionally had towers, belfries, or
porches as well (these latter features were often absent from English and Ontarian examples as well). Naves and towers were preserved by Presbyterian builders, though as in Presbyterian churches elsewhere, belfries and porches sometimes supplanted towers. Both denominations kept their nave-end platforms and furnished them with pulpits (rostrums), communion tables, and pianos or organs. Features found in larger British or eastern Canadian churches—such as galleries, basement meeting-rooms, choir lofts, and so forth—survived in large cities only. British Columbian builders made their churches plainer than their antecedents by simplifying furnishings, omitting exterior gingerbread-work, and using domestic rather than ecclesiastical windows.
ABBREVIATIONS

ACA  Anglican Archives, Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia and the Yukon, Vancouver School of Theology.

BCYCAS  British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society.

MROMI  Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

PABC  Provincial Archives of British Columbia

SPCK  Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.


UCA  United Church Archives, British Columbia Conference, Vancouver School of Theology.
FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 1


6 See footnotes 1, 4, and 5.


FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 2


3 Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, p. 605.

4 The idea of a single great spirit, however, may have been partly introduced by Spanish priests.


7 Duff, loc. cit.


10 Morice, History, p. 289.


13 Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, p. 608.
20 Morice, *History*, p. 296. The creation of these sees was a logical extension of the Catholic episcopal system into frontier areas of North America. The Roman Catholic Church hoped to convert the natives and to serve resident white Catholics.


22 Theodore, *Heralds*, p. 231; Morice, *History*, p. 328; and Kay Cronin, *The Cross in the Wilderness*, Vancouver, Mitchell Press, 1960, p. 100. The creation of two dioceses permitted the Oblates to evangelise more freely the natives of the mainland and thereby allowed Demers to pursue his own interests on Vancouver Island. It seems logical that D'Herbomez should be made the ecclesiastical equal of Demers, since he had a unified body of missionaries at hand, a group of men who had more in common with d'Herbomez than Demers.
29 Ibid., p. 317.

30 After the accession of Mgr. Joseph Fabre as Oblate Superior-General in 1861, the Congregation moved its headquarters to Paris. In 1880, after a series of anti-clerical laws had been passed in France, the order moved to Rome. See Cronin, Cross, p. 89.

31 Upon admission into the congregation, Oblate priests and lay brothers took a vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Their principal purpose in life was to teach the Gospel to the poor (Evangelizare Pauperbus Misit Me), in any corner of the world. The slums of Liverpool and the forests of British Columbia were areas equally worthy of its attention.

32 Bishop Durieu in particular followed a somewhat radical course in his creation of several Indian "reductions," model villages based upon the seventeenth century Christian Villages of Paraguay. Durieu's achievements in this sphere are amplified later in this chapter.

33 Save for the Sisters of St. Anne who took charge of education in several Indian residential schools.


36 Both Cooke in de Mazenod and Cronin in Cross give accounts of the congregation's early history.

37 Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (hereafter MROMI), Vols. I-XX (1891-1921).

38 The Oblates began their withdrawal from American territory in 1858 and relocated at Esquimalt. See Cronin, Cross, p. 53.
39 Cronin, Cross, pp. 95-100.

40 For a discussion of Indian population figures in the nineteenth century, see Duff, Indian History, pp. 38-46.

41 Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, p. 612.


43 The Oblates used two words to describe these gatherings, "reunion" and "mission."

44 This activity is described by Cronin in detail.


47 Cronin, Cross, pp. 123-24; Morice, History, pp. 385-88; MROMI, June, 1903, p. 208.

48 A certain number of band amalgamations continued to take place as smaller bands began to group at central locations (especially where churches were built).

49 The Month, October, 1892, p. 218.

50 Vertical File, Roman Catholic Church, PABC.

51 Fisher, "Indian-European Relations;" Lemert, "Life and Death."

52 Morice, History, pp. 350-52.

53 Ibid.; Lemert, "Life and Death."

54 Principal among these priests were Fathers Durieu, Fouquet, Pandosy, and Le Jacq, each of whom was a member of the "first generation" of Oblate priests to come to British Columbia.

55 Gurney, "Father J.M.R. LeJeune," p. 27; Morice, History, p. 306.
62 The villages of the lower Fraser Valley and the Okanagan Valley were evangelised first, while outlying encampments in the Kootenays, Cariboo, and northern interior did not become thoroughly evangelised until two decades later.
63 Morice, *History*, p. 333.
66 An idea of the boundaries (however flexible) of each missionary district can be acquired through a reading of reports and letters of Oblate priests published in *Missions de la Congregation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée* (Paris, etc.), 1862-1932.
69 These two villages were at the boundary between the two missionary districts, and at the divide between the lands of the Shuswap and Okanagan Indians.
Priests from Kamloops occasionally ventured into the area.


See Missions de la Congregation from 1862.

Early towns in the southern interior initially served by Oblate priests included Kamloops, Merritt, Penticton, Kelowna, Cranbrook, Grand Forks, Kaslo, Nelson, Donald, and Yale.


Runnalls, Its God's Country, p. 34.

The Oblate congregation had other motives in relocating, however. D'Herbomez and his immediate superior, Father Ricard, agreed with a canonical visitor from France (Father Bermond) that the Oblates should move to the north. By 1857 it was clear that the British Columbian Indians and the Colonial government were both more receptive to Oblate efforts than had been their American equivalents. The grass, in effect, was greener on the British side of the international boundary.

Peake, Anglican Church, p. 25.

Vancouver Island and British Columbia were separate colonies until 1866. In 1858 there was an Anglican cleric at Victoria, a lay missionary at Port Simpson, and a clergyman
at Fort Langley.

84 Peake, *Anglican Church*, pp. 25-29. Further endowments were subsequently established to provide support for two archdeacons and several clergymen.

85 George Hills Docket, ACA. The candidacy of Hills is said to have been put forward by Miss Burdett-Coutts herself, for as "the widely known Vicar of Yarmouth," he had acquired "her confidence and esteem." See Good, "Utmost Bounds," p. 11. Miss Burdett-Coutts was one of the more famed and beloved philanthropists of her day, having endowed the Bishoprics of Cape-town and Adelaide as well as that of British Columbia. She also funded schools, hospitals, churches, orphanages, and workers' housing. Highly respected, she was very much a part of Victorian England's upper-class establishment. See C.B. Patterson, *Angela Burdett-Coutts and the Victorians*, London, Murray, 1953.

86 Virtually all Hills' clerical staff were educated at SPG theological colleges or at the High Church-dominated universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

87 That the SPG should oversee the finances of the diocese was significant, for of all Church of England missionary bodies, it was the most elite. The SPG had official status, unlike other church organisations. All English bishops were ex-officio members, the Archbishop of Canterbury was its president, and its annual reports were by law to be submitted to the Lord Chancellor and to the two Lord Chief Justices. See Rev. Canon W.F. France, "The Place of Missionary Societies Within the Church," *The Mission of the Anglican Communion*, ed. E.P. Morgan and R. Lloyd, London, SPCK, 1948, p. 122. See further H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, London, SPCK, 1951, for a broad history of the SPG.


90 Where were gathered "an audience as numerous and probably as influential as had ever before met within its walls." The group included the powerful Bishops of Oxford and London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and a number of Members of Parliament and lesser peers. See Hills, *A Sermon Preached*, p. 15.

91 The Roman Catholic Pemers arrived unannounced and anonymously by Canoe at Cadboro Bay. Unlike Hills he did not become a member of Victoria's fashionable upper-class society.

92 These imperial ambitions were expressed by Bishop Hills as early as 1859. Hills spoke of British Columbia as an important link in the Empire's trade system and hoped that the first transcontinental railway would have its Pacific terminus in his diocese. At the farewell service other speakers argued that the Anglo-Saxon race had a Divinely ordained destiny and that it was Britain's responsibility to civilise and Christianise the heathen within the Empire. At an economic level speakers agreed with the Lord Mayor of London who asserted that "the future prosperity of the colony must be materially advanced by the steady growth there of the Christian Protestant religion." See George Hills, *A Sermon Preached*, pp. 16-17.

93 Bishop Hills himself organised a Columbia Mission Fund which during its life-span of three years raised some £23,000 for the diocese. Its duties and assets were subsequently assumed by the SPG; see Peake, *Anglican Church*, p. 28.


95 Instead, the C.M.S. was active in ministering along the upper coast, especially in the Skeena and Nass River systems. See Peake, *Anglican Church*, pp. 87-98.
96 A major re-organisation in Anglican diocesan structure took place in 1879. At Hills' request the mainland of British Columbia was separated into a northern diocese (Caledonia) and a southern one (New Westminster). Hills retained control of Vancouver Island under the title of the Diocese of Columbia. See Peake, Anglican Church, p. 53.


98 Ibid.

99 Thomas Crosby, Up and Down the North Pacific Coast, Toronto, 1914.

100 Runnalls, Its God's Country, p. 15.


102 Runnalls, Loc. cit.


104 This was not always the case, however. While the Methodists did not deliberately infringe upon Roman Catholic mission territory, they were quick to defend their own converts from Oblate conversions. The lamentation of the lay preacher C.M. Tate may have been typical of Methodist feelings: "Lord save the poor Indians, not only from paganism, but from the semi-heathenism of popery!" See C.M. Tate, Diaries, Fraser River, PABC, entry for 19 February, 1875.

105 C.M. Tate, Our Indian Missions in British Columbia, Methodist Young People's Forward Movement for Missions, c. 1920.


107 Ibid.
108 Ibid., p. 34.
109 Nicola Parish Docket, UCA.

112 Ibid.
113 Davis, Commemorative Review.
115 Ibid., p. 268.
117 Ormsby, British Columbia, pp. 135-63.

118 While, for example, Methodist E. Robson reported on March 20th, 1859 a congregation of 40 miners, with "excellent attention and deep emotion-- many a tear flowed from eyes little used to weeping," he was on several occasions obliged to cancel his services for lack of participants. See Runnalls, Its God's Country, pp. 8-26.


121 Bishop Hills sometimes went out of his way to disrupt the activities of the province's Roman Catholic clergy. On one occasion he took Bishop Demers to court after the latter had fenced off a right of way leading onto the Anglican reserve lands in Victoria. Hills lost the suit and was obliged to pay costs. See Good, "Utmost Bounds," p. 9.

122 Morice, History, p. 278.
123 W.B. Crickmer, letter to the C.C.C.S., 10 June, 1860, recorded in the St. John the Divine, Yale Docket, ACA; see also Christ Church, Hope Docket, ACA; Columbia Mission Reports, 1860-62.

124 Morice, History, p. 316.


129 W.B. Crickmer, letter of 1 July, 1861, Crickmer Correspondence, PABC.

130 Bishop Hills, quoted by Theodore in Heralds, p. 214.


132 The Presbyterian Record for the Dominion of Canada, January, 1877, p. 16. This publication referred to Canadian Roman Catholics as "dry bones" and questioned: "Can these dry bones live? for they are very many and very dry."


135 Ibid.

136 J.B. Good expressed regret in 1872 that the Anglican Church had not earlier involved itself in Indian mission work: "It was humiliating to think that our Church, a purer faith and a more acceptable form of worship, had done so little, and left them to the undisputed sway of a foreign power." See Mission Life, 1872, p. 98.
307

137 Columbia Mission Report, 1867, p. 76.


139 This aid included an early mission to the Songeesh Indians of Victoria.


142 Prior to the Establishment of these two missions, their districts were evangelised by priests from Okanagan Mission and St. Mary's Mission. Because they were outlying districts, the Kootenays and the Thompson basin were only slightly Christianised before the foundation of missions of their own.

143 Duff, Indian History, pp. 96-97; Runnalls, Its God's Country, pp. 16-26.

144 Missions de la Congregation, September, 1887, p. 243.

145 Ibid., p. 249.


147 Missions de la Congregation, December, 1887, p. 353. According to the Anglican writer Gowen, the Oblates were not beneath making wild promises to the Indians. One native chief (Whalem) "had been inveigled into joining the Church of Rome ...(understanding) that his change of religion would result in a speedy recovery from a sickness under which he was suffering." See Gowen, Church Work, p. 46.


150 Quoted by Hacker in "Methodist Church." The statement reflects the Anglican attitude of superiority that annoyed some.
151 The Church of England very rarely openly criticised its Non-conformist colleagues (as it did the Roman Catholics). Instead, it simply trod into Non-conformist territory without either announcement or apology. As time passed both Bishop Hills and his clergy mellowed in their outlook and began to accept that Methodists and Presbyterians ought to enjoy the same rights as themselves.


153 Duff, Indian History, pp. 87-98.


156 The percentages have been calculated from the absolute figures presented in the census.

157 Census of Canada, 1880-81.

158 The boundaries of the enumeration districts are not recorded. The Cariboo district appears to have included the northern part of the southern interior, together with the south-central part of the province.

159 Census of Canada, 1880-81, pp. 198-201.

160 Ontarian immigration was heavy in the 1890's, British in the early 1900's.

161 Census of Canada, 1890-91, Vol. I, pp. 224-226. The percentages presented here have been computed from absolute figures in the census.


163 Ibid. Again, the percentages have been computed from figures in the census.

164 Ibid.
165 Ibid.
166 Ibid.
167 Monthly Record, July-October, 1893, p. 4.
168 Good, "Utmost Bounds."
169 Peake, Anglican Church; Canadian Churchman, 12 November, 1936, p. 644.
170 Canadian Churchman, 12 November, 1936, p. 645.
171 Yearbook, BCYCAS, 1911, Preface.
172 Runnalls, Its God's Country, p. 78.
173 Ibid., p. 46.
179 Cronin, Cross, p. 182.
180 Ibid., p. 224.
181 See MROMI, 1900-1913.
1 A Methodist church near Chilliwack was apparently abandoned by 1887 in the face of an Oblate advance. Similarly, churches used earlier for Anglican services at Nicowmin, Chilliwack, Ohamil, and Popkum were vacated by 1902. See *Missions de la Congregation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, September, 1887, p. 243; *Columbia Mission Report*, 1873, p. 36; and *Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1902, p. 25.

2 The procedure apparently had the tacit approval of government authorities.

3 For a discussion of the "Durieu System" see E.M. Lemert, "The Life and Death of an Indian State," *Human Organization*, Vol. XIII No. 3 (Fall, 1954), pp. 23-27. Anglican missionary J.B. Good built native churches in the late 1860's, with local watchmen appointed to oversee worship. He and his successors used procedures much like those of their Oblate predecessors. See *Columbia Mission Reports*, 1866-73. Rev. H.H. Gowen elaborated on the Anglican missionary system in 1899: "During fifteen years these people have been under instruction, so far as one missionary could cover so large a district. Churches exist in many of the villages, and a kind of service is held regularly by the chiefs and head men of the tribes..." See H.H. Gowen, *Church Work in British Columbia*, London, Longman's, Green & Co., 1899, p. 61.

5 These were all Roman Catholic villages in 1916. See Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Victoria, 1916. Judging from the phenomenal level of Oblate church construction generally, it is to be assumed that some form of church once stood in each of these villages by 1880.

6 Morice, History, p. 336.


8 Columbia Mission Report, 1861-73. The exact date of construction of the first white church at Lytton is unrecorded.


12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., p. 114.


16 Crickmer to Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1 July, 1861. PABC, Crickmer Papers.

17 As Bishop Hills explained: "I do not regret the departure of Mr. Crickmer as I feel that no lasting advantage to this Diocese would result from the support of a society which ever considers Party and not Principle." The C.C.C.S. was an evangelical body which had little use for the High

18 The Anglican clergy proposed "to have Christian settlements in the neighbourhood of Heathen villages, and there to teach industrial habits, to exhibit Christian sympathy and Christian worship, and...to impart direct Christian instruction to them." See Hills, A Sermon Preached, p. 24.


22 Ibid., p. 47. See also F.E. Runnalls, Its God's Country, Ocean Park, 1974, p. 28.

23 Peake, Anglican Church, p. 48.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., p. 49.

26 The Methodists built at Lillooet in 1898, the Presbyterians in 1908. See United Church Archives, Tour Guide, Church Historic Sites: Western Canada, Toronto, 1975, British Columbia section, p. 6.

27 Gowen, Church Work, p. 113, p. 155.

28 Ibid., p. 79, p. 113.

29 Columbia Mission Report, 1871, pp. 49-68.

30 Peake, Anglican Church, p. 120; Gowen, Church Work, p. 169.

31 Armstrong Parish Docket, ACA.
32 Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (hereafter MROMI), June, 1903, p. 208; Missions de la Congregation, September, 1887, p. 251; Souvenir Book, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Merritt, B. C., Merritt, 1923.


35 Missions de la Congregation, May, 1885, p. 41.


39 When the Church of Scotland's kirk at Upper Nicola was dedicated, Methodist preacher James Turner assisted in the services. See Souvenir Book, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church.


41 Because the nave of the church was open to Non-conformist services, only the chancel of St. Saviour's Anglican was consecrated.

42 Methodist and Presbyterian liturgies (and hence, architectural needs) differed from those of the Anglicans.
See, for example, the *Yearbook of the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society* (hereafter, *Yearbook, BCYCAS*), 1911-14, and Gowen, *Church Work*, p. 1. Gowen compared the relationship of the mother country and British Columbia to the relationship of branches to a tree: "the welfare of the children is the welfare of the mother, the strength of the branches the strength of the tree." The Methodist missionaries Robson and White were similarly imperialistic in outlook. See G.S. Hacker, "The Methodist Church in British Columbia, 1859-1900," Unpublished B.A. Essay, University of British Columbia, 1933, p. 78.

*Yearbook, BCYCAS, 1911, p. 14.*

*Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Columbia, 1877, p. 50.*

*Yearbook, BCYCAS, 1911, Preface.*

Presbyterians had similar associations, such as the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Many congregations, of course, received no such aid.


Lemert, "Life and Death," p. 27.

British Columbia, PABC; The Month, May, 1892, p. 87; October, 1892, p. 218.

53 The Shuswap and Columbia Lake churches are nearly identical and were probably built at the same time.

54 Runnalls, Its God's Country, p. 117.


56 MROMI, May, 1892, p. 176; September, 1899, p. 379; Ida Scott, "Historical Sketch...Sacred Heart Church," Boundary Historical Society Report, 4th, 1964, Grand Forks, 1964, pp. 53-54; Nelson, "Father Nicholas Coccola," p. 56; The Month, May, 1893, p. 94; June, 1893, p. 121; June, 1895, p. 92; Okanagan Historical Society, An Illustrated History of Vernon and District, Vernon, 1967, p. 82. The dates of construction of Moyie and Greenwood were obtained on site.

57 Most Non-conformist ministers returned to eastern Canada after two years service in British Columbia.

58 Turnbull, Church in the Kootenays, p. 8.


61 Ibid.

62 Turnbull, Church in the Kootenays, pp. 8-20; Goodfellow, "Summaries;" Parish Dockets, UCA.


64 Ibid.

65 Ibid. See also, Souvenir Book, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church.

66 Ibid.
67 Monthly Record, July-October, 1893, p. 4.

68 Ibid.


71 Runnalls, Its God's Country, p. 133.

72 Ibid.

73 Turnbull, Church in the Kootenays, pp. 22-38, Plates I-XVIII; Goodfellow, "Summaries;" Parish Dockets, UCA; Runnalls, Its God's Country, pp. 131-161.

74 Same sources as for footnote 73.

75 The BCYCAS was formed in 1911 to replace aid from the SPG. See Yearbook, BCYCAS, 1911, Preface.


77 Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, 1901, p. 63; 1905, p. 47.


79 Zeldin, France, pp. 688-93; Latourette, The Nineteenth Century, p. 325.
80 MROMI, July, 1903, p. 252; Souvenir Book, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church. Some of these dates are conjectural.

81 MROMI, October, 1903, p. 357; November, 1903, p. 359; Ernest Doe, Centennial History of Salmon Arm, Salmon Arm, Salmon Arm Observer, 1971, pp. 57-60; Souvenir Book, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church; Photograph No. 41622, PABC.

82 There were, of course, Catholic agriculturalists as well.

83 The Cassorso family at Kelowna, and the Garcia family at Merritt, for example.

84 Goodfellow, "Summaries;" Parish Dockets, UCA.

85 Goodfellow, "Summaries;" Parish Dockets, UCA; Turnbull, Church in the Kootenays, pp. 22-30; Runnalls, Its God's Country, p. 159.

86 Goodfellow, "Summaries;" Turnbull, Church in the Kootenays, Plate XV.

87 Goodfellow, Op. cit. The church was built as a schoolhouse in 1911.

88 Vertical File, Churches of British Columbia, PABC.

89 The church at Penticton was probably built by Oblates. All others were likely supervised by the diocesan clergy.

90 The churches at Notch Hill and Grindrod were built in 1925, according to local sources, and that near Bridesville in about 1923.


93 Yearbook, BCYCAS, 1911, p. 74.
94 Ibid.

95 *Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay*, 1905, p. 91.

96 *Yearbook, BCYCAS*, 1911, p. 48.

97 Ibid.; see also issue for 1912, pp. 100-111; *Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay*, 1923, p. 26; 1913, pp. 149-50, p. 160, p. 168; 1914, pp. 225-37; *Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1913, p. 97; Biographical Dockets, ACA (J.S. Colquhoun, P.C. Hayman, S. Phillimore, H.A. Solly); Parish Dockets, ACA.

98 *Yearbook, BCYCAS*, 1914, p. 198.

99 Ibid., p. 222; 1915, p. 175.

100 *Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay*, 1919, p. 93; The Sho-ok Church was standing by 1916 and is recorded in the 1916 *Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia*.

101 By 1918 most nuclei for settlement were established, and many already had churches.


103 At Monte Creek in 1926, at Boston Bar in 1926, at Oyama in 1928, at Falkland in 1929, and at Winfield in 1930. See Parish Dockets, ACA.
FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 4


2 *Missions de la Congregation des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée* (Paris, etc.), 1883, p. 367.


4 *Yearbook, British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society*, 1915, p. 200.


6 *Work for the Far West* (Diocese of New Westminster), October, 1903, p. 9.


11 "High and Dry" is a 19th century disparaging term for that section of the Anglican Church that remained unaffected either by Tractarian or Wesleyan reforms.


13 Briggs, Age of Improvement, pp. 463-65.

14 Ensor, History, p. 37; Briggs, Age of Improvement, p. 66, p. 469; Seaman, Victorian England, p. 6; Smyth, "Evangelical Discipline," pp. 102-104; Chadwick, Victorian Church, Vol. II,
pp. 466-72.


18 Vidler, *Loc. cit.*


23 According to Ensor, *History*, p. 137, "No one will ever understand Victorian England who does not appreciate that among highly civilized countries it was one of the most religious that the world has known." According to Nicholas Bentley, *The Victorian Scene*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968, p. 194, "In the climate of Victorian opinion to confess being an agnostic was almost like admitting to having venereal disease."


26 Bentley, *Victorian Scene*, p. 82.


32 Ibid., p. 324.

33 Ibid., p. 326.


35 Hughes, *History*, p. 258.


37 The 19th century's veneration of the Virgin received Papal recognition when the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed on December 8, 1854. See Hughes, *History*, p. 233.


40 Ibid., p. 238.


44 Germann, Gothic Revival, p. 135.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., p. 138.

47 Addison, Romanticism, p. 111.

48 Briggs, Age of Improvement, p. 66.

49 John Wesley, quoted by Dearing in Worship, p. 31.


51 Bentley, Victorian Scene, pp. 188-94; Rupp, "Evangelicalism," pp. 105-112.

52 Even in the latter 20th century many Anglicans refuse to consider Non-conformist ministers legitimately ordained.


54 Dearing, Worship.


56 Rupp, "Evangelicalism," p. 112. Men were permitted earthly joy through experiencing the Holy Spirit, but pleasures derived from material surroundings were considered unhealthy.

57 Briggs, Puritan Architecture, p. 27.

58 Ibid., pp. 38-41,

59 Ibid. For the North American case see Mazmanian, Op. cit., and MacRae and Adamson, Hallowed Walls.

60 The linkages between the Anglo-Catholic and French Catholic revivals have been little explored though it seems that the Gothic revival had its genesis in Britain.

61 Pusey himself, like other early Tractarians, was anything but a ritualist. On at least one occasion he lamented he wasn't quite sure where to stand while celebrating the Eucharist. See White, Cambridge Movement, p. 19.

62 Somervell, English Thought, p. 110.

63 Bentley, Victorian Scene, p. 178. "No Popery!" was a rallying cry for extreme Protestants throughout the 19th century. See Best, "Popular Protestantism."


66 Principal among these were the Commissioners' churches of the early 1800's, cheaply built structures intended to relieve pressures on overcrowded urban churches.

68 According to Clark, *Expanding Society*, p. 115, Pugin's view "of the Middle Ages in so far as it represented past history at all, was the Middle Ages with the dirt, cruelty, and corruption left out, while his view of the nineteenth century had the dirt, cruelty, and corruption scrupulously left in, and emphasised."


71 "...the forces which the Tractarians set in motion sooner or later revivified the teaching, the worship, the art and architecture, not only of the whole Church of England, but of other churches too." -Vidler, "Tractarian Movement," p. 118.

72 The ecclesiologists judged the Middle Ages as that time in history when "the architectural and ritual provision for Christian worship" reached its apogee. See White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 29.

73 The ecclesiologists required that churches not only be built in the Gothic style of the 13th century (the "most Christian" and least defiled mediaeval substyle, they said), but in the style of the 13th century only. For a discussion of this point see Kenneth Clark, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 154-55.

74 The reputations of professional architects could be made or broken by reviews in the *Ecclesiologist*. Particularly influential people, of course (like Ruskin, Street, Butterfield, Pugin, and G.G Scott) were less open to criticism and tempered the Society's doctrinaire positions.

75 White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 41.

76 Ibid., p. 77.
77 Similar societies, perhaps more antiquarian in outlook, were formed in Exeter, Lichfield, Salisbury, Bristol, Oxford, Yorkshire, Middlesex, Somerset, Worcestershire, Buckinghamshire, and Ireland. See White, *Op. cit.*, p. 44.


80 Dr. Hook effectively reintroduced chancels to Anglican churches. His revival of the choral service gave clergymen cause to restore ancient chancels or to attach chancels to churches of more recent date.


82 *Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate* (hereafter MROMI), 1891-1913.


84 Ruskin's approbation of the Venetian Gothic style even influenced the Camden Society. In its *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement*, p. 12, the Society declared: "A church is not as it should be till every window is filled with stained glass, till every inch of floor is covered with encaustic tiles, till there is a Roodscreen glowing with the brightest tints and with gold, nay, if we would arrive at perfection, the roof and walls must be painted and frescoed." -quoted by White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 183. Public acceptance of polychromy led, of course, to all manner of High Victorian Gothic horrors.

85 Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 56.

86 As a direct result of the Camden Society's labours, in 1872 "an architect would as soon think of building a church without a chancel, as of building one without a roof."

87 Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 175.

88 Ibid., pp. 170-203; Clark, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 176-96.

89 For a discussion of the main forces contributing to pre-industrial architecture (vernacular), see Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1969.


99 Ibid.

100 Their advertisements may be found in church oriented periodicals such as *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, *The Yearbook and Clergy List of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada*, and *Nisbet's Clerical Directory and Almanack*.

101 There were, of course, many exceptions.

102 White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 98.


105 Ruskin, Pugin, Morris, and the Camden Society all agreed on this point.

106 In eastern North America published designs intended for masonry were executed in wood: "Antique and mediaeval elements were freely converted into wood, plaster, brick, iron, and stone. The architectural book was more than a means of gaining knowledge of past architecture, it was also a stage in the metamorphosis of forms. Because of the moon-like quality of paper architecture, however, the construction of mass and volume was left to the imagination..." -Newman, "Yankee Gothic," p. 35.


111 Through architectural pattern books "the architectural experiences of past ages and remote places became contemporary for the designer." See Newman, "Yankee Gothic," p. 33.


115 Addison, *Romanticism*, p. 29; White, *Cambridge Movement*,


See Germann, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 135-50. After an initial impetus or inspiration from Britain, the European revival of Gothic apparently went its own way; largely unaffected by the ecclesiological thinking that pervaded English architecture.


For comment on *Hierugia Anglicana or Documents and Extracts Illustrative of the Ritual of the Church in England after the Reformation*, London, 1848, see White, *Op. cit.*, p. 67. The *Hierugia Anglicana* was an attempt to show that church leaders in the previous post-Reformation centuries had used practices similar to those advocated by the Society. An enlarged edition was released in 1902-04.


127 The Church of St. James the Less in Philadelphia, for example, drew many of its details (including its lychgate and tombstones) from the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. Several churches in Nova Scotia are equally indebted to the publication. See Stanton, Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture, pp. 92-185.


132 Stanton quotes a passage from the *Horticulturalist* (March, 1848) to suggest Downing's enthusiasm for picturesque rural churches. See Stanton, *Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture*, p. 313.


134 Also published in Cleveland and New York, 1856.


136 The 1881 date depends upon the accuracy of Lambert Florin's *Historic Western Churches*, Seattle, Superior Publishing, 1869, pp. 10-15. According to Florin, California's Bowdie Methodist Episcopal Church was built in 1881. During 1892 the Prices sold 583 sets of church plans. Total sales to 31 December, 1892 were 5933 sets. The Prices continued in business at least until 1907 when another issue of *Church Plans* was released. See also Newman, *Op. cit.*, p. 271.


138 Some, however (such as Mickleswaite), suggested that church arrangements be made slightly less ritualistic (that is, "lower" than the Camden Society had suggested). Such suggestions were no doubt associated with a late 19th century reaction against extreme ritualism. In 1874, for example, the English Primate, Archbishop Tait, introduced a "Public Worship Bill" into the House of Lords (with the support of
Disraeli and the Queen) as a measure to de-Romanise the English Church. See Ensor, History, p. 34 and Somervell, English Thought, p. 109.

139 No Anglican (Episcopalian) or Roman Catholic examples have been located.


141 Ibid., p. 194.


143 This was the case particularly among Baptists.

144 That is, to formalise recently established (or ancient) traditions, and to familiarise builders and congregations with the finer points of church design.


146 Warehouses, factories, greenhouses, railway stations, exhibition halls and other structures were often of prefabricated iron parts. See S. Giedion, Space, Time, and Architecture, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1967, part III. Originally published 1941.


148 Gentleman's Magazine, December, 1844, p. 634. The church measured 65 feet by 40 feet with a chancel 24 feet by 12 feet.

150 See their advertisements in the Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, c. 1913, and in Nisbet's Clerical Directory and Almanack, c. 1906.

151 MROMI, June, 1915, p. 240; October, 1921, p. 434; September, 1894, p. 297; Cooke, de Mazenod, p. 283.


153 L.N. Tucker, Western Canada, Toronto, Musson, 1907, pp. 124-26. Interestingly, it was the evangelical Church Missionary Society rather than the ritualist S.P.G. that financed standardised Prairie churches. Standardisation would have been more distasteful to the S.P.G.

154 Individual expression was important enough in domestic architecture; in ritualist church architecture it was often essential.


156 For an outline history of the balloon frame see Giedion, Space, Time, and Architecture, pp. 347-55.

157 Ibid., p. 349, quoted from Woodward's Country Homes, New York, 1869, pp. 152-164.


159 Ibid., p. 353.

160 Many such furnishings were produced by craft workshops and factories in eastern North America, Britain, and Europe. Their advertisements can be found in dozens of church oriented periodicals. Although designs were usually chosen from catalogues, individualised products could be produced for an appropriate price.
FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 6

1 Indian traditions, of course, were native to the province, though they had little impact on landscape and were seldom accepted by white settlers.


5 Ibid., pp. 223-224.


7 This information is drawn from the Biographical Files, ACA.

8 Ibid.

9 Frank Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia, Vancouver, Mitchell Press, 1959, p. 28; Biographical Files, ACA.

10 Biographical Files, ACA.

11 That is, at the south-west.

12 Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay, 1900, p. 7.

13 Ibid.

14 Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay, 1901, p. 15.
15 Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay, 1902, p. 3.

16 Monthly Record, June, 1890, p. 3; Yearbook, British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society, 1912, p. 28; 1913, p. 147.

17 Souvenir Book, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Merritt, B.C., Merritt, 1923; Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay, 1902, p. 22; Memorial plaque inside St. Saviour's Cathedral, Nelson.

18 See chapter 3 on church construction.

19 Here, "permanent" refers to churches built of stone, brick, or concrete.

20 Work for the Far West, April, 1903, p. 5.

21 Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, 1912, p. 64.

22 These were the Bishoprics of Kootenay and New Westminster. Later, another Diocese (of Cariboo) was separated from New Westminster.


24 Biographical Files, ACA.

25 Quoted by White, Cambridge Movement, p. 2.


28 Hay, Post-Reformation Churches, p. 42.

29 Lindsay, Scottish Parish Kirk, pp. 60-61.


35 J.C. Goodfellow, "Kamloops-Okanagan Presbytery, Summaries of Congregational Histories," UCA.

36 For a discussion of Non-conformity in 19th century Ontario, see Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, *Hallowed Walls: church architecture of Upper Canada*, Toronto and Vancouver, Clarke, Irwin, 1975.


38 For a fuller discussion of the role of pattern books see the subsequent section on facades.

39 Contributors to the *Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate* (hereafter *MROMI*) praised churches by Pugin and sometimes quoted Ruskin to reinforce arguments. See chapter 5 for the views of Chateaubriand, Didron, and Viollet-le-Duc.


43 Model villages, of course, in which the church was the physical and spiritual centre of all activity.
44 Most local superiors were part of an inner circle of "old school" Oblates from France; men such as Pandosy, Fouquet, le Jacq, LeJeune, Chirouse, and Coccola.

45 No evidence has been found of these "rules" ever having been written down, but tacit agreements must surely have existed.

46 According to J.J. Morse in the Kamloops Sentinel (clipping in Churches of B.C. Vertical File, PABC), Father LeJeune "drew up plans for churches with sacristy, sanctuary, nave and porch. The Indians then hewed their own timber and built their own churches."

47 This must have been so, since Indian and white churches so closely resemble one another. Several missionaries, such as Fr. Coccola, Fr. Bédard, and Fr. Welch, spoke of supervising construction themselves.


49 Morse, Loc. cit.

50 Bishop Paul Durieu in Missions de la Congregation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée, 1885, p. 49.

51 D'Herbomez died in 1890. See Morice, History, pp. 388-396.


53 See the preceding chapter.

54 Mission Life, 1887, p. 435.
57 New Westminster's Holy Trinity Church became the cathedral of the diocese in 1879. In 1929, Vancouver's Christ Church became the bishop's seat, though Holy Trinity was permitted to share the title of cathedral. See Peake, *Anglican Church*, pp. 114-115.
60 Or at least to retired members of the regiment. Daniel Richards, a sapper, built St. Mary's, Sapperton, possibly to the designs of Lt. J.C. White. See *A Century of Service, St. Mary the Virgin, 1865-1965*, New Westminster, 1965. Traditions recorded in parish histories ascribe churches at Hope and Lillooet to the regiment. See the Hope and Lillooet Dockets, ACA.
64 Gowen, *Church Work*, p. 4.

66 See chapter 3.

67 English Anglican churches with full peels of bells number in the thousands; in British Columbia costs and needs forbade such luxuries. Even in the 1970's the province has fewer than a half dozen full peels.


72 Various sources. Confirmation of the pattern can be obtained through searches in *Missions de la Congregation* and in the Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

73 Fr. Blanchet and Fr. Le Jacq spent most of their time in the northern interior. Fr. Pandosy worked in the Okanagan for more than three decades. Fr. Le Jeune was long local superior at Kamloops, while Fr. Coccola spent many years at St. Eugene in the Kootenays.


75 With the exception, of course, of the "Long Stanton" churches of the southwestern part of the province. These early Anglican churches owe their facades to historical circumstance.

76 Non-conformist missionaries were responsible to boards in Ontario; Anglican missionaries directly to their bishop.

77 British Columbian, 18 July, 1861.

78 Interestingly, the Okanagan churches also resemble the reunion centre church at Mission (built c. 1861).

79 See chapter 3.

80 Missions de la Congregation, March, 1880, p. 59.

81 Ibid., May, 1885, p. 49.

82 Our lady of Good Hope at Stuart Lake, the Church of the Immaculate Conception in the Okanagan, and the central church at St. Eugene all acted to some extent as prototypes.

83 Various sources, including Cronin, Cross; Morice, History; Gurney, "Father J.M.R. LeJeune;" Nelson, "Father Nicholas Coccola;" and D.M.S. Croquet, "Father Leon Fouquet," Unpublished Manuscript, 1958, PABC.

84 Reviews of Pugin's churches can be found in the Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

85 Cronin, Cross, pp. 3-74.

86 Nelson, "Father Nicholas Coccola," p. 5.

87 The Mission Field, December, 1899, p. 291.

88 In September, 1887 Fr. Peytavin boasted that the clocher at Youkyookwéous "met en rage les méthodistes." See Missions de la Congregation, September, 1887, p. 244.

89 Ibid., 1891, p. 166.

90 Ibid., 1896, p. 24.
Fripp, "Ecclesiastical Architecture," p. 79.
Ibid., June, 1884, p. 491.
Rev. George Bowler, Chapel and Church Architecture, With Designs for Parsonages, Boston, Cleveland, and New York, John P. Jewett & Co., 1856, p. 3.
D.T. Atwood, Atwood's Country and Suburban Houses, New York, O. Judd, p. 175.
One will remember that Methodist churches often had circular, louvred ventilators in their gabled ends.
See Benjamin Price and Max Charles Price, Catalogue of Church Plans, Jersey Highlands, 1907.
For a photograph of the Maple Bay example see G.W. Owen, Heritage of One Hundred Years: Duncan United Church, 1869-1969, Duncan, 1969, p. 14.
The single-unit meeting house with circular ventilators in the gabled ends, 3 bays deep and 3 bays wide, without porch, seems to have been a common type.
The Methodists of New Westminster, for example, built their first church from the cedars on their property. See F.E. Runnalls, Its God's Country, Ocean Park, 1974, p. 16.
The Indians at Qua'aout cut reserve timber and sold it to the Squilax mills to finance their church. See Gurney, "Father J.M.R. LeJeune," p. 84.
The Anglican church at Grand Forks was built with donated lumber. See the Grand Forks Docket, ACA.
The Royal Engineers built several heavy timber (mortice and tenon) churches, including New Westminster's, Derby's, and perhaps Port Douglas' Hope's, and Sapperton's, all Anglican.


Interestingly, builders at Okanagan Mission (Anglican) wanted to build with logs in 1910, but found estimated costs far beyond their means. See Okanagan Mission Docket, ACA.

Richardson, "Hyperborean Gothic," p. 50.

Ibid., p. 54.

The term "hyperborean," a useful one, is used by Richardson, Op. cit. in deference to the Ecclesiologist. For evidence of the Oblate adaption to tropical environments see MROMI, January, 1905, p. 12.


For Burdett-Coutts St. Stephen's Westminster (designed by Ferrey) see Hersey, High Victorian Gothic, pp. 102-104. For the Victoria design see Columbia Mission Report, 1870, frontispiece and p. 14.

Yearbook, British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society, 1912, p. 61, p. 108; 1913, p. 152; 1914, p. 207; Canadian Churchman, 12 November, 1936, p. 642.

Both authors lauded stone as a permanent material (in contrast to the transience and vulnerability of wood) and as a symbolic material (locally quarried and worked). See Bowler, Church and Chapel Architecture, pp. 10-11; and N.H. Egleston,

116 See the MROMI, 1891-1914.


118 The domestic and Tudor revivals also reached the province's domestic architecture. Its main advocates were the architects Samuel Maclure, Cecil Fox, Leonard James, and Bernard Palmer.


120 See the early issues of the Month (New Westminster) and the British Columbian Record (Vancouver).


122 Ibid., 1891, p. 159.

123 Cronin, Cross, p. 129.


126 Some may have been converted to other uses, resheathed, or destroyed.


130 Peake, Anglican Church, p. 39.
131 Ibid., p. 22, pp. 124-25; Armstrong and Nakusp Dockets, ACA.
134 Missions de la Congregation, 1891, p. 159.
135 St. George's Indian Residential School Docket, ACA.
136 Monthly Record, December, 1890, p. 5.
138 Christian Guardian, 11 April, 1894, p. 239; Methodist Recorder, April, 1903, p. 17; British Columbian Record, March, 1903, p. 10.
139 British Columbian Record, March, 1903, p. 9.
140 The distinctive leaded windows of the Okanagan and Similkameen Valleys are perhaps a good example.
141 Pugin True Principles, p. 42.
142 For a fuller discussion of ecclesiological symbols see White, Cambridge Movement, 1962.
143 Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay, 1903, p. 47.
144 Three steps to the choir, three steps to the sacrarium, and three steps more to the altar.
145 Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, 1901, p. 3.
146 Cronin, Cross, p. 162.
This is not to suggest that British Columbian Oblates ignored the Service of the Word. Instruction and prayers were doubtless read, but without the emphasis that lecterns offered.

See MROMI, 1891-1914.

Brass bands were probably first introduced to the province's Indians by William Duncan, the C.M.S. missionary at Metlakatla who reached the north coast in 1857. Brass bands had long been popular in working-class Britain (their use by the Salvation Army is obvious).


MROMI, June, 1895, pp. 316-17.

Missions de la Congregation, 1891, p. 163.

L.N. Tucker, From Sea to Sea: The Dominion, Toronto, Musson, 1911, p. 19.


Isolation that is, from his superiors in Europe.


Atwood, Country and Suburban Houses, p. 175.


Bowler, Church and Chapel Architecture; Tralle, Church Buildings.

See, for example, the Methodist Recorder, January, 1902, p. 2.

N.G. Smith, A.L. Farris, and H.K. Markell, A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Toronto, Centennial Committee on History, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1964, p. 16.
162 Ibid.
164 Ibid.
166 Ibid., p. 160.
168 Parish Dockets, ACA.
169 Publications of missionary bodies often listed their members' names with their ranks or profession.
171 Parish Dockets, ACA.
172 *Work for the Far West*, October, 1903, p. 12.
173 Ibid., 1896, p. 20.
175 *Yearbook, BCYCAS*, 1912, p. 3.
176 Ibid., 1913, p. 160
177 Ibid., 1914, p. 33.
179 *Methodist Recorder*, August, 1923, p. 16.
180 The *Month*, January, 1894 and March, 1895; *MROMI*, February, 1913, iv; March, 1913, iii; February, 1914, ii; November, 1915, back cover.
181 *MROMI*, February, 1913, iv.
182 Ibid., March, 1913, iii.
183 Ibid., November, 1915, back cover.
184 Work for the Far West, 1900, p. 7.


186 Work for the Far West, April, 1899, p. 25.

187 These tablets were probably manufactured in Quebec or Europe.

188 Burdett-Coutts' donated bells were cast at Whitechapel.

189 Christian Guardian, 11 April, 1894, p. 239; The Month, December, 1895, p. 159; Yearbook and Clergy List of the Church of England in Canada, 1917-25.

190 Gurney, "Father J.M.R. LeJeune," p. 86; Churches of B.C. Vertical File, PABC.

191 The Month, December, 1895, p. 159; November, 1892, p. 245.

192 Monthly Record, January, 1894, p. 10.

193 Work for the Far West, April, 1900, p. 7.

194 Ashcroft Docket, ACA.

195 British Columbian Record, March, 1903, p. 12.

196 News-Advertiser, 9 December, 1900, p. 5. The cathedral's altars bore a striking resemblance to the Gothic altars of Fr. Chirouse's Fraser-Lillooet district.

197 Cronin, Cross, p. 83, pp. 128-29.

198 Missions de la Congregation, 1896, p. 45.

199 Altars at Skookumchuck and Kamloops are particularly professional examples of hand-crafted altars.

200 This information was obtained from the warden of St. Francis-in-the-Woods, Queen's Bay, in August, 1974.

201 Information obtained on site and in Parish Dockets, ACA.
202 Yearbook, BCYCAS, 1913, p. 167.


204 The Month, January, 1894.

205 The altar was designed by W. Curtis. See Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, 1907, p. 35.

206 Columbia Mission Report, 1869, p. 16.
FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 7

1 British Colonist, 24 September, 1862, p. 3.


3 Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay, 1900, p. 7.

4 Work for the Far West (Diocese of New Westminster), 1900, p. 7.

5 British Colonist, 24 September, 1862, p. 3.


7 Yearbook, British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society, 1915, p. 77. (hereafter Yearbook, BCYCAS).


9 Yearbook, BCYCAS, 1912, p. 38.


13 Missionary Record of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, September, 1899, p. 310. (hereafter MROMI).

14 The Month, November, 1892, p. 252.
15 Missions de la Congregation des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée, June, 1878, p. 193.

16 Ibid., May, 1885, p. 49.


19 Ibid., 1891, p. 159.


22 Many observers were struck by the architectural quality of Indian churches and viewed them as tangible proof of material and spiritual progress among the natives.

23 Gowen, Church Work, p. 155.

24 Work for the Far West, 1897, p. 6.


26 Ibid.

27 The province's denominational composition and the origins of its architectural traditions, however, made British Columbian buildings stylistically distinct from those of the American West and the Prairies. The onion domes and Quebec-style Catholic churches of the Prairies and the neo-Classical architecture of the American West had little impact in British Columbia.
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