SETTLEMENT AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE BISHOPRIC OF BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1859-1863

by

Roberta L. Bagshaw

B.A. Simon Fraser University, 1983.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS in the Department of Geography

© ROBERTA L. BAGSHAW 1987
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
JULY 1987

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.
NAME: Roberta Lee Bagshaw

DEGREE: Master of Arts

TITLE OF THESIS: Settlement and the Church of England in the Bishopric of British Columbia: 1859-1863

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

CHAIRMAN: W.G. Bailey

P.M. Koroscil
Senior Supervisor

E.M. Gibson

N.K. Clifford
Associate Professor
External Examiner
Religious Studies
University of British Columbia

Date Approved: July 30, 1987
PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

Settlement and the Church of England in the Bishopric of

British Columbia: 1859-1863

Author:

(signature)

Roberta Lee Bagshaw

(name)

July 30, 1987

(date)
ABSTRACT

A sudden influx of gold miners onto mainland British Columbia in 1858 provoked the British government to establish a second colony in the territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast, north of the forty-ninth parallel. The Crown moved quickly to introduce its traditional institutions of colonization by the appointment of Chief Justice Begbie, a corps of Royal Engineers under Colonel Moody, and a colonial bishop for the Church of England, George Hills D.D. Although the influence of the British judicial system and the work of the Royal Engineers in establishing British settlement has been widely acknowledged, the influence of the church has not been as well known.

The policies carried out by Bishop Hills were an integral part of the stabilization of settlement in British Columbia between 1859 and 1863. Evidence of these policies can be seen by (1) an increase in the number of church related structures, and (2) an increase in the number of British emigrants who came because of some contact with the Church of England.

A biographical approach has been used to assess the nature and extent of the impact the Church of England had on the settlement landscape. Therefore, the journals that Bishop Hills wrote between 1859 and 1863, his letters and reports sent to England, and maps published to show the work of the church in both colonies form the main part of the documentation, and the basis for an understanding of the initial effort to establish
British settlement in the diocese, named the Bishopric of British Columbia.

The conclusions show that the policies of the Church were influential in the creation of an ordered British landscape from the beginning of settlement. Churches constructed between 1860 and 1863 were built in the townsites which the government had set aside for settlement in the Colony of British Columbia, and where towns had already been established in the Colony of Vancouver’s Island. The introduction of a plan for the emigration of British women to help establish permanent settlement of the towns in the Colony of British Columbia also demonstrates the cooperation that existed between the colonial government and the Church of England.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Policy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bishopric of British Columbia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Basis of the Columbia Mission</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of Hypothesis</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time period Examined in the Thesis</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Material for the Thesis</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of the Thesis Material</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geographical Literature</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Literature About Colonization</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historians and the Colonial Period</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors Inhibiting Studies of the Colonial Period</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Biographical Approach and the Social Sciences</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Biographical Approach and Historical Geography</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Biographical Approach in the Thesis</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hills Journals as a Record for Historical Geography</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the Material</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER THREE: SETTLEMENT IN THE BISHOPRIC OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Implementation of Policies</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Church of England and Settlers</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitations in the Bishopric: 1860-1863</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlements in the Colony of British Columbia:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yale</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lytton</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillooet</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary: Settlement and the Church of England in the Colony of British Columbia</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlements in the Colony of Vancouver’s Island</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberni</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lake District: Yales Land</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Saanich</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Rt. Rev. George Hills D.D., Bishop of British Columbia ca. 1859. Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia. 2A

Figure 2. Map: The Bishopric of British Columbia, 1860. Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia. 5A

Figure 3. Map: Visitations in the Bishopric of British Columbia, 1860-1863. Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia. 46A

Figure 4. Holy Trinity Church, New Westminster, 1861. Provincial Archives of British Columbia. 48A

Figure 5. Map: "New Westminster", 1859. Provincial Archives of British Columbia. 49A

Figure 6. Christ Church, Hope, 1978. Barry Downs. 50A

Figure 7. St. Thomas's, Chilliwack, ca. 1873, formerly St. Mark's, Douglas. Archives of the Diocese of New Westminster. 53A

Figure 8. St. Mary's, Lillooet, n.d. Provincial Archives of British Columbia. 61A

Table 1. Names and Locations of Anglican Churches in British Columbia: 1859-1863. 85A

Figure 9. The Victoria District Church, 1859-1860, Later Christ Church, Victoria. Provincial Archives of British Columbia. 86A

Figure 10. St. John's, Victoria, n.d. Provincial Archives of British Columbia 87A

Figure 11. Typical Design of Anglican Churches built in the Colony of British Columbia. 104A

Table 2. Church Properties Purchased from 1860-1863. 106

Figure 12. Map: Church of England Properties in Victoria: Churches, Schools, Endowment Properties, 1860-1863. 106A

Figure 13. Map: Anglican Churches for Settlers in the Bishopric of British Columbia, 1860-1863. 132A
CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

British Columbia was the third and last of the gold colonies which the British government formed by the middle of the nineteenth century. Following discoveries of gold in South Africa and South Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century colonial governments and colonial bishops were established by the Crown to encourage permanent settlement. The discovery of gold in British Columbia during the late 1850’s resulted similarly in the formation of a new colony and a concurrent expansion of the Church of England in the colonies of Vancouver’s Island and British Columbia to strengthen British settlement.

The British government had little apparent interest in the settlement of mainland British Columbia until after the discovery of gold along the lower Fraser River. The rapid increase of population in 1858, comprised mainly of miners who had no clear intention of becoming British subjects, troubled the government. Because the Oregon Territory and the Colony of British Columbia were part of the same land mass, the colony was vulnerable to American territorial expansion. The need for a local government and law and order provoked the Colonial Office to strengthen its presence and officials were appointed to serve the Colony of British Columbia in 1859. This increase in officials representing the British government, judicial and religious institutions contributed to the miners’ recognition of the forty-ninth parallel as a boundary, not a continuation of American territory.

(1)
Rt. Rev. George Hills D.D., Bishop of British Columbia ca.1859. He was the only Bishop to be appointed during the colonial period, and his diocese encompassed both colonies until 1879.

Figure 1.

(2A)
The colonial infrastructure was organized and functioning within a one year period at a time when the exchange of letters between London and Victoria required at least six weeks. The parliamentary act to found the Colony of British Columbia was passed in 1858. The appointment and arrival of Chief Justice Begbie and the Royal Engineers under Colonel R.C. Moody, and the inauguration of James Douglas Governor of the Colony of Vancouver’s Island as governor for the new colony, occurred between March and November of 1859. The first Bishop for the Church of England was appointed by the Crown at this same time. The haste with which these appointments were made implied that the British government saw a need to establish a framework for settlement promptly.

George Hills D.D. was appointed Bishop of British Columbia for the Church of England by Royal Letters Patent, dated January 12, 1859 (See figure 1.). The appointment of a colonial bishop for the Church of England during the initial period of British settlement was not coincidental, but an important part of the government’s intention to establish the permanent settlement of British Columbia.

**COLONIAL POLICY**

In the latter half of the nineteenth century British policies were influenced by a system of colonial planning that advocated a greater measure of self-government, known as the Wakefield School; it was used in South Australia, New Zealand and British Columbia. This theory was concerned with improvements in.
land policy, and emigration. The policy stipulated that funds raised through the sale of land should provide emigration assistance and thus increase the number of settlers available as a labouring class. A second aspect of the Wakefield system, involved the churches in the initial stage of colonial settlement.

Recognizing that in the past, the most successful emigration had been closely allied with religious influences, they sought to enlist the aid of the Churches... By this means, a better class of emigrant was obtained than the kind who had, for the most part, emigrated since the New England Colonies were founded by non-conformity. 4

Although both aspects of the Wakefield system had an influence on the policies developed by the Colonial Secretary Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, the second aspect has not often been recognized as part of his policies. Lytton "instructed Douglas to shape his policy towards the establishment of representative institutions and to develop a sense of identity between the immigrants and the government". Along with the appointment of a Governor, Chief Justice, and the Royal Engineers, the Bishop of British Columbia was designated a representative of the British Crown because the Church of England was able to strengthen the ties between settlers and the colonial government.

Among the names mentioned in an official list of appointments made by the Crown the Bishop of British Columbia and two other Anglican clergymen were cited; they were appointed "not merely as missionaries of the Episcopalian body, ... but also as appointees of the Government". This appointment by the British Government was in keeping with the aims of the Wakefield
system. In the mid-nineteenth century new ideas were emerging in England and these helped to establish the settlement of the colonies in a more systematic way.

**THE BISHOPRIC OF BRITISH COLUMBIA**

The endowment given by Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund in 1858 for the creation of a Bishopric in British Columbia was officially acknowledged by the Colonial Office in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

To lay the foundation of a Christian Church in all its completeness simultaneously with the establishment of a civil policy is a worthy system of colonization, in which, as your Grace rightly apprehends, Her Majesty's Government will gladly co-operate to the best of their ability, and will offer every facility for the erection of the new see. For my own part, as the Minister especially charged with the superintendence and administration of the new colony, I would desire, through your Grace, to express to Miss Burdett Coutts the high and grateful appreciation which I entertain of this her latest, but not least munificent, contribution to the purposes of Christianity and civilization.

The British government provided the Royal Letters Patent the following year and George Hills was consecrated the first Church of England Bishop of British Columbia early in 1859. The Bishop as head of the Church of England in British Columbia, was responsible for ecclesiastical decisions which included the appointment of clergymen, missionaries and the location of churches. The royal patent made the Bishop "a body corporate" legally "able and capable" to "have full power to purchase" and own lands, houses, churches, endowment properties, other annuities, and hereditaments "of what nature or kind soever in
The Bishopric of British Columbia, 1860.
This map was published with extracts from the Bishop's journals and sold in Britain to benefit the Columbia Mission. Base map: James Wyld, "British Columbia" scale 1:60. (London: Columbia Mission, 1860).

Figure 2.
fee or in perpetuity".

The Bishopric of British Columbia contained both the crown colonies of British Columbia within one ecclesiastical administrative unit (See Figure 2.). The diocese was limited by the boundaries of the British territory west of the Rocky Mountains. Its borders were identical with the political boundaries for the two colonies. The southern border was along the forty-ninth parallel and the northern line followed the Finlay River, a branch of the Peace River. The eastern limit was set at the Rocky Mountains and the western border was the Pacific Ocean. The Queen Charlotte Islands then a part of the Colony of British Columbia, and the islands between Victoria and the mainland which were part of the Colony of Vancouver’s Island, were included within the same diocese.

The appointment of a Colonial Bishop brought all the clergymen and missionaries connected with the Church of England who were already in the colonies before the Bishop under his jurisdiction. In the Colony of Vancouver’s Island the chaplain employed by the Hudson’s Bay Company in Victoria, Rev. Edward Criddle, and Rev. I. Gammage who had been sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and was at Douglas both came under his direction. Those in the Colony of British Columbia responsible to the Bishop were, William Duncan at Fort Simpson who had been sent by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and the representative of the Continental & Colonial Church & School Society (C&CCS), Rev. W.B. Crickmer who
was at Fort Langley. Duncan and Cridge were previously licenced by the Bishop of London but were henceforth under the newly appointed Bishop of British Columbia. The appointment of the Colonial Bishop altered the original less formal arrangement. This is the main reason that Colonial Secretary Lytton insisted that Governor Douglas comply with the change in ecclesiastical authority.

Copies of correspondence between Governor Douglas, the Colonial Office and the Bishop between January 6 to April 9, 1859, show that Governor Douglas was instructed to refrain from making decisions that related to the Church of England. The letter from Sir E.B. Lytton to Governor Douglas, dated March 24, 1859, makes the direction from the Colonial Office clear.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch no.69 of the 7th January reporting the arrival of the Revd. W.B. Crickmer with a Licence from the Bishop of London to fulfil the Office of Chaplain to the Residents in British Columbia.

I have to acquaint you that Mr. Crickmer has not received from me any appointment as Chaplain. On the formation of the Civil Government in B. Columbia, the Society for the propagation of the Gospel appointed the Revd I. Gammage to officiate there and he was granted a Passage to the Colony in the "Thames City" which conveyed the Royal Engineers. Shortly afterwards the Colonial Church Society selected Mr. Crickmer as their missionary. Neither clergyman received any promise of remuneration or other privileges, and I should regret if owing to the terms of the Bishop's licence you should assign to Mr. Crickmer any seniority of position amongst the Clergy in the Colony.

...I must instruct you that no permanent ecclesiastical arrangements can be made till they shall have received the sanction of the Bishop of B. Columbia who may be expected shortly to arrive in the Colony.
The appointment of the Bishop of British Columbia in 1859 had the effect of limiting the official capacity of Governor Douglas and strengthening the power of the Church of England to implement its policies independent of the local government, solely under the Bishop.

It was thus the combination of the endowment fund and the cooperation of the Colonial Office that brought about the appointment of the first Bishop of British Columbia. Apart from this there may have been a small increase in the number of clergy or missionaries arriving, but a large expansion of the Church of England would probably not have occurred at this time. The church was in a position to significantly influence settlement.

THE BASIS OF THE COLUMBIA MISSION

Two of the contemporary movements in the Church of England influenced Bishop Hills and the nature of his episcopate in British Columbia. One was the tractarian movement and the other was the concept of a Colonial Bishop.

The Tractarian movement, which reaffirmed the right of succession of the Bishops and emphasized the church building as a place of worship for all classes of people influenced Bishop Hills. Also he was comfortable in the company of working class people in the parish of Leeds. The Bishop of Oxford referred to Bishop Hills as well qualified to work with “rough, hard, rugged, impetuous natures” at the first meeting of the Columbia Mission.

The creation of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund and the appointment of Colonial Bishops was a new concept within the
the Church of England. It initiated "a completely new system of church activities overseas"; instead of waiting until a sufficient number of Anglicans requested a bishop for the new settlements, this concept argued that "the Bishop should be part of the actual pioneer force":

Let every band of settlers which goes forth from Christian England, with authority to occupy a distinct territory, and to form a separate community, take with it not only its civil rulers and functionaries, but its Bishop and clergy.

The application of the concept can be seen in the way the Columbia Mission was organized. The prospectus for the "Columbia Mission Special Fund" outlined the goal of the mission; it was to anticipate "the religious needs of the colony by supplying the ordinances of the Church of England in their fulness and spirituality, from the beginning" (italics theirs).

Funding for the Church of England in the Bishopric of British Columbia came from two major sources between 1859 and 1863. Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts provided 25,000 l. for the endowment of stipends for the Bishop and two Archdeacons. The other source of funding came as a result of the Bishop's ten month deputation in England, Scotland and Ireland on behalf of the Columbia Mission; this was conducted between the time of his consecration as Bishop and his departure for Victoria. An additional 15,000 l. was raised through the donations and pledges which were given for the five year period between 1859 and 1863. The funds given under the Columbia Mission were needed for "building churches, mission-houses, residences, and colleges for
youth", and "provision by purchase of land, or otherwise, for gradual endowment of churches" in the colonies of British Columbia. During the years to 1863, the funds raised in England provided the main source of funds for a visible expansion in the number of churches. These buildings gave the landscape of the first settlements the markings of a land under British rule.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The influence of British policies in the first significant period of colonial settlement have not, to date, been a subject of research for a historical geography of British Columbia. That the Church of England was present during the period is generally agreed upon, but how it influenced British settlement is essentially unknown. What was the nature and extent of the influence that Church of England policies had on the settlement of British Columbia during the first period of George Hills' episcopate, between 1859 and 1863? An examination of the affects of Bishop Hills' policies on places, or towns, in the Colony of British Columbia and the Colony of Vancouver's Island provides a clearer understanding of how the Church of England helped establish the colonies as a permanent home for British people through the provision of churches.

Church of England policies are limited to those policies upheld by the Bishop of British Columbia between 1859 and 1863. The Bishop had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole of nineteenth century British Columbia and was the chief
decision maker for the Church of England.

The term colony refers to the territorial possession of a sovereign nation, located outside its national boundaries, with a population that seeks a permanent residence there. Another term for colonization, used in the nineteenth century, is implantation or transplantation.

Settlement is a general term used to refer to place, and the introduction of a population that seeks to build a home in a newly acquired landscape. In the nineteenth century the term settlement was used interchangeably with 'town', and this has also been retained. The definitions overlap in meaning.

The ordinary definition of influence, which refers to the action of one person or object upon another, is clarified by the particular application of the concept within the biographical approach used in this thesis. Therefore, a longer discussion of the term 'influence' is included in the final chapter.

STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESIS

The Church of England policies most relevant to a historical geography which focuses on settlement concern the building of churches and the increase of British emigration between 1859 and 1863. These policies resulted in an increase of the number of properties owned by the Church of England and, in 1862, the Church was directly involved with a scheme to stabilize settlements by increasing the number of British women emigrants.

The hypothesis argues that the policies carried out by Bishop Hills were an integral part of the
stabilization of settlement in British Columbia between 1859 and 1863. The policies of the church helped to bring order out of the chaotic temporary sites in the Colony of British Columbia and they strengthened the British settlements which had already begun to form on the Colony of Vancouver’s Island. The main hypothesis is supported by two corollaries: (1) an increase of Church of England structures in British settlements, and (2) an increase in the number of British emigrants who came because of contact with the Church of England.

While the buildings of the Church of England provided a connection with the past and a tangible sense of home for British settlers, the plan to increase the number of British women emigrants made the continuation of settled places more certain. Both aspects were important for the establishment of permanent British settlement in the mid-nineteenth century.

**TIME PERIOD EXAMINED IN THE THESIS**

The five year period examined in the thesis has been chosen because it coincides with a number of changes in colonial government and with the first period of the Bishop’s episcopacy. In 1863 the initial troop of Royal Engineers were disbanded and the chief officer of the Royal Engineers, Colonel R.C. Moody, was among those who returned to England. The Lillooet-Harrison route which connected New Westminster and Yale was supplemented with the Cariboo Road, and by 1864 Governor Douglas resigned. The period also coincides with the first important population
expansion and the subsequent decline that occurred after the Cariboo gold rush. During this period the first efforts to establish the Church of England in both colonies of British Columbia began. The initial period of British settlement was over.

The year 1859 was the first year of George Hills official involvement with British Columbia; it commenced with his consecration as Bishop of British Columbia on February 24. From the end of February to the time of his departure for British Columbia, the Bishop was engaged in a tour of Great Britain to raise money and inform the public about the Columbia Mission. He left England on November 17, 1859 and arrived in Victoria on January 6, 1860. In the years to 1863 he visited many places where settlement was beginning. In 1863 the Bishop returned to England to replenish his funds for the next five years. The funds, donated in 1858 and 1859 were depleted, and the Bishop was obligated to renew or replace these funds.

RESEARCH MATERIAL FOR THE THESIS

The journals of Bishop Hills are the primary basis for observations about British settlement between 1859 and 1863. They provide a contemporary view of the initial period of British settlement and offer a documentation useful for historical geography. The, almost daily, entries written during the first five years that George Hills was Bishop of British Columbia comprise about 1000 pages, they were transcribed by the National Museum in 1960.

(12)
There are two archives in British Columbia which contain most of the materials that relate to Bishop Hills. The Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia, Vancouver, holds the complete collection of his journals written between 1838 and 1895, several notebooks, letters, and the Columbia Mission Reports which were published in England. The length of material concerning Bishop Hills occupies about 1.5 meters of space in the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia. The Archives of the Diocese of British Columbia, Victoria, has the charter documents for the colonial Bishopric, records of property transactions within the diocese and other letters that were written by the Bishop.

The Columbia Mission Reports published in London provided a summary of events that were connected with the diocese for supporters of the mission, frequently they contained excerpts from the Bishop's journals. A number of maps were printed with the Columbia Mission Reports. In particular, the maps published in 1860 and 1861, made by James Wyld Geographer to the Queen, have been helpful for this study.

**DEVELOPMENT OF THE THESIS MATERIAL.**

The second chapter contains a literature review and a discussion of the biographical approach in the social sciences and historical geography. Research on the colonial period done by historians and geographers is also examined. The importance of the Hills journals for a historical geography concerned with the Church of England and settlement forms part of the same
chapter. An explanation of methods used to analyze the material concludes the discussion of the thesis material.

Chapter three reconstructs the process of British settlement by examining the position of the Church of England within both colonies from the Bishop's perspective, emphasising the places where churches were built between 1860 and 1863. It also includes a discussion of several settlements in the Colony of Vancouver's Island which the Bishop visited, although no churches were built at the time, because the observations recorded in the journals clarify the Bishop's views of settlement. The chapter is intended to show how the Church of England influenced individual settlements in the two colonies.

Chapter four and five are corollaries, which support and clarify the chapter on settlement. Chapter four focuses on the landscape of Victoria because it was the place of the greatest number of church properties during the period. Chapter five concerns the Church of England and British emigration. It views the awareness of a need for increased British emigration as the result of building churches in the British settlements for a population that was primarily English in racial origin, but not British in its sentiments.

The final chapter evaluates the meaning of influence in the context of the biographical approach, and in the light of the main hypothesis. The conclusions show that the Church of England policies were influential in the creation of an ordered British landscape from the beginning of settlement.

(14)
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

Literature about settlement, the Church of England, and the colonial period can be found in a variety of academic literature. There are geographical articles on settlement, and the colonial period in North America; there are also histories of British Columbia which refer to the colonial period. Some articles have been published about the Church of England by social historians and church historians, but there is no single field which explores all three aspects in one framework. When the topics are combined in a single research project there are few guideposts in the literature for a geographical study.

GEOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

Geographical research on settlement often focuses on "settlement form" which "refers primarily to the geometric arrangement of various physical structures created by man; settlement geographers look for regularities in the distribution of cultural landscape features". These kinds of studies have been used to show the distribution of physical and cultural characteristics of regions for historic and non-literate cultures in a given place and period.

Some studies of settlement form have examined religious communities which introduced landscape patterns quite distinct from those of nearby communities, like Hutterite colonies in the Prairie Provinces or the Mormon community in the United States. However, the studies that analyze landscape patterns have not
usually examined settlements that were influenced by the major Christian denominations, perhaps because they are not as clearly identifiable on the landscape. Neither has the study of landscape patterns generated literature which examines the basis or motivation behind periods of settlement expansion.

Geographers have often overlooked the study of "images and ideals, prejudices, tastes, illusion and the faith of men... Yet these are geography-makers as much as continental drift or mean annual rainfall, or the latest piece of technology".

During the nineteenth century, when settlement occurred in British Columbia, religion still had an influence on the general culture:

there is no question that historically, and in primitive cultures today, religion has played and does play an important role in the patterning of the landscape, there is equally little question that in modern secular culture its impact on the landscape is minimal. 25

Geography of religions has also focused on patterns of religious distribution and several studies have been about the main Christian denominations; they generally employ a large quantity of demographic data to demonstrate the variations of denominational density and strength.

David E. Sopher's *Geography of Religions* demonstrated the general distributions of religions on a world scale; the study is still useful for a broad understanding of religions and culture areas. Wilbur Zelinsky's study of American denominational adherence was based on an American Council of Churches census; in order to demonstrate American denominational
distributions in 1952, he produced more than twenty maps. John D. Gay's study of denominational adherence in England was based mainly on a nineteenth century census and it also produced a large number of maps to show the distribution of church membership.

These studies are valuable for an understanding of the particular cultural regions, but they are limited in their application to regions outside the study areas. If such an approach were contemplated for an analysis of the early colonial period in British Columbia it would face difficulties. A geography of religion appears unworkable for British Columbia between 1859 and 1863 because the churches were few in number, and in comparison with other studies that have used this approach, there is a lack of statistics regarding church membership during the period.

**GEOGRAPHIC LITERATURE ABOUT COLONIZATION**

French Human Geographers, in the 1930's were among the first to classify types of colonies for geographical study. Their classification system was applied to modern industrial colonization in third-world countries. The perspective of the French School has not recently been used, partly because of changes in the nature of cultural geography studies, which have been less concerned with description and classification, and more with the use of quantitative methods.

D.W. Meinig, an American geographer, recognized a need for
more studies on the North American colonial period almost forty years ago. He noted that it was "a serious indictment of American geography to find that so large a portion of the experience of European peoples on the American continent [has been] represented by so small a portion of our professional attention". This comment was made in conjunction with the observation that the geographic region along the American eastern seaboard between New England and South Carolina was large, and the period of colonization was one hundred seventy years between the founding of Jamestown, Virginia and the Declaration of Independence.

Roughly ten years later, H. Roy Merrens, a historical geographer who has produced several articles and books on the Carolinas in the colonial era. He argued for the need to study the process of settlement through the eyes of the colonists themselves, based on archival documentation.

While the comments of Meinig and Merrens cannot be directly linked to studies done of the colonial period by Canadian geographers, there are two articles about settlement that have been influenced by similar ideas. These articles both analyze the colonial period and make use of archival sources. They also examine the influence of religion on the landscape of Upper Canada in the nineteenth century.

D.G. Cartwright explains "patterns and processes of French Canadian settlement" in the Eastern Ontario counties of Russell and Prescott by reference to the ecclesiastical structure of the Roman Catholic Church. He suggests that "the functional
and formal organizations of the ecclesiastical territory" created a "replacement frontier". For Cartwright the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the communities in Upper Canada was positive because it established a successful programme of colonization.

A paper on the settlement of Mono Township has focused on the environmental impact of Ulster protestant immigrants who settled in Upper Canada in the nineteenth century. The protestant work ethic which tied "religious belief and economic enterprise" together was seen as the basis for irreparable damage to the local landscape. For the authors of this paper, the influence of religion on the landscape was negative because it was the basis for a way of life that caused soil erosion problems.

Both these articles discuss the influence of religious perspectives on settlement; their different conclusions center on the differences of places, religious affiliations, and on the long-term effects of settlement. They analyze the philosophies that motivated settlement, and thus move the geographical exploration of settlement along a continuum of studies, from those mainly concerned with the spatial distribution of religion toward those that examine the influence of religious perspectives behind the settlement of Upper Canada.

One book, that specifically deals with British Columbia in the pre-confederation era makes a brief reference to the influence of religion on settlement:

The gold-seekers did not become different men as they
approached the diggings. They and the gold rushes were very much products of their time; individualism, competitiveness, productive energy, and destructiveness were characteristic of much of North American settlement, particularly in the nineteenth century. In many ways they may be thought of as rough models of much of North American settlement, although in one respect they were different. Where, after some initial movement in the early pioneer years, men usually settled down to farm, some held the belief that the encounter with the wilderness marked a fresh start, the beginning of a new and better society. Almost inevitably this belief was tied in one way or another to Christianity. It provided a collective view that contrasted and sometimes diluted the strong individualism and competitiveness of the frontier, giving rise to much of North American idealism. In the gold rushes such a view was almost entirely absent. 38

The authors imply that Christianity had a limited influence on settlement in other places of North America but not in British Columbia. This view of colonial settlement has not been questioned by other geographers. Aside from this work, very little research has been published by geographers interested in the settlement of British Columbia. In general geographers have relied on historians for information about the colonial period. There is therefore a need to understand how historians have regarded the influence of churches on the settlement of British Columbia.

HISTORIANS AND THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Histories of British Columbia have been divided into three periods, each with a different emphasis. From the late nineteenth century to World War I historians were impressed with the strong self-made individualists who had tamed the wilderness of British Columbia. During this period historians were able to...
interview some of the original pioneers, and those that had been in close contact with them. In the second period, between the two World Wars the first department of history was formed at the University of British Columbia. W.N. Sage, History department head, adopted "frontierist modes of thought" which were based on J.F. Turner's concepts. The third period has been termed the post-war period. During the most recent period scholars have tried to rectify the omissions of earlier histories which tended to relegate native culture to an inferior position. In each of these periods the influence of the churches has generally been disregarded, or left as peripheral to historical accounts of the colonial period.

The historians who wrote prior to World War I would have been most likely to include the churches since they were closer in time to the nineteenth century when the churches had a stronger social influence. Yet, they were concerned to show how the colonies were built by strong individuals and not by British institutions. For example, F.W. Howay's account of the colonial period credits members of the House of Assembly for the Colony of Vancouver's Island with protecting the public from "the threat" of a Clergy Reserve, thereby preventing the introduction of a state church in the colony.

In the middle period historians tended to see British Columbia as an appendage to the United States and thus identified with North America more than with Britain. For the churches this has meant that they were seen as a part of the American frontier movement. In particular the sociologist S.D. Clark, who supported (21)
Turner's Frontier theory and influenced historians, saw the Church of England as inadequate to meet the needs of settlers in the colonial period.

In the more recent period historians have often criticized the churches for their treatment of natives, and this, combined with the increasing secularization of the twentieth century, has not helped historians to regard the influence of nineteenth century churches as an important part of the history of British Columbia. Margaret Ormsby's History of British Columbia, a political and economic history of "capitalistic development in the province", and Jean Usher's study of William Duncan of Metlakatla, a missionary to the Tsimshian Indians, illustrate the polarization of historical studies done in this period. The separation of political and economic histories from those considered to be church histories has meant that, for the most part, there has been no means of integrating the histories of colonial churches with the few studies that have examined the colonial period.

Canadian church historians and social historians have published more about the colonial religious institutions located east of the Rocky Mountains than about those in British Columbia. Therefore, studies done about other parts of Canada have served as the basis for understanding British Columbia's churches. Often generalizations are made about the churches of one area which imply that they had the same impact during the nineteenth century in all of Canada. When this occurs the variations between settlements in the same region are overlooked, and the influence
of individual decision makers in a period of relative isolation
is minimized. Also Peake's, *The Anglican Church in British
Columbia* did not have the advantage of some of the original
documents, such as the complete journals of Bishop Hills, and
this has diminished its potential influence on other historians.

In a recent bibliography of the pre-confederation period
which contains historical materials that were published up to
1981, there are references to religious histories for all the
regions of Canada except the Pacific Coast, or British Columbia.
The bibliographical material in *A Reader's Guide to
Canadian History* is "structured around a series of themes
presented generally within the context of a regional
perspective". The chapters on Quebec, the Atlantic Provinces,
and Upper Canada have all included a sub-section that identifies
material on the role of religious institutions. In the chapter
that cites historical materials for "The North, the Western
Interior and The Pacific Coast" one paragraph is concerned with
material about churches. It discusses missionary activity
in the western interior during the fur trade period, and
concludes with the following advice to the researcher: "these
journals, often tedious to read, because of short daily entries,
provide some insight into the fur-trade/mission relationship
which included much mutual distrust". There are no
bibliographical references or comments about British Columbia.
The absence of materials in such an outstanding bibliography, and
the comment which implies that what does exist is of limited
value for the researcher, provokes discouragement and curiosity.

(23)
It also supports the idea that the influence of churches during the colonial period in British Columbia must have been minimal.

S.D. Clark's article, "The Gold Rush Society of British Columbia and the Yukon", is a standard resource article about the sociological background of the colonial period for geographers. The article argues that the gold rush involved "a complete tearing away from the old ties and traditional controls" and that there was little desire to establish "enduring social relationships and institutions"; therefore the influence of the churches was negligible. It claims that the Church of England gained a favoured position with the government of British Columbia because it "sacrificed the goodwill of the great mass of people" as it did "so often in colonial possessions".

In the book published by S.D. Clark in 1948, he explained that the frontier disintegrated the "traditional organization" of the Church of England in Upper Canada. The failure of the Church of England was related to its inability "to become a Canadian church because its interests in maintaining the privileges of Establishment made it dependent upon the imperial tie".

Clark's comments on the development of the Church of England in Upper Canada, and those that explained the failure of the Church of England in British Columbia do not greatly differ. In spite of the fact that the article on the gold rush began with the statement that the "development of placer gold mining on the Pacific Coast ... gave rise to a type of society very different from any which had grown up in the eastern regions of Canada", similar explanations are given for the failure of the (24)
Church of England in British Columbia and Upper Canada.

The assumption that the church had a similar affect in the British colonies of Upper Canada and those in British Columbia is a generalization that might be challenged by a series of research projects based on a variety of perspectives. This would perhaps enlarge the scholarly debate, or dialogue.

In history this ongoing dialogue is called historiography. For historical geography, such a dialogue would demand not only pushing ahead by investigating times and places never before studied, but also producing new interpretations of areas previously studied...

There remains a lack of studies that examine different perspectives of settlement in British Columbia. The nature of settlement is not well known in part because there are so few studies, and this vacuum tends to perpetuate a lack of studies.

Historians of architecture have helped to bring attention to pioneer churches, and in part, have reminded geographers of the significance of churches as relict landscape features and as heritage objects. Harold Kalman's *Pioneer Architecture* concerns the "first permanent churches erected by the pioneers" in Canada. There are photographs of four churches in British Columbia, but the emphasis is on a pictorial history and the discussion is therefore limited.

A more detailed discussion of churches built in nineteenth century British Columbia can be found in *Sacred Places*; it focuses on British Columbia churches that were built in the nineteenth century. The book is primarily concerned with an architectural history of churches and their builders.
A thesis in historical geography by Warren Sommer has examined vernacular wooden church architecture built on the southwestern mainland of British Columbia between 1858 and 1925. The lengthy period which the study covers enables Sommer to examine a large number of churches and analyse the spread of a particular building technique known as the 'balloon frame' or 'stud wall'. It was used for construction of wooden buildings in mid-western North America. The thesis documents one aspect of the settlement landscape in a period of major economic growth.

CONCLUSIONS: FACTORS INHIBITING STUDIES OF THE COLONIAL ERA

Historians have consistently shown an interest in the colonial era, but geographers have only recently begun to study this period. One of the possible reasons for the difference is that the use of primary sources in history has been customary, while it began in historical geography only about twenty years ago. The scope of historical geography has been broadened by these changes.

Some of the assumptions about the colonial period and religious institutions in British Columbia have not encouraged geographic research. The supposition that religious institutions were an important influence in the initial period of settlement in other regions, but not in British Columbia, has made further research appear pointless.

The colonial period has also been seen as a time in which nothing significant occurred in British Columbia, thus suggesting
that research is futile:

For the purpose of comparison it is impossible to quote statistics of a time before which there was nothing. To show the progress that has been made we cannot go back as far as 1857, because while there were gold discoveries in that year, and in the following year excitements, inrush of population and government of a kind, as there had been in California ten years before, these were but the bases or germs, of a social and industrial organization that took many years to develop. As in the Middle and Pacific States, there was no real, at least rapid, progress until railways were built. So the history of British Columbia did not commence until about twenty years ago upon the completion of the C.P.R. 64

While this disparagement of the colonial period does not have as wide an acceptance as it did when it was first written in 1908, it has nevertheless influenced geographers.

Another reason for a lack of studies on the churches of the colonial period, is that it has been quite possible to see them as peripheral to the economic and political development of all of Canada.

Most of our ancestors were attracted here by such tangibles as fish, furs, gold or wheat...[Therefore], their subsequent relations with each other have been determined in large measure by the resources and communications of the country to which they came and by the languages and political loyalties they brought with them. Hence it has been possible to tell the Canadian story without much reference to the presence of the churches, and many writers have done so. The influence of the Christian Church is a hypothesis of which, the Canadian historian has felt little need. 65

It is perhaps reasonable that in studies of British Columbia geographers have also had little need to examine the influence of churches on settlements. Because it has not previously been the subject of a historical geography of British Columbia, there is
ample room for the present research project.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

A basis for a geographic study of the Church of England and British settlement can be established within the biographical approach. A definition of the term biography, useful for such a study, is "either autobiography (a first person document) or biography per se (a third person document). Biography also appears under the labels, personal document or human document."

This approach is currently used by anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and historical geographers. It has been used by anthropologists to construct life histories; they have been concerned mainly with "biography as a cultural document".

In sociology the biographical approach has emerged twice but in different forms. The approach was first used to establish connections between society and deviant behavior; the more recent form of the approach has been concerned with establishing the "connection between social dynamics and historical change". In the 1980's, when the biographical approach resurfaced for the second time in sociology, the gathering of life histories was extended to include a larger number of social classes. According to one sociologist, the "object of research should never be an individual as such but rather a sociological object, that is, a given set of social relations".

The sociologists and anthropologists acknowledge a relationship between an individual biography and the social
milieu, and that "the integral knowledge of the one thus becomes the integral knowledge of the other. The social collective and the universal singular shed light on each other". This concept, is useful for research in history and geography.

Historians have had a traditional affinity for biographies and autobiographies, so the use of this kind of material is not new. However, recent changes in the nature of biographical materials which can be used to document a historical period have widened the cross-section of individuals who could be seen as subjects of research projects. Formerly biographies of elites, such as royal persons or military leaders who had some recognition as important figures in their contemporary society, were deemed acceptable. More recently, the biographies of ordinary people have been used to document the period in which they lived. Biographies of elites are still used for historical research, but they are no longer treated as representative of the historical perspective of the period in which they lived, in an exclusive sense.

Oral History, or historical research done by means of interviews, is another term currently used by historians. It makes use of the biographical approach by viewing the given period through individual recollections. The loosening of the subjects of historical research and the inclusion of the recent past as 'history', rather than the distant past, allows historians to establish a record of social change through interviews with those who have experienced the changes.
When historical geographers have used the biographical approach they have been more concerned with the 'man-land' interaction than the other branches of the social sciences. The approach therefore requires some modification for a geographic study.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

The man-land tradition has been used to examine the interaction of culture and environment. Regardless of whether the man-land tradition has been used for studies on environmental determinism, as it was in the 1920's or in those concerned with cultural ecology, as it has more recently, it has usually recognized that wherever a new culture has been introduced, and become dominant over the previously established society, the physical and cultural landscapes have undergone some observable change.

The use of the biographical approach in historical geography is relatively recent. There are biographies of prominent geographers, and the 'the biography of landscape'. Biographical materials have been used for studies of colonial South Carolina, and also to examine the impact of land boosters on British Columbia.

Biographies of explorers have held an interest for geographers from 1950 when a number were published and added to the biographical collection in the American Geographical Society library. W.B. Fairchild used biographical materials about those who made outstanding contributions to geographical research to
eulogise figures of importance. While the subject matter is geographical, the treatment of the material is not exclusive to geography.

Marwyn Samuels developed the concept of 'the biography of landscape' and it has received some attention from other geographers. He argues that it is impossible to understand human landscapes without identifying the individuals who played an important role in shaping the geographies of the past.

We can, in short, discern biographies of landscape most directly by examining what individuals have to say about themselves and their contexts, as well as what others have to say about those individuals... The biography of landscape has as its central concern the role of individuals -authors- in the making of the landscape. 77

A difference between Samuels' concept and the biographical approach used by the sociologists which were previously discussed is that for the geographer landscape is the focus, not the social system.

One historical geographer who has used biographical materials to elucidate the American colonial period is H. Roy Merrens. His study of South Carolina uses materials from archival collections to reconstruct the image of the physical environment as perceived by a variety of colonial contemporaries.

Axiomatic in historical geography is the notion that in studying the process of settlement the physical environment per se warrants less attention than the environment as perceived and imagined by contemporaries, attempting to evaluate it in their own terms... For any past colonizing venture there is no one single perceptual environment that warrants exclusive attention. What remains from the past is a congeries of views of the setting in which colonization took place, each with its own distinctive bias reflecting the objectives, values, and interests (31)
of the recorder. 78

A comprehensive view of the process of settlement is made up of numerous perceptions from a variety of individuals. Merrens argues, in this article, for an identification of the bias of those who created the historical narratives, thus acknowledging the subjectivity of the narratives and compensating for it by pointing out the possibility of a variety of perspectives. In a later article the idea is expressed more forcefully: "the understanding of the geography of the past involves after all a collective effort of subjective scholars. Because this collective effort is also partial and imperfect, a dialogue is in order".

An instance of this kind of dialogue can be seen in two studies of settlement process and land-use in British Columbia. They both have used a biographical approach to examine boosterism, and the period analysed in each of the studies is relatively brief.

The article by Paul Koroscil entitled "Boosterism and the Settlement Process in the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia, 1890-1914" used the biographical approach to examine the role of developers in the change of land use from ranching to agriculture. The biographical approach was used to evaluate the influence of boosters as a group, and individuals within that group for a thirty year period.

T.C. Meredith combined the concept of the biography of landscape and boosterism to analyze the role of one individual who influenced the landscape in "The Upper Columbia Valley, (32)
Meredith limited his study to a twenty year period when Randolph Bruce was the main policy maker for the Columbia Valley Irrigated Fruitlands Company and influenced land development in the area.

The biographical approach in these articles allows a detailed analysis of the period and place because of the inherent limitations imposed by an individual historical perspective and the relatively brief period of time. One difference between this approach and that of a regional historical geography which might examine the distribution of a variety of geographical phenomena, is scale. Instead of the small scale perspective of a regional study, the past can be reconstructed on a large scale by the use of a biographical approach.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH IN THE THESIS

The biographical approach in this study is based on several aspects of the works which have been discussed. Briefly, five elements form the biographical approach for this thesis:

1. The assumption is made that biographical materials reveal the individual and also reflect the values and objectives of the established social order (Ferrarotti).

2. The man-land tradition is the geographical foundation for the study (Pattison in Merrens).

3. Landscapes can be more fully understood by examining the influence of the individuals who shaped the landscape (Samuels).

4. Special attention is given to the perception of the colonial environment from one perspective (Merrens).

5. Historical geographers have set a precedent for the use of the biographical approach in settlement studies of British Columbia (33).
The biographical approach is predicated on the availability of a body of material representative of one identifiable viewpoint. This element of the approach is provided by the journals of Bishop Hills. It would be impossible to proceed with a biographical approach without material written by a credible participant-observer during the early colonial period.

THE HILLS JOURNALS AS A RECORD FOR HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

The journals of Bishop George Hills written between 1859 and 1863 are the core of the research materials. They provide a contemporary view of British settlements in the early period. The value of these observations for a historical geography concerned with settlement lies in their quality of immediacy. They are, for the greater part, observations of an eye witness.

Journals produced in North America during the colonial settlement period can be divided into five or six different types of narratives, for use in historical geography. They have been classified "according to the basic intent of their authors: promoters, officials, travellers, natural historians, and settlers". A sixth category identifies "problem authors... whose writings were sufficiently multipurpose as to defy classification according to any one dominant motive".

The material in the Hills Journals is varied enough to construct a view which might fit several of the categories Merrens suggests. The Journals have been used to promote the
settlement of British Columbia because excerpts were used for other publications by boosters in England; the Columbia Mission Reports were well known in Britain. As Bishop of British Columbia George Hills kept a record of his annual visitations in order to explain his observations and consequent decisions to church supporters in Britain, and for use in publications that were intended to raise funds from the public. The accounts of annual visitations are valuable as documents of a frequent traveller in colonial British Columbia, unlike most travellers of this period, the Bishop made repeated visits to many places. Because the journals contain references to weather, animals, natural vegetation and comments on contemporary sciences like physical geography and geology, they show the Bishop's non-professional interest in natural history which was typical of contemporary Victorian gentlemen. The journals could be treated as the records of a settler, since he saw himself as a permanent resident and remained in Victoria until 1892, when he resigned his position and returned to Britain in poor health, just three years before he died in 1895. The sixth category, that of materials that are multipurpose, seems the most suitable general category for the journals.

The problem of determining a distinct classification for the narrative materials in the journals for the period 1859-1863 can be overcome by combining Merrens' categories. The journals therefore, have been viewed as the writing of a participant-observer, an official with a self-conscious British perspective.

(35)
ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL

The analysis has involved a thorough review of the journals written by Bishop Hills during the five year period, 1859 to 1863. Data was extracted according to methods recommended for research on biographical material: these have provided a guide for the selection of material, arrangement, and emphasis.

The selection of material from the journals was based on key words that relate to the thesis problem. This has been stated in the introduction: what was the the nature and extent of the influence that Church of England policies had on the settlement of British Columbia during the first five year period of George Hills' episcopate, between 1859 and 1863? The key words were identified as settlement, colonial policy, British emigration, and Church of England policy. Details about churches, chapels and schools, the clergy reserve and church properties in Victoria were also collected. Biographical details about Bishop Hills and his associates in England were also noted.

In addition four maps have been used to illustrate material from the Hills Journals: one shows the boundaries of the Bishopric of British Columbia, another shows the routes the Bishop travelled on visitations between 1860 and 1863. A third map shows the location of churches, schools and endowment properties in Victoria. The final map shows the location of Anglican churches built for settlers between 1860 and 1863. Three historical maps have been used as base maps; two maps by James Wyld Geographer to the Queen, were published in the
Columbia Mission Reports of 1860 and 1861, the third map was made in Victoria, by J.D. Pemberton, the colonial surveyor, in 1861.

The material has been arranged chronologically and by geographical location. For example, the material on settlement in Hope was arranged according to day, month and year; the material on Christ Church, Hope and references to other subjects that pertain to Hope, such as British emigration, were similarly arranged.

The inclusion of some material and the exclusion of other information has been based on the hypothesis, that the policies carried out by Bishop Hills were an integral part of the stabilization of British settlements in both the colonies, between 1859 and 1863. This convention is known as 'emphasis' in historical research. It refers to the selection of material to support the hypothesis because the amount of material gathered is almost always greater than necessary.

The historian can hardly avoid committing himself to a thesis, and emphasizing his data or treating them casually in accordance with his evaluation of their importance in proving that thesis. Such an evaluation, like the estimate of relevance, is largely subjective; though extremes of bad judgement may easily be detected and uniformly condemned by his readers, there will be a wide margin of legitimate disagreement among the experts as to the relative significance of the data.

There are two subjects which have been deemed irrelevant to the thesis. The first is the Church of England's involvement with native people; this decision was made apriori because the aim of the thesis was to look at white settlement. The other aspect that has not been included is the involvement of the Church of
England with the military and naval bases outside New Westminster and Victoria. This decision was based on the fact that these chapels were intended to serve government personnel, rather than settlers, and they were treated as temporary church buildings during this period, although they were visited by the Bishop.

It has been assumed that the Hills Journals contain veracious accounts of the period because the original diaries form part of a major collection in the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia, and the typed transcripts were produced by the National Museum in Ottawa; this is sufficient to establish their veracity. However, the credibility of the Hills Journals has been further confirmed, indirectly, through the examination of other materials.

Material from the journals was first used in England by contemporaries of the Bishop as a reliable source of information about British Columbia. Excerpts from the journals were published in the Columbia Mission Reports under the title of 'The Bishop's Journal'. These were distributed throughout the British Isles to friends of the mission and sold by the publishing house to raise additional funds. Nineteenth century writers in England had access to extracts from the Bishop's journals. W.C. Hazlitt who wrote *The Great Gold Fields of Cariboo* concluded his book with "a few select extracts from the Journal of the Bishop of British Columbia". The naval officer R.C. Mayne who wrote *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* recommended the Columbia Mission Reports to his readers for current information regarding the Church of England in the
Modern historians of British Columbia have used the Hills Journals to substantiate their work on his contemporaries. Jean Usher used them in her study, *William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia*. Margaret Ormsby consulted the journals to clarify dates of recollections of an early settler in, *A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia: The Recollections of Susan Allison*. This use of the journals by modern historians constitutes a recent appraisal of the credibility of the journals.

The names of persons, places and dates in the journals have also appeared reliable when compared with independent sources. The preparation of the background material for the thesis has required frequent checks of the names of places and persons mentioned in the journals to understand their importance in the colonial period. Two sources have been very helpful. J.T. Walbran’s *British Columbia Coast Names: 1592-1906,* *Their Origin and History* contains background information on many colonial people as well as some details regarding early settlement. A second source was found in the biographical appendix to an article by Dorothy Blakey Smith, "The Journal of Arthur Thomas Bushby, 1858-1859". The information in these two references has not contradicted the proper names of persons and places and the dates for events mentioned in the Hills journals. Therefore, the independent sources have provided additional evidence that the documents are reliable, where there is an independent source to compare the information.
The construction of a framework for examining the influence of the church on the process of British settlement has been influenced by the work of J.A. Ernst and H.R. Merrens. These historical geographers view studies of past geographies as a contribution to a dialogue in which individual studies form part of the collective effort of scholars.

It is imperative to accept that such evaluations or interpretations are limited and limiting; limited, for instance, by the analytical powers, the imagination and experiences which any individual can bring to the study of the facts. When this barrier is reached, a new insight becomes necessary. One way of reaching this new level is to broaden the individual's understanding by inviting him to engage in a dialogue, or a discussion of the facts and theories about the facts, with everyone who has ever pursued an investigation...

A historical geography, concerned with the church and settlement can only serve as a partial explanation of the nature of settlement. It is limited partly by the lack of other studies about British settlement and partly by the absence of clear guideposts to shape the direction of such studies, but it becomes less limited when it is seen as a contribution to a dialogue on the settlement of British Columbia among historical geographers.
CHAPTER THREE
SETTLEMENT IN THE BISHOPRIC OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

The sudden increase of population who had come in search of gold onto mainland British Columbia provided the impetus for the British government to establish a second colony, and by 1860, when Bishop George Hills arrived, both the colonies of British Columbia were experiencing an expansion of settlement. Along with the representatives of other institutions, such as the Royal Engineers and the judicial system, the colonial bishop was sent to establish permanent British settlement. The policies carried out by Bishop Hills were an integral part of the stabilization of settlement in British Columbia between 1859 and 1863.

The outline of policies to be implemented in the Bishopric of British Columbia was known by the general public in Britain in 1859. They were explained in speeches given by the bishop throughout the British Isles during a ten month fund raising tour. A brochure published by the Columbia Mission explained the need for funds for the next five year period, to 1863. The establishment of permanent churches for British subjects in the diocese was a major concern.

Under a deep sense of the importance of anticipating the religious wants of the colony by supplying the ordinances of the Church of England in their fullness and spirituality, from the beginning, the aid of the patriotic and the faithful is earnestly entreated in raising funds for the following purposes:—

1. Maintenance of the clergy in part, until full support is provided by offerings and endowments in the colony.

2. Provision for outfits and passages of missionary (41)
clergy and candidates for the ministry.

3. Building churches, mission-houses, residences, and college for youth.

4. Provision by purchase of land, or otherwise, for gradual endowment of churches.

5. Erection and support of mission institutions for the settlement, conversion, education, and industrial training of the natives.

The goals outlined by the Bishop were based on two principles. They were popularly known as, (1) first in the field and, (2) the voluntary principle. The first goal implied that the church had a special relationship with the government, and the second implied that it was in the same position as other denominations with regard to its financial basis.

The expression, first in the field, referred to the plan to place clergymen and churches in settlements, or towns, as they were being laid out by the colonial government, in order to be in place from the beginning of British settlement.

The plan we propose [ls]...first, to take the hand of the European population by occupying the towns as they rise up...and in the unsettled districts of Columbia [to supply] ministers constantly itinerating...Thus nobly supported from the Mother Church and the Mother Land, we may plant from the first in its full integrity the whole institutions of the Church.

The voluntary principle, referred to the manner in which the Church of England in British Columbia was to be financially supported. The Church of England in Britain was established, which meant that it was supported by government funds, but in the colonies of British Columbia the Church was not entitled to government grants or land reserves. Instead it was dependent on the voluntary contributions of local members. It was a distinct
departure from the traditional support of government funds in Britain. This change altered the church’s financial position, but not its traditional system of church government.

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES

When George Hills was appointed Bishop there was one church and one mission station in British Columbia. Two years later, in 1861, the Bishop observed that in the Colony of British Columbia "there has been decided progress in the settlement of the country" and that clergy had been provided for the main places of settlement:

I have been able to supply all the lower towns excepting Lytton. Mr. Garrett [and] myself have visited most places & held services wherever two or three could be gathered together south of the Pavillion- along the Lillooet [sic], the Thompson, the Bonaparte & the Fraser [rivers]. I have also been able to send up two brethren to the upper mines to Quesnel & Cariboo where the greatest number of men are located. 100

The most comprehensive statement of the bishop’s accomplishments to 1863 was made in the Pastoral Address, given in Victoria just before the bishop departed for Britain the same year.

Though still in the day of small things, we may safely consider that our labour has not been in vain in the Lord. There is good reason to hope that the fruits of this labour consist not merely of external progress, though the latter must chiefly be our index of general improvement.

Since 1859, the number of the Clergy has reached nineteen, of whom four have returned to England now fifteen. There are also three Catechists engaged among the Indian tribes.

The work of the Clergy has been carried on in the towns, the rural districts, the
mines, amongst the Indians, and in education.

The returns of the last year show eleven churches, six mission chapels, and eighteen stations in the diocese, where either constant or occasional services are conducted.

From the Bishop's perspective he had implemented his intended programme and had achieved a significant measure of success by the time he left for England in 1863.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND SETTLERS

The British government did not expect the settlers in the Colony of British Columbia to demand British forms of justice or religion on their own initiative, but because most of the incoming population was English speaking, it was expected that British institutions would eventually find support among the settlers. Although the majority of the population were American, Chinese, and European, the Colonial Office and the Church of England both thought that the population would soon recognize the importance of Christian institutions.

Such a population as that I have described will not originate the institutions of a Christian Country. They will not provide the means of Christian teaching or religious worship, although when provided for them they will welcome them and appreciate them. These, then, are the circumstances that make it imperative upon Christian England to come forward at this early period in the history of the colony, and provide those Christian institutions which, I am convinced, the colony will hereafter maintain for itself.

The thought was that it was merely a matter of time until the Church of England was well received and amply supported by settlers in British Columbia. In the first few years the
Special Fund which the Bishop had raised in England was expected to provide the main costs of the new churches, until the settlers were able to carry the expenses on a voluntary basis.

**VISITATIONS IN THE BISHOPRIC : 1860-1863**

One expectation of the bishop was that he should visit the inhabited parts of the diocese at least once a year. This resulted in extensive trips to the Colony of British Columbia in the Spring and Summer each year, and visits to settlements in the Colony of Vancouver's Island which were not accessible by horseback, like the Gulf Islands, Nanaimo and Alberni.

Between 1860 and 1863 the Bishop made annual visits to settlers in both colonies. These settlements ranged from individual residences, such as farms, restaurants or wayside houses and mining cabins to the new townsites that were being developed by the Royal Engineers in the Colony of British Columbia. In the Colony of Vancouver's Island the main towns and several rural communities in coastal areas were visited. The bishop stopped to visit nearly every place that had some sign of settlement, observed the progress of settlement and noted his thoughts in his journal. The influence of the Church of England on settlement is based mainly on the journals because they contain the most consistent record of his activities and thoughts about the places he visited during this period.

In the Spring of 1860 the Bishop was in the Colony of British Columbia between May 18 and August 8. His records
Visitation in the Bishopric of British Columbia, 1860-1863. Each year the Bishop attempted to visit all the places that had settlers. His journals contain a variety of observations about the places and people he saw. Base map: James Wyld, "British Columbia" scale 1:60. (London: Columbia Mission, 1860).

Figure 3.
estimate that he travelled over 800 miles from Victoria to New Westminster, going as far north as Cayoosh [Lillooet], and returning to Victoria. In 1861, he travelled more than 700 miles between May 28 and August 3, going only as far as Lytton. The Visitation of 1862 was the longest journey in time and distance; the Bishop left Victoria on June 16 and returned on October 1, having travelled nearly 1200 miles.

In the Colony of Vancouver's Island the Bishop visited the settled parts which could be reached by naval vessels each year, with the exception of the most Northern part of the island which was visited in 1863. In 1860, two settlements on Admiral Island [Salt Spring], Nanaimo, San Juan, Barclay Sound [Alberni], and Sooke were visited via a British naval vessel. In 1861, the journals record only his visitation to Saanich which would probably have been accomplished by horseback. In 1862 he visited Comox, Nanaimo, Cowitchen [sic], and Saanich. Just before he departed for England in the Spring of 1863 he went as far north as Fort Simpson to Metlakatla on a naval vessel. (See figure 3.)

The most detailed comments about settlement were made in regard to places in the Colony of Vancouver’s Island, notwithstanding the fact that the time which the Bishop spent on visitations was shorter than in the Colony of British Columbia. In January 1860, when the bishop first arrived, he explained his intention to spend the greater part of his time in the Colony of British Columbia.

No inconsiderable part of my time must be occupied in this important island, yet the chief part of my attention will necessarily be required in the
neighboring colony; where distances being so much greater, the population, stations, and clergy likely to be more numerous, and the peculiar circumstances of the gold region, all promise to require more personal visitation.

Areas surrounding Victoria which were accessible by horseback were visited by the Bishop frequently to make arrangements regarding worship services and in some instances to choose sites for school-chapels. These brief visits were made to Esquimalt, Craig Flower, Cedar Plains, and North and South Saanich.

The Bishop rarely travelled alone. On his Visitations to the Colony of British Columbia he had a packer to arrange the horses and baggage, a private servant to cook, a personal chaplain, and at times he had an Indian interpreter. When the Bishop visited places accessible to Victoria on horseback, he often went with another clergyman. On the visitations that were made by means of government vessels he was often accompanied by officers of the ship when he went on shore to visit settlers.

SETTLEMENTS IN THE COLONY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

NEW WESTMINSTER

In 1859 the site of New Westminster was chosen as the capital for the colony by Colonel Moody. Within a year the townsite was cleared and surveyed, and by February 1860 the bishop visited New Westminster.

In landing upon this part of my Diocese I am filled with a deep interest in its future. A vast city may one day pursue a world wide commerce here. What shall it be? A spot devoted to restless competitions & thrust for gain - or that it exhibit to the world a (47)
Holy Trinity Church, New Westminster, 1861. This was the first Anglican church built in the Colony of British Columbia. It was destroyed by fire in 1862.

Figure 4.

(48A)
people not slothful in business, proud in spirit, serving the Lord? How much may depend upon its early training! Upon the institutions founded in its infancy & I venture in its holy & wise principles. God grant that I may be a humble instrument for its good. 106

He commented on the site of New Westminster and the progress of settlement:

Visited New Westminster proper. The site is certainly a remarkable one. The fine river flows before it, to the right is a second turn of the river. In the rear is Burrards Inlet, a magnificent harbour running up inland from the sea many miles. Here will be the naval station & here only can vessels of the largest size be sheltered...

The site is on the slope of a hill in part, upon the top is a plateau. The thick and mighty forest covers the summit. Considering only one year has elapsed since this site was chosen it is wonderful what has been done. Yet no doubt every discouragement has been given. Much ground has been cleared. Buildings have been erected. There are about 400 people, this in addition to 300 at the camp (of the Royal Engineers). Inspected the site of the Church in Victoria Gardens! This spot now covered with fallen timber between two ravines. Fancy & faith & the map picture an attraction [sic] spot & surroundings. It is high & dry. 107

When the bishop returned in May on his way to visit the gold field, he noted a "considerable increase in buildings...over what existed at my former visit"; he remarked that, "the site of the Church is a very beautiful one in Victoria Gardens & commands an extensive view & will be a most prominent object from the River to steamers arriving from the Sea." (See figure 4.)

When the Bishop returned to New Westminster, on his way to Victoria, he stopped at New Westminster again. The Church was nearly completed.

I was much struck on approaching the town by the river at the new church. It stands well & comes out in good (48)
New Westminster, 1859.

This map shows the lots granted for religious purposes. The lot for Holy Trinity was in the center of Victoria Gardens.

Base map: "New Westminster, British Columbia", scale 1:12

(New Westminster: Royal Engineers, 1861).

Figure 5.

(49A)
proportions. I visited it. It is roofed & the work is done well. It reflects credit upon Capt. Lempriere who designed it. 109

It was designed by one of the Royal Engineers under the command of Col. Moody. When the Bishop went to New Westminster he frequently visited the Moody home, and sometimes Col. Moody and the Bishop travelled with the Governor's party on business to the interior of the colony. The Moody's often dined with the Bishop when they were in Victoria.

The presence of the new church, Holy Trinity, helped to give New Westminster the status of a capital town in British territory. The site on which the church was built gave it a position of prominence, in the center of Victoria Gardens. (See figure 5.) The location of the site argues for the importance of the church in the mentality of colonial officials. It implies that the Church of England was an integral part of British settlement in the colony, from the beginning and the Church of England was a landmark of British settlement.

HOPE

The struggle to establish a permanent population of British subjects was a problem common to the Church of England and the colonial government. Both needed a permanent community to achieve their aims. The settlement at Hope illustrates the pull between the British government's desire for stabilization and the magnetism of the gold fields that caused fluctuations of the resident population.

The Bishop was impressed with the natural beauty of the (49)
Christ Church, Hope, 1978.

This church was built in 1861. It is the only one that remains from those which were built by 1863.

Figure 6.

(50A)
setting when he arrived in Hope for the first time on June 1, 1860. He described the physical landscape in very picturesque terms.

No spot can be more beautifully situated than Hope. The River Fraser flows past it. The site is on the river bank-on either side are noble mountains opposite an island. To the back, mountain scenery, trees from the foot to the summit & deep valleys between through which flow the rapid and beautiful Coquealla [sic] and its tributaries in which are situated several lakes. This evening we walked up the Coquealla [sic], crossed its picturesque bridge & proceeded along the Brigade trail a walk winding through trees & flowers & where at times you might fancy yourself in the wilder parts of some cultivated domain in England. The scenery is a combination of Swiss & Scotch. 111

In correspondence with the SPG secretary in London the Bishop described the importance of the settlement at Hope as a commercial and strategic point on the route to the goldfields:

[Hope is] at the point where several roads meet and being near the head of navigation, it is likely to become of considerable importance. The River mining district commences here. Within the mission is also the mining and agricultural district of Similkameen. 112

The prospects for the growth of the town seemed solid enough in 1860 and Christ Church, was built the following year. (See figure 6.) One of the clergymen who officiated on the day the church was consecrated described his impression of the settlement: "The houses and stores are all after the American fashion; but the church gave the place an English look."

By 1862 the Cariboo gold rush caused many people to leave Hope for Yale. At first the bishop thought the population decline was a seasonal one; in June he commented on the decline.
From Hope have departed nearly all its inhabitants. Though a stopping place for steamers, yet Yale being a place higher on the River to which boats can come and from which actual land travel begins, traders find that, at present, a better place for their houses of business. Then Cariboo mines have thinned all places and many have migrated directly thither. 114

In late September, it was apparent that the abandonment of Hope was more serious. On his return trip to Victoria, Bishop Hills was pessimistic about the return of the inhabitants:

I do not see any immediate prospect of the recovery of this place. There are not above twenty persons left in it...It is just possible there may be during the winter a return of some of the inhabitants who have houses and other property here, but after that should things continue as at present, the Society's [SPG] missionary should be employed elsewhere. 115

The problems that were apparent in 1860 were still troublesome in 1862, and for similar reasons. The migration of population from one place to another during the mining season was a persistent problem for the Church and the government in the Colony of British Columbia. Gold was still a greater attraction than permanent settlement. When the miners left, the merchants were obliged to follow to survive economically. The presence of a clergyman and a Church of England were not sufficient to hold the population in Hope.

The Bishop noted the characteristic restlessness of the miners in his journal.

The unsettled character of the mining class is another difficulty. They are restless. They feel no spot their home even for awhile. They will not identify themselves with the institutions of the neighborhood so readily. 116

In 1862 the population of the town of Hope was in decline and
there was little that either the Church of England or the government could do to restrain the decline. The influence which the church had established up to 1862 was limited for the next several years by the loss of permanent settlers to the gold rush, although settlement at Hope was not completely abandoned.

DOUGLAS

Douglas was a small town on the Harrison-Lillooet route to the goldfields, about 120 miles North of the mouth of the Fraser River.

At the head of the Lake through a winding channel is the harbour of Douglas with the town at its extremity. It consists at present of a few wooden buildings with an excellent quay.

The largest number of inhabitants in Douglas were Americans, as it was in many other settlements of British Columbia in 1860, and some were hostile toward British institutions.

The variety of nationalities in Douglas was a striking feature, and one which created problems for the church and the government. Although the town of Douglas had been planned by the Royal Engineers and a local magistrate had been appointed, the settlement was anything but British in terms of the population mix:

An idea of the mixture may be afforded by one instance, that of the town of Douglas in British Columbia. Out of two hundred, thirty-five only are British subjects. The rest are German, French, Italians, Africans, Chinese, Spanish, Mexican, and American.

The structure of the population was further broken down in the Columbia Mission Report published in 1860:

(52)
St. Thomas' Church, Chilliwack ca.1873.
This church was formerly St. Mark's, Douglas. In 1873 the abandoned Douglas church was sent by boat to Chilliwack.
Figure 7.
(53A)
There were twice as many Americans as British subjects and some were so opposed to the British that they would not even contribute money to help build a local church. One wealthy American in particular saw the connection between the church and the growth of British settlement. His negative response underlines the connection between government and Church of England and their mutual aim to establish British settlement.

The 1861 Journal documents the following incident:

The Rev. Mr. Gammage asked a leading merchant, an American, to aid in building a Church at Douglas. 'Will it advance the interest of the Country & be an improvement?' was his reply. Yes it will. 'Then I shall not give'. This man has made 30,000 dollars in two years.

By the following year St. Mark's church was consecrated and the number of British subjects had also increased. (See Figure 7). The Bishop attributed the increase of Canadians and Englishmen who attended the consecration service to a change in the kind of immigrants that were arriving in 1862: "I see in this that our population is improving and that present immigration will counteract the former indifference and infidelity of Americans".

During the initial period of settlement in Douglas there was an identifiable lack of British sentiment among many settlers and the Church of England tried to counteract the anti-British
attitudes. It attempted to build a sense of unity in settlements by the use of the prayerbook and the encouragement of more positive attitudes toward the colonial government.

In 1859, while touring the British Isles, the Bishop explained why the government wanted clergymen to go to British Columbia, and he referred to the need for national unity. In fact the feeling of the population was more American than British at present... This was another reason for sending English clergymen thither, for the Prayer Book was found to be the best means of fostering a truly national feeling. 125

The order of worship in the prayerbook was thought to create a greater sense of loyalty because of the regular prayers for the governor and the Queen which were part of the service. The achievement of permanent British settlement was a mutual concern for the Church of England and the colonial government in the initial period of settlement. The lack of British sentiment was not unique to Douglas, it was typical of the situations the Church of England had to overcome in order to establish itself in the colony.

YALE

The townsite of Yale was surveyed by the Royal Engineers in the same year as Hope and Douglas, 1859. The inhabitants, mainly miners, caused some excitement when a group of men set up a "band of desperadoes". In the winter of 1859 Col. Moody was sent with some troops to stop the "Ned McGowan uprising". However, the inhabitants of Yale were also among the first to send a formal
welcome address to the Bishop of British Columbia. Their letter, requested a church and school for the townsite, and it was signed by the married men of Yale. It acknowledged the importance of the Church of England in the permanent settlement of the colony.

...Your petitioners hail the advent of your Lordship to British Columbia, both as a social and religious blessing, and look forward with hope and confidence to the establishment of schools, as well as churches, in its various townships.

That such institutions, besides the education of the children at present in the colony, would conduce to other most desirable results, in encouraging numerous isolated individuals here to bring their wives and families to join them, whereby speedy and wholesome settlement would be promoted, and the moral tone of our present rude society reformed and elevated.

The following year Rev. William Burton Crickmer moved from Langley to Yale at the request of the Bishop. Rev. Crickmer held worship services in a local store, it was officially opened by the Bishop in the spring of 1860. Both Governor Douglas and Col. Moody were present at the ceremony.

The following evening a tea meeting was held for the residents of Yale. It was held on the same day that a contract for building a section of new road had been signed, probably the first part of the Hope-Similkameen wagon road between Yale and Spuzzum.

This evening a gathering took place of most of the inhabitants to give me an address of welcome. A dollar each was paid for admission so that the compliment was greater. The chair was taken by Mr. Curty— an American of German origin. Most of those present were Americans. There were 3 Romanists, & others of various persuasions including Jews, the Chairman being a Lutheran. The utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed. I replied to the address. Col. Moody (55)
followed & while speaking of various topics of interest connected with this town, he urged forcibly & with tact their adhesion to a religious life.

The Chairman alluded to the various nationalities before him - to the gathering representations of many sects - & urged all to become a united body & make the Church of England their religion.

The last visit of Col. Moody had been with an armed force to capture the notorious Ned McGowan. All feeling of disaffection had now vanished. A change had come over the Americans & they were valuing more the order & security & genuine freedom of British rule. One of them remarked this to me when I asked him if they all meant to remain & settle down.

...Altogether this occasion was one of deep interest & to be long remembered. In the morning the contract had been signed for making a road- to be the great road to the interior -perhaps to Canada and England. It was a great step in civilization and progress. Fitting was it to solemnize the occasion by expression of religion and for advancing the cause of Christ’s Church.

In many places in nineteenth century Canada the concept of "progress" was the rationale for the building of roads, bridges and canals; it was a basis for the rapid conquest of nature that significantly altered many landscapes of British North America. In the colony of British Columbia road building and the development of townsites were a large part of the government’s effort to open the country to settlement. Roads were seen by the colonial government as a way to insure settlement because they opened up the country and reduced the cost of transporting supplies to the interior of the mainland. They were significant material accomplishments in a mountain environment and demonstrated a control over nature. The idea of material progress as an important achievement of civilized nations was
supported by the Church of England in its solemnization of the signed contract for the new road at Yale.

LYTTON

The townsite of Lytton was chosen by the Royal Engineers at the junction of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. In spite of its importance as a junction, the Bishop thought the site was grim:

Lytton is situated on a bench or [sic] that at the junction or forks of the Fraser & Thompson. The country is more open than lower down & some small farms are here & there to be seen. The valley of the Fraser looking north as I see from my tent door reminds me of Wharfdale on a large scale. The immediate environs of Lytton are bare and dusty. The Sappers are laying out in Town. I was much disappointed at the appearance of it- not a tree near for some hundreds of yards.

Although the townsite appeared anattractive to the Bishop; he did not therefore see it as an undesirable place to build a church. When he arrived in Lytton he went around to meet the settlers who lived in the vicinity.

After our meal we sallied forth. Mr. Crickmer & myself accompanied by Capt. Ball the Magistrate. We went into all the stores & restaurants. The people were civil & offered hospitality. There was but one Englishman. Of French, there were several. Jews & Americans predominate. I spoke to miners & packers also.

The one Englishman who was in Lytton in 1860 was delighted to meet the Bishop that had been written about in English newspapers that were sent to him.

One man, the only Englishman I saw was much excited by my call—or rather talk with him for I met him in a store. His name is Hill, he was born in Tulik St., in London. He spoke of his past life having been very
wild. He had been wandering in all parts & living an
Indian life. Spoke of having been at sea a good deal.
Had taken interest in my appointment & had read with
eagerness the account of the Mansion House Meeting,
now was overcome with joy to see the man actually at
Lytton, who had come over the rugged paths of the
mountain track, whose words he had read as uttered at
the Mansion House.

But Sir, he continued, when I read your speech, I
said, how little he knows what he is coming to & the
kind of people we are. What a strange thing that a
public man & a firm man should leave his home comforts
and friends in England to come out amongst us- he
certainly had better stay there. I thought Sir that
you were very foolish & would repent of it & that you
would have been much better if you had left us as we
are. But Sir my heart is full- let me grasp your
hand-its all I can give- but it is a down right
welcome- this is the happiest day of my life.
Mr. Hill has a farm & provided us with abundance of
excellent milk & wished us to help ourselves out of
his garden to any vegetables we wanted. 137

The incident shows the importance of the Bishop for English
subjects and how a visit from the Bishop could encourage isolated
settlers. It is not unique; there were numerous references
made in the journals to similar responses from settlers in
both colonies. The visit of an English Bishop to settlers was a
visible reminder that the settlement was in British territory,
even in places where a church had not been built. The importance
of these visits to isolated British settlers was explained by the
bishop in one of the Columbia Mission Reports:

I do feel thankful that we are sent out even thus
early. We take up the best feelings of people. They
are struggling, they are scattered, and frequently
isolated. Those who visit them are welcomed. They
have not yet got their families. We talk of families,
and touch tender chords, and so reach the hearts of
many who a few months hence might have grown callous
if neglected. 139

The official visits of the Bishop through the diocese provided a
(58)
contact with the wider world of Victoria and England and reaffirmed British cultural ties for settlers that were isolated.

From a nineteenth century British perspective, "the sending out of an English Bishop to plant the standard of Christianity on the other side of the Rocky Mountains [was] no ordinary event", and British settlers, within and outside the church recognized it as a special act of the home government and the church.

In the journal for the following year a brief notation stated that Lytton seemed busy and in 1862 the journals mention that the Bishop had brought a plan for a church at Lytton, "but, as before, found no encouragement to propose it". Lytton was the only British settlement for which Bishop Hills tried to build a church and was unsuccessful. In order to build a church he needed enough individuals who would support a Church of England to raise roughly two-thirds of the money, since the Bishop's policy was to supply only one-third of the cost for a church.

The influence of the Church of England was held back at the parish level in Lytton during this period because there was so little support from settlers. The predicament the Bishop faced during the initial period of settlement in Lytton was that in spite of visits to Lytton in 1860, 1861 and 1862, he was not able to raise enough local support to build a church. Therefore, the Church of England established no influence through its usual institutional form.

**Lillooet**

Like New Westminster, Hope, Douglas, and Lytton, which were
also planned by the Royal Engineers, Lillooet was situated at a junction of the Fraser River where it met a main route to the gold mines. The settlement was a "community" of the mountain region; "one of those places which the miners fall back [to] in winter and where families [were] likely to settle".

The bishop first visited Lillooet in 1861, the year in which the official name of the town was changed from Cayoosh to Lillooet. He attended a meeting held for the purpose of announcing the official change of name to the local people.

This evening at 8 o'clock a gathering of the people took place Mr. Brown was in the Chair. There was a fair attendance. The Chairman announced that the Governor had sanctioned the change of the name or rather the return to the original name of Lillooet. He reminded them that Lillooet was said to mean the flower of the waters & augered good from the omen. I addressed them upon the subject of the permanent establishment of the Town [and] the policy of the English Government to encourage & develop the Colony & urged them to advance amongst them the interests of their religion.

On his visit in 1861 the Bishop had a conversation with one of the inhabitants, [Dr.] Featherston, who suggested one of the problems for settlers was that interest rates for loans were so high that many were in chronic debt, but he added "the great want however, in the place was female society. Men were uncivilized & immoral & reckless in the absence of such influence."

The absence of women was not confined to Lillooet, it was a problem in most other settlements, but in this instance it gained greater attention because Colonial officials heard of it through a letter that Rev. Brown of Lillooet sent to the home committee for the Columbia Mission and it resulted in the founding of the
St. Mary's Church, Lillooet, ca. 1862.
The clergyman at this church, Rev. R.C.L. Brown, was the one who wrote to the Columbia Mission about the need for more British women in Lillooet.

Figure 8.
(61A)
Columbia Emigration Society. The need for British subjects was acknowledged from the time that the Colonial Office turned its attention to the mainland territory in 1859, but the need for female emigrants was not at first seen as important.

The recognition of the need for British women in the Colony of British Columbia in 1861 implied that while some measure of settlement had occurred, the introduction of more women, would help stabilize the communities because it assured a more gradual increase in permanent population rather than the extreme fluctuations of population which occurred during the gold rushes. The need for female emigrants in the colonies was also seen as a solution to the social problems that Britain had with an excess of marriageable women throughout the nineteenth century.

St. Mary's Church was built the following year. (See figure 8). The bishop inspected the building two times before he consecrated it. On the first occasion the "East and West windows" were not installed and he would not consecrate it, but three months later he agreed to the consecration of the church.

On my previous visit some weeks since I had objected to consecrate the Ch. as not completed, both East & West windows being blocked up. I [felt] the same objection now. But Mr. Brown had taken steps to provide a Communion Table with kneelings & fittings for the Prayer Desk, was very anxious for the consecration, also the people expected it, moreover promised immediate efforts should be made to complete the windows that I [assented] & proceeded to day to consecrate the Ch.

SUMMARY: SETTLEMENT AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE COLONY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

The Church of England influenced settlement in the Colony (61)
of British Columbia by building churches in the settlements that were established by the government. The policies carried out by Bishop Hills were an integral part of the stabilization of settlement in British Columbia between 1859 and 1863. In this period four permanent churches were built: one in New Westminster, Hope, Douglas, and Lillooet. A temporary place of worship, or mission chapel, was established at Yale. In New Westminster the prominent site of the church reveals the importance of the church as a landmark that represented the British way of life. In Hope, where the Church of England experienced a decline by 1862, it gave the settlement landscape 'an English look' and it strengthened the viability of settlement. In Douglas, the Church helped to build a cohesion between people of different ethnic origins and thus consolidated the settlement process. In Yale, the church encouraged settlement by its support of material advances such as road building, but no consecrated church was built at this time. In Lytton, where no permanent church was constructed by 1863, the church encouraged isolated settlers and thus helped to sustain settlement, but it had no formal institutional influence.

The experiences of the Church of England with settlers in Lillooet, was the basis for a plan of emigration. It resulted in the first plan to bring a group of marriageable women to strengthen the settlements in the gold mining area. The scheme demonstrated the cooperation of church and government during the period.

The core of the bishop's policies, outlined in 1859,
was to build churches in the new settlements 'from the beginning'. During the period between 1859 and 1863 there was no significant departure from the bishop's original plan. This explains why the four consecrated churches were all built in the British townsites. It also explains why the Bishop persisted with his idea that a church should be built at Lytton, although there was no effective support for it at the time.

SETTLEMENTS IN THE COLONY OF VANCOUVER ISLAND

The Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) was granted the Colony of Vancouver’s Island in 1849 under a Royal Letters patent with the condition that the company would commence "settlement or settlements of resident colonists, emigrants from Our United Kingdom of Great Britain, (and) from our other Dominions". Also the Crown held the right to repurchase the colony if no settlement occurred by the end of the ten-year agreement. Therefore, the first group of settlers mainly produced supplies for the HBC.

The population of Vancouver’s Island was less than 800 in 1854, with the majority of persons living in Victoria, Nanaimo, and on the four farms outside Victoria which the HBC operated. The significant increase in population began after 1858 when gold was discovered on the lower Fraser River.

In 1860 when Bishop Hills arrived in the Colony the main settlements were still Victoria, the capital of the colony, and Nanaimo, previously called Colville because of the local coal deposits. The remainder of settlements on the Island were small
communities which were agriculturally based out of necessity, with the exception of Alberni which had both a sawmill and "the first regular farm established on the Coast between the Alaskan peninsula and Sooke Inlet".

VICTORIA

In the journal entry for January 6, 1860, the day that Bishop Hills arrived in Victoria, he noted that it had signs of recent improvement, and very muddy streets.

Victoria is situated upon a rising ground. It is much more spread out than I expected & bears every mark of substantial progress. The Houses & Stores are almost all of wood... The way up to the house provided for me by Mr. Dundas was deep in mud. Yet there was progress making in improvement & everybody said this is nothing to what things were a year ago. Fort Street however, now 1860 Jan. 6, is up to the knees nearly in mud. There are no pavements even of wood. It is heavy labour to walk even upon the rude paths but to venture upon the road is to descend into a gulp [sic] of difficulty indeed. 158

The first visit the Bishop made was an official call to Governor Douglas; the Bishop's journals indicate that they had disparate views on the nature of settlement.

I found his excellency at the government buildings in a spacious room. He is a man of about 60. He was stiff & somewhat reserved in manner. We spoke upon general subjects. On my speaking of the enterprise & usefulness of the Americans as pioneers, he exhibited his sensitiveness of any slight upon the Hudson's Bay C. people who had opened roads everywhere. I might have said they had founded no cities. The roads were intended for the hunter but not for civilization... 159

The Governor's remarks reveal that from his perspective, the construction of roads were the essential element of settlement, while the Bishop saw cities as the key to effective settlement.
By 1861 the land in Victoria had greatly increased in value. The HBC had sold the old fort property in Victoria, in the same year with a profit of 121,223 dollars. The Bishop wrote to Rev. Hawkins who was Secretary for the Bishopric Endowment Fund suggesting that it was important to buy more land in Victoria before costs were too high.

By 1862 there was a noticeable increase in the population of Victoria, and many were British subjects. When the Bishop returned from his visit to the Colony of British Columbia in the Autumn of 1862, he noted that the "town of Victoria" had increased and was expected to "double itself within the space of a year". In the period in which he had been away the Overlanders, a party of 130 people who came from Canada by land, and the first group of sixty female emigrants had arrived from England.

During this period of population growth the Church of England built several buildings in Victoria. St. John's and the Bishop's residence (Bishop's Close), which the Bishop had purchased and shipped from Yarmouth, were built; two collegiate schools were opened, and the Bishop attempted to claim the deed to the Church Reserve, on which the Victoria District Church had been built in 1856. The importance of Victoria as the capital of the colony and the largest town in the two colonies was reflected in the Bishop's desire to have his cathedral there.

The next chapter discusses the churches and schools which were operated by the Church of England in Victoria and the difficulties the Church of England had with the Church Reserve.
It illustrates one of the two corollaries that support the main thesis. That is, the colonial ties were strengthened by an increase of Church of England structures in British settlements.

**NANAIMO**

In 1860 Nanaimo was the only coal producing settlement in the two colonies.

The Pacific Steamer in today. Capt. Nichol, Hudson's Bay Co. agent at Nanaimo called. That place is likely to become important. The coal is good & in Francisco, notwithstanding a duty of 30 percent it is used in preference to other coal. Dr. Hector of the Exploring Expedition has been to see & test & he pronounces it excellent- but not of primary formation.

There are about 100 people, the miners & families.

Captain Nichol and Bishop Hills also discussed the prospects for a church in Nanaimo. Nichol told the Bishop he would do all he could to encourage the Church of England in the town. He and the stipendary Magistrate, Capt. W.H. Franklyn, both wanted the Bishop to send a clergyman to Nanaimo. By Sept 1861 a site had been chosen for the Church and a structure was completed in the Spring of 1862.

In June the Church was opened, but the Bishop did not have conveyance of the site and this prevented the consecration of the building. The conveyance became further delayed when the HBC transferred the whole site of Nanaimo to the Vancouver Coal Company.

Some time ago the H.B.C. gave a piece of ground for the site of a Parsonage here & we built the House. I have
a note from the head of the Company Mr. McTavish acknowledging this, but I have never been able to get from them a Deed. They also gave a lease of ground for a Church. We have built upon this a School also. This lease gives perpetual possession at a shilling a year. The whole site of Nanaimo is now transferred to the new Company & Mr. Nichol informs me privately that the secretary of the H.B.C. has written to the solicitor of the new Company, in answer to his queries as to what land had been granted away, that these grants were not legally made & could be revoked by the new Company if they thought fit!

A Church of England school for girls was planned and built in Nanaimo in 1862 and on Nov 24, the Bishop was present to celebrate the opening of the "Hall of Improvement" and the new school.

This evening the New Room was filled to overflowing with an animated assemblage to celebrate the opening of this place of improvement. There were about 130 persons in attendance, all of whom had paid half a dollar. The tables were provided by the ladies of the place & literally groaned beneath the weight of good things.

I presided & addressed the meeting on the benefit of Education. Mr. Cridge, Mr. Good Mr. Knipe followed. Mr. Nichol & Capt Franklyn also supported us by remarks. There was music at intervals. Hymns & a special prayer from the St. Augustine manual. Much was said in behalf of a religious Education, as well as the special call for right training in a New Country. It is to be hoped great good was done by the impression left upon the minds of many.

The celebration in the new education facility is another illustration of the Church of England's involvement in education in the initial period of British settlement. It also expresses the importance of religious education as "an aid to [British] law and order" which was encouraged by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Bulwer-Lytton. During this period there was a resident clergyman, a parsonage, church, and school in Nanaimo.
ALBERNI

The settlement of Alberni in Barkley Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island, began when Captain Edward Stamp and Mr. Gilbert M. Sproat purchased the site in 1860. It was the only settlement in the Colony of Vancouver's on the west coast north of Sooke Inlet.

The Bishop first visited Alberni about six weeks after work began to build the settlement. He and the proprietors travelled to the site on a naval vessel, the Grappler.

There were already about forty settlers there.

At six we left our anchorage & proceeded northwards towards Barclay (sic) Sound. The land of Vancouver Island on our right (with undulated) mountain ranges covered to the summits with interminable pine. Here & there were openings where probably tracts of land may eventually be cultivated. We observed several rivers pouring their waters into the sea. We entered the Bay about 1/2 past 10. It is some miles in width & 12 in depth. Our entrance is about 2 miles - a chain of Island runs up the middle & another entrance still wider is to the north. After 12 miles we entered the Alberni Canal which is 18 miles long by about a mile to 2 miles wide. The sides are formed by high land, covered with Douglas Fir. Here & there valleys where land might be cultivated are seen, all covered with timber. The scenery was essentially Scotch. Rather upon a larger scale but similar to the lock & inland seas of the West Highlands.

At the head of the Lake [canal] there is a bay & a circular shore & a river & a striking mountain range which is part of the backbone of the Island. There is evidently [a] considerable tract of land which might be cultivated. We anchored about 5 o'clock. A schooner was lying at anchor & a large store and several other buildings had been erected. Some [men] were at work laying the foundation of a saw mill to be worked by steam. I went on shore with Capt. Stamp & Mr. Sproat the proprietors & with Capt. Helby. We visited the works & walked over the excellent site for a Town. Altogether the commencement is good & the undertaking seems likely to prosper. They have (68)
only begun about six weeks. The new town is to be called Sumass (sic), the Indian name.

By 1861 the Bishop had made an arrangement to send a clergyman, and to provide part of the salary until the settlers were able to contribute the funds; he also promised a grant for the church and "some aid for a parsonage".

The owners of the sawmill, Stamp and Sproat, had agreed to contribute an annual sum toward the clergyman's salary and to supply the wood for the church and the parsonage. They also agreed to convey sufficient land for the church site and to sell a "glebe of 100 acres" to the Bishop at cost price. However, the proprietors had some disagreements about business matters and the settlement came to a standstill.

When the Bishop wrote to Rev. Hawkins at the end of February 1862, he told him that the Alberni Church and Parsonage had been suspended. Eight months later Mr. Sproat still thought a clergyman should not be sent; however, Capt. Stamp agreed to provide temporary housing for the clergyman until ground could be selected on which to build a parsonage and church. Rev. Mr. Knipe was sent to Alberni in 1863, but there is no clear indication of a church building until 1865.

The settlement at Alberni is the only one that was the result of a business venture, motivated mainly by private interests. The owners clearly wanted to establish a settlement to operate their sawmill on a year round basis. It was stimulated by international events, but its development was slow due to problems with land conveyance in the colony.
The Civil War in the southern United States caused English businessmen interested in the purchase of spars for shipbuilding to seek another source of wood in North America. Captain Stamp was known by some businessmen in England, so they agreed to purchase wood for masts of ships from his company.

The first group of settlers were established with a farm and sawmill in 1860. However, the remoteness of the settlement and the uncertainty of being able to obtain title to land caused in part by the slowness with which the HBC conveyed the Island back to the Crown restrained settlement during this period.

The influence of the Church of England on Alberni is demonstrated by the Bishop's persistence regarding the placement of a church and clergyman. When the Bishop was there in 1860 the settler's welcomed him in the mill store.

Rain all day. At 1/2 past 10 we had Service in a large Upper Room of the Mill Store lately erected. All the Settlers were present, some 40, and with the Ship's crew made about 75- a goodly congregation in the midst of this wild country- in the very heart of Vancouver [sic] Island.

A clergyman appears to have been assigned to the settlement in 1863, but apparently no church was built for the next few years. The Bishop's policy of building churches in important places, or in settlements that were expected to become important, explains why the Bishop was persistent with his plan to build a church at Alberni and not in some of the rural communities that were closer to Victoria and wanted the Church of England to provide the churches and schools.

(70)
THE LAKE DISTRICT

The area north of Victoria was accessible by horseback and Bishop Hills was able to visit settlers on day trips from Victoria. The main settlements in the district were Cedar Plains, and North and South Saanich which were referred to as the Lake District. Yales Land was also one of the settlements in this area, although its precise location is unknown.

YALES LAND

In May 1861 the Bishop called on Mr. Yales on his way back to Victoria from a visit in Saanich:

Started from the Camp for Victoria at 11, lunched at Mr. Coles -- called at Mr. Yales. He shewed [sic] what he considered would be a good site for the Church on Paget [sic] Sound land. We heard afterwards that a proprietor had offered two acres for sale. 191

Two days later the Bishop called on Mr. Mc Tavish, the head of the Hudson's Bay Company in Victoria in reference to "a site for the Church at Yales Land", but he left without any further information. The next day Dr. Tolmie, one of the men on the board of management of the HBC until 1860, called on the Bishop and claimed that the land did not belong to the Paget (sic.) Sound Company, a farming subsidiary of the HBC. He instructed the Bishop to write to Mr. Dallas who had formerly resided at Victoria and was then the chief officer for the HBC in North America.

The agreement for a church site was not resolved at this time. The different levels of decision-making in the HBC appear to have complicated the selection of a site for a church on Yales.
Land. Nothing further is mentioned in the journals about the Yales land.

**SOUTH SAANICH**

In 1861 the Bishop called on Mr. Anderson, formerly a chief trader of the HBC who had retired in Saanich, to discuss his plan to place a "central missionary at Saanich" for the settlers there. Mr. Anderson responded favourably and offered to provide the land.

Several months later a representative from Saanich called on the Bishop to inform him that a grant had been made for a school in South Saanich and to request the Bishop's help.

Mr. Coles the P. for Saanich called - a grant had been made in that assembly for Saanich for a school- he asked me to help. I offered 100 (pounds) on condition (the) land was one (ours) & I would give 20 (pounds) for (the) Master yearly. I explained my wish to have a place for Divine Service compound with School. He assented. 

A month later the site for the school-chapel was chosen and in June 1862 when it was erected, it was the first school-chapel in the rural districts.

The Church is a very pretty structure indeed & is prettily situated. It is capable of holding 100 persons. Today it was fairly filled. We had a gathering of some 60 persons from Victoria who rode & drove out on horseback & in carriages to give the good work a hearty support.

The significance of this building for the settlers in South Saanich was that the request for a Church of England school came from the settlers, through their representative, Mr. Coles, toward the Bishop and not the other way around. The land was
also provided by one of the original settlers in South Saanich. There were sometimes several offers of land from settlers in one place. This is a contrast to the way the church was introduced in the more populated settlements in the Colony of British Columbia where the cost of the land and one-third of the cost of the building came from the Bishop's funds.

The combination of school and chapel in the one building is another difference; it occurred only in rural settlements in the Colony of Vancouver's Island. It appears that there were a greater number of families who had intentions of remaining in the rural settlements.

CEDAR PLAINS

The first journal entry regarding Cedar Plains was in 1861. When the Bishop went to visit the people: "spoke about the erection of School Chapel". A year later he "rode to Elliots, Cedar Plain [sic] respecting a site for a School Chapel"; it was opened in October, 1862.

The journals show that the Bishop visited Cedar Plains nine times, between the first visit and the opening of Cedar Plains school-chapel. In the journal entries the building was described as both a school-chapel, and a church. Probably a school-chapel was the correct name for the building because the service that celebrated the completion was termed an 'opening' and not a consecration. This particular school-chapel was the second one built for a rural settlement. As in South Saanich, there was probably a small group of families who wanted the
Church of England to supply the needs of church and religious education.

Cedar Plains was closer to Victoria, but the church building was built after some others that were further away. The fact that the first churches outside Victoria were not built in the nearest settlements is another sign that the Bishop consistently maintained his original policy to build churches in settlements that were expected to become important, and it implied that rural areas were less significant than the towns.

SALT SPRING ISLAND

In September 1860 the Bishop visited the settlements on Salt Spring Island; there were two groups of settlers. One was at Ganges Harbour and the other was centered around Beggs Farm, which the Bishop referred to as 'the Northeast Settlement'.

GANGES HARBOUR

The first settler at Ganges Harbour was Mr. Thomas Lineker in 1859. In 1860, when Bishop Hills first visited the settlement, he came on the gun boat Forward. He made a brief visit to "the house of Mr. Leniker (sic), the principal settler" the evening of his arrival, and planned a visit to settlers for the next day.

After breakfast we went on shore. Mr. Leniker(sic) was waiting... Rev. Mr. Lowe & myself went with Mr.Leniker & Mr.Richardson, a coloured person to visit the different clearings.
The plots are laid out in oblongs of 200 acres each. In the whole Island some 8000 acres are taken up about- half are on this side. Although hardly a year has elapsed yet much has been cleared. A log barn has been built upon each. Some 3 or 4 acres have been brought under cultivation in each lot. Garden produce of all sorts is to be seen. Cabbages, potatoes, beetroots, onions, tomatoes, peas, cucumbers, watermelons, carrots & wheat & oats, pigs, poultry, & calves.

The soil is good- generally a light kind- I saw very good black loam- a good deal of this latter principally in the valleys. I should say there is no better land in B. Columbia that I have seen- or on Vancouver Island. There is considerable woods to be cleared- but also there is extensive open greens covered with ferns. The timber is not heavy or thick. There is good water from wells. Grouse are to be had. Deer in abundance & good. Fish plentiful. Mr. Leniker today was at the waters edge raking in smelts. We had some for dinner & capital they were. In winter wild fowl are abundant. Mr. Leniker told me he could come down & shoot as many as he wanted whenever he liked. The settlers complain of the hawks- the chicken hawks who pursue after the chickens come up to the very door of the house.

He visited clearings of many settlers at Ganges Harbour. His analyses of the prospects for the growth of settlement were based on an evaluation of the ability of the land to provide the essentials for survival. They also demonstrate a rough criteria for settlement. He noted the system of property division, the types of structures that had been built, soil capacity for agricultural, water supply, timber for construction and fuel, and ease of clearing, as well as natural sources of food.

NORTHEAST SETTLEMENT

When the Bishop visited the Northeast Settlement on Salt Spring Island the following day, some of the settlers came to
Mr. Lowe accompanied me on shore. Several settlers met us I visited most of the log houses which are built on each lot. The land is much more open than on the other side which we visited yesterday. It is quite park like & the soil is sometimes rich black loam, at other times a marshy & not rich kind. There is plenty of fine grass. There are 16 settlers, mostly young men. Nearly all are living with Indian women. I visited amongst others, the farm of Elliot. He was blacksmith at Nanaimo for some years. He has a good log house. He had [sic] built extensive accomodation for fatting [sic] pigs. He was roofing a cattle house. Several acres were sown with potatoes, &c. Another farm was that of Mr. Mills. He has fenced 25 acres & plowed them. About 3 acres were growing potatoes. He has fifty pigs, two cows, & two oxen-bender calves & poultry. He comes from Eltham in Kent. Another farm was that of Mr. Beggs who understands nursery. He has about 4 acres under cultivation. He has planted an orchard. His vegetables are excellent. The cultivation. He has planted an orchard. His vegetables are excellent. The soil is a rich black loam. He says it is all he could wish. He proposes laying out the ground as a nursery & I doubt not will find a market in the growing requirements of the Colonies.

His observations were similar to those about Ganges Harbour, but with less detail about the resources for settlement and more about what individual settlers were doing.

Settlers in both settlements on Salt Spring Island expressed a desire for a clergyman. At Ganges harbour the Bishop was invited to return and a request for a regular clergyman was made. The people at the Northeast settlement responded similarly and in both instances the settlers escorted the Bishop down to the boat when he left. The following year the Bishop was able to arrange for a clergyman to come for a monthly service.

Early we sailed into Ganges Harbour, Admiral Island [Salt Spring]. I fixed to have a Service on shore (76)
which took place about 1/2 past 12. There were some 20 present. Amongst whom was Mr. Robson the Wesleyan Minister who had come over from Nanaimo. I informed the people of my intention to give them a monthly service & that a Clergyman would come over on the second Sunday in each month. Mr. Lynnac [Lineker] said a canoe with two Indians could easily come over in three hours. He said the settlers would no doubt do all they could to erect a Church & he thought would prefer the Church of England to any other body. 212

The Bishop did not attempt to build any churches on Salt Spring Island at this time, regardless of the fact that the settlers would have liked to have a church.

There are no further journal entries regarding the settlements at Salt Spring Island for 1862 and 1863. The Bishop may have stopped briefly on the island in 1863 during the period between April 13 and May 6, on his way to Fort Simpson and Metlakatla, but there is no record of his visit.

The regular influence which the Church of England had on the settlements at Salt Spring Island would have been through an itinerant clergyman. The decision to send an itinerant clergyman was compatible with the Bishop’s policy to build churches in the more important settlements, but it also might have been motivated by the desire to provide a clergyman for the settlers at little cost.

COWICHAN

The HBC sold land in the Cowichan District in 1858, and it was first settled in 1861. The Bishop visited the district the following year and talked to the settlers. When he discussed the possibility of selecting a site for a church the settlers showed
Left Nanaimo early, reached Cowitchan [sic] soon after 10. Visited settlers, a Mr. & Mrs. Green—a solicitor & his wife in a very uncomfortable shanty. Messrs. Ottey, Harris, King, Walker, xc, on Victoria side, discussed the site of a church. Several young English Gentlemen offered to do all they could to help. They wished to have everything English & reproduce English religion & civilization. I have observed that settlers when they first came [sic] out are more anxious about such higher advantages than they are afterwards. Most important is it we should take hold of this good feeling while it is warm. 214

In spite of the Bishop’s observation that settlers were more anxious to have English religion and civilization when they first arrived than afterwards, there was no provision of a church or school-chapel at this time. There is little to explain the reason that the Bishop did not supply a clergyman or a church, apart from his stated policy, or perhaps a lack of funds.

The Bishop considered the Cowichan District an ideal place for settlement. From his perspective the land could provide the necessities for settlement.

I consider the Cowitchan [sic] district very eligible for settlement. The soil is generally good, in some cases of rare excellence. There is much open land—Prairie. A good deal of bottomland growing maple, alder & poplar with willow underbush would pay for clearing. The land is well watered & highly picturesque. I do not think it possible to have a country more suitable for settlement. Mr. Tait, the Surveyor, estimated the quantity of land in the 4 districts at 60,000 acres. There is still some very poor land not taken up. 215

The influence of the Church of England on this settlement was probably minimal during this period. Although, there were individual settlers who might have appreciated a church for their settlement, none was provided. The Bishop’s attitude toward
Cowichan is comparable to his response to the settlements on Salt Spring Island.

**COMOX**

The location of the Comox settlement was in the vicinity of "Port Augustin [Augusta] at the mouth of the Courtney [sic] River. The initial settlers came from Victoria in 1862 on the gunboat Grappler which Governor Douglas made available for their transportation. The Bishop made his first visit to Comox the same year the settlers arrived.

The journal indicates that the Bishop was impressed with the accomplishments of the settlers and the suitability of the place for settlement.

Went on shore to visit settlers. Found Mr. Piddock, son of a clergyman in England who had brought letters to me, keeping a store. Met another son of a clergyman, Mr. Carwither who had been to Oxford, putting up a log house. There are about 37 or 40 settlers, amongst them but two women. The country is fine. There is much prairie land covered with much herbage & ferns in some cases 6 & 7 feet high. There is very active and bona fide settlement. Substantial houses are being erected of logs and lumber. The soil is rich, about 18 inches of black vegetable would (wold?) upon clay sand & gravel. There is much maple poplar, & Alder which shows good soil & easy clearing. The undulations are pleasing & besides the river there are numerous creeks.

The Bishop was impressed with the potential for settlement at Comox and he made detailed notes about his observations. The Comox District

From what I have seen I consider this district to promise well for settlement. Those at present here seem to have commenced in right earnest & with a prospect of doing well.
The land up the North side of the river is open to the extent of several thousand acres of Prairie land. There is a good deal of wood of a kind easily cleared & betokening rich soil, such as Poplar, Alder, & Maple. The undulations of these Prairies are a pleasing feature of scenery & streams flow in the midst of them.

I was told by the Indians there was good land up the South Fork, a main branch of the river & in that direction from the Upper Prairie I could see an extensive Valley. Possibly this would communicate with the Central Lake & Alberni. To the north the Indians said was the Komox [sic] country proper & there was open land but not so much as this below. A gentleman of the Grappler, Mr. Heuke, went 4 miles along the Coast north today & reports about 5 miles inland at that point considerable open land & water.

I should think it probable there is much land north & towards Cape Thunder suitable for settlement. Also I observe a considerable tract of country south between the mountains & the Sea. This from the sea has the appearance of being thickly wooded but there are indications of open land.

The soil in the Prairies is about 18 inches of black mould upon clay & sand. I saw no bad land anywhere. The climate is excellent.

Fish, game, xc

There is every abundance of food. Deer are plentiful. A fine deer weighing some 300 lbs. was shot today. Two bears were seen today. Geese & Ducks are innumerable. Salmon & trout are inexhaustable. What can the settler wish for more? 219

This lengthy quote reveals what was important for effective settlement from the Bishop's perspective more precisely than his other comments about settlement. Several of the aspects that were considered favourable for settlement on Salt Spring Island and Cowichan are repeated, but in addition to this he speculated about a continued expansion of settlement and how it would likely relate to other settled places, such as Central Lake and Alberni.
The rhetorical question at the end of the quote sets these comments apart from the others.

The Bishop’s remarks about settlement were different than those he might have been expected to make. He did not describe the landscapes of the rural settlements in stereotypes of wilderness as a place of contemplation, or as a new Jerusalem where a just society could be built, separate from corrupting influences. He saw them as places suitable for settlement because they could provide the necessary food and shelter for a group of people.

Although an appreciation of nature is evident in his comments, Bishop Hills did not attempt to spiritualize these settlements or see them as a new Eden, as Governor Douglas had in 1852. He had no apparent desire to build separate religious communities on unsettled land. Instead he examined the local environment to assess its value for settlement. As the Bishop of the Church of England, he was an official of the British Empire, and saw the expansion of the Church as a customary part of British settlement.

**SUMMARY: THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE COLONY OF VANCOUVER’S ISLAND**

The hypothesis has proposed that the policies carried out by Bishop Hills were an integral part of the stabilization of settlement in British Columbia between 1859 and 1863. The influence of the Church of England in the Colony of Vancouver’s Island through its churches and schools was mainly in Victoria.
and Nanaimo, the remote parts of the colony had less opportunity for regular contact with the Church of England.

In Victoria and Nanaimo the Bishop built permanent churches; in Alberni he made a major effort to build a church for the settlement, but this did not occur until a later period. In Saanich and Cedar Plains school-chapels were built where settlers requested the Bishop to help, and where land was offered by settlers. For rural settlements, like those on Salt Spring Island, an itinerant clergyman was appointed. In the settlements at Cowichan and Comox, which were just developing, the Bishop talked to settlers about the possibility of future churches, but none were built during the period.

The bishop's policies were implemented in two different ways in the Colony of Vancouver's Island. Although he appears to have had one policy for the towns and another for the rural settlements, his policy of building churches in the towns, determined in 1859 in England, was consistently followed. There were only two towns, Victoria and Nanaimo, and by 1862 several agricultural settlements were also developing and the settlers wanted churches and schools. The school-chapels were a moderate step toward the establishment of permanent churches in the rural areas; they were a temporary solution to meet the religious and educational needs of small communities.

The alignment of the Church of England with the policies of the colonial government is observable in the main towns of Victoria and Nanaimo. Churches were built, in spite of the
delays related to conveyance of land titles; but St. John's, Victoria was the only one to be consecrated by 1863.

Outside the towns, the Bishop had opportunities to build churches, but it appears he was not as pressured by the circumstances of settlement to build them immediately. However, this reflects the attitude of the colonial government in Victoria and Britain which was less concerned with the settlement of the Colony of Vancouver's Island than on the mainland.

Between the time of the first census that Governor Douglas prepared in 1855 and the departure of the Bishop for England in the Spring of 1863, there was no increase in the number of towns on the Island. There was no flood of immigrants who were not British subjects and there were no expensive roads to be built, since the greater part of the population was near Victoria and the Saanich Peninsula. Other places, including Nanaimo, were reached by water transport.

The Church of England was part of the growth of settlements in the Colony of Vancouver's Island, in much the same way that the government was. It moved slowly and it was less concerned with the preservation of the British flag and church.
CHAPTER FOUR: 
The Church of England in Victoria

The hypothesis has argued that the policies carried out by Bishop Hills were an integral part of the stabilization of settlement in British Columbia between 1859 and 1863, and that this stabilization came about partly through an increase of Church of England structures in colonial settlements.

Between 1859 and 1863 the number of churches were increased from one to ten in both colonies; and the Colonial Office supported the efforts of the Church of England to establish churches and schools in the colonies of British Columbia.

From the time that Bishop Hills was consecrated in January 1859, Governor Douglas was directed by the Colonial Office to leave all decisions relating to the Church until the Bishop's arrival. The Colonial Office saw the Church of England as the best means of building a Christian nation in British Columbia.

It is impossible to be mixed up with those affairs without earnestly desiring that British Columbia, should not only possess, as I am happy to say she already possesses, the rudiments of law and order, good government, a vigorous commerce, and a healthy and hardy industry, but also to desire that in that young community, and upon that fresh and fertile soil should be sown the seeds of an educated, a religious, a God fearing, and a Christian nation. (Hear, Hear). But more than this, my Lord, because I am far from forgetting that this is not merely a Christian Missionary Meeting, but especially a Church of England meeting; more than this, it is impossible but that men so officially connected with this colony, and having the natural feeling to which I have alluded, if they are indeed members of the Church of England, should also wish that their own Church should be the means of conferring on that distant land this great good. It is impossible for members of the Church of England not
to recognize the duty which is most immediate to them; which is, as it were, under their hands as the true and natural task pointed out to them by Providence. (Hear Hear). It is for that reason, my Lord, I feel that the Colonial Office, and those who represent the government of this country, have a natural and proper connexion with the great work in which we are engaged this day...

The attitude of the Colonial Office gave the Church of England a special relationship with the government in Victoria because it was the official representative of the British government, but financially it was on the same basis as other denominations which had no such ties with Britain.

During the years between the Bishop’s arrival and his first trip back to England on church matters, the Church of England expanded significantly. By 1863 there were nine new churches or chapels built for settlers.

**TABLE 1. Names and Locations of Anglican Churches: 1860 - 1863**

**Colony of British Columbia**
- Holy Trinity, New Westminster
- Christ Church, Hope
- St. Mark’s, Douglas
- St. Mary’s, Lillooet
- Yale (Mission-chapel)

**Colony of Vancouver’s Island**
- Christ Church, Victoria
- St. John’s, Victoria
- Cedar Plains (School-chapel)
- South Saanich (School-chapel)
- St. Paul’s, Nanaimo

There was only one place in both colonies where there was more than one church, Victoria. There were two churches, and two schools operated by the Church of England. Victoria was also the place where the first church was consecrated, and it was the 'see city', or place of the Bishop’s official residence, and it

(85)
Victoria District Church, 1859-1860, later Christ Church. This church was the first Anglican Church built in the Colony of Vancouver's island, but it was not consecrated until 1865. Figure 9.

(86A)
was thereby expected to be the place of the future cathedral. Further, the largest and most controversial Church Reserve was in Victoria, and most of the endowment properties which the Bishop purchased in this period were in Victoria. In Victoria, both the achievements and problems which the Church of England had can be observed. For these reasons Victoria is the focus of the discussion of Church of England buildings and their significance in the colonial landscape.

THE CHURCHES IN VICTORIA

Christ Church was originally known as the Victoria District Church because it was built in 1854 by the HBC for the employees of Fort Victoria as a result of policy instituted by the Colonial Office. (See figure 9). It was built on a large parcel of land which originally had about 2200 acres designated as Church Reserve.

Until the appointment of a Bishop in 1859, the Church of England was not able to increase the number of churches in the colonies, and no church schools were established. From 1852, when Rev. Edward Cridge was hired as a private chaplain by the HBC, the Church of England in the colony had no ability to confirm people for membership nor a designated parish area. These restraints to growth were removed when the bishop was appointed because the colonial bishop held full institutional power to increase the Church of England in terms of membership, buildings, and the designation of parish boundaries within the diocese. The Bishop’s right, as head of the Church of England, to own property (86)
St. John's Church, Victoria, ca.1861.
This was the famous "Iron Church" which the Bishop had shipped from Britain. It was built on the lots that formed the corner of Douglas and Fisgaard Streets.
Figure 10.
(87A)
and buildings was granted by the Royal Letters Patent in 1859.

The property on which Christ Church was situated had been set aside as a church reserve by the HBC around 1852, and it still belonged to the HBC in 1860 when the Bishop arrived. Because the property had not been conveyed to the Church of England, Christ Church could not be consecrated according to church regulations. Bishop Hills repeatedly tried to get a deed for the property during this period, but could not because the process of conveyance was in the hands of the Attorney General, George H. Cary, and he was reluctant to draw up the deed.

St. John's was the second church built in Victoria. It was the Bishop's church in several senses. He arranged for its design and fabrication, had it assembled in England and inspected it, then made further architectural changes and had it shipped to the colony before he left England. It was purchased along with the Bishop's iron residence by Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts for the Bishopric. The Iron Church, St. John's, was also a metaphor for the implantation of British culture because the Bishop was figuratively and literally transporting the Church of England and planting it in the colonial landscape. (See figure 10).

There are two documented occasions when an image of implantation was used to describe the transfer of the Church of England to the colonies at the Columbia Mission meetings in London. In 1859 in the Bishop's 'Farewell Sermon' he said:

We go from the bosom of the Church of England which our God has blest for so many generations, to reproduce in another soil, what heavenly mercy has planted and fostered here. 234
The Bishop of London used the same analogy on another occasion when he referred to Bishop Hills’ Iron Church:

(The Bishop) is transporting to that land our own time-honoured Church - carrying it, not indeed with the wealth and power derived from the state, but yet with all its historical associations.

The Athelstan took out his Iron Church, and there were Yarmouth sailors in it... [They] testified in that distant land that it was one Church on both sides of the globe. 235

The concept of transplantation can also be seen in official correspondence between the Bishop and the Governor. Bishop Hills informed Governor Douglas in official correspondence that explained the organization of the church in the colony that his duty was to reproduce the home church.

My duty is to carry out the principles and reproduce the exact resemblance of the Mother Church modified only by necessary circumstances of our colonial position in respect of which we have the experience of the various colonial churches which from the same stock have grown up and flourished before us. 236

Transplantation, as expressed by nineteenth century churchmen, was part of the ethos of the period. It reflected the way in which the church and the government saw the role of the Church of England in the colonies of British Columbia.

The two churches in Victoria can be seen as representative of different stages of settlement. Christ Church, named the Victoria District Church by the HBC, was built primarily because of the connection between the HBC and the British government. It was meant to serve the temporary needs of HBC employees in a foreign land and was therefore oriented to internal needs of the local community. In both the name, and function of the 'District
Church it appears to be a building supplied by the company to ease the discomfORTS OF isolation for its employees. The Iron Church (St. John’s) illustrates a second stage, one of settlement expansion during which the church intended to permanently establish itself in the colonies. The transportable metal building was the latest in British building technology, and it was intended to serve large numbers of settlers. It was meant to be a permanent place of worship where settlers could be baptized, confirmed, married, ordained and buried within the arms of the Church of England. This second stage involved the transplantation of cultural roots to a new environment, it made the settlement landscape a British home.

ORIGINS OF THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

In the early nineteenth century the Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada came under political criticism and the controversy continued to divide the colonial legislature there until 1854. However, after the practice of reserving land for church endowment was discontinued it was not used again in British North America. In 1859, when George Hills was appointed Bishop, the negative consequences that resulted from the decision made in Upper Canada served as a precedent for the policies which were implemented in British Columbia.

When Chichester Fortescue Esq., M.P. Under Secretary of State for the Colonies spoke at the second meeting of the Columbia Mission in London he explained the need for a different
...I feel that the Colonial Office, and those who represent the government of this country, have a natural and proper connection with the great work in which we are engaged this day; and in saying this, I feel that I am not speaking to you mere truisms and matters of course, because I wish to remind you what the relations between the government this country and the church in this colony really are. I need hardly tell you that those relations are not such as exist between the Church and state in this mother country. I need hardly remind you— but perhaps it is well to remind you—that no such relations subsist, or can indeed subsist, between the Church and the state in the new community just forming in British North America, as exist at home. The system of establishments—the system of state endowments for religious purposes—is so absolutely alien to the modern practice of North America, whether within the British possessions or without them, that it would have been absolutely impossible, and would have defeated its own purpose, had any attempt been made to introduce that system into British Columbia. That policy has been fully and heartily recognized by the government both there and here; and I am happy to add that by no one has the necessity for it been more fully and more heartily recognized than by the Bishop of British Columbia himself.

But in saying that we must make up our minds to depend in that country for the success of the cause of religion upon the voluntary system, and not upon the system of state endowment, we cannot conceal from ourselves that, while on the one hand the endowment system is impossible, on the other hand the voluntary system, is not exempted from very great difficulties at the present moment... So that the cause of the Church and the cause of religion are in this danger, that it may possibly fall into neglect between two systems, one of which is impossible, and the other difficult.

The particular difficulty that Mr. Fortesque mentioned left the Church of England without a system of endowment apart from private investments. The Church of England maintained its former principle of using land for endowment, with the difference that land was purchased by the church rather than granted by
government. Although the Clergy Reserves concept was repudiated, the concept of a church reserve, or church land endowment, was necessary for the survival of the Church of England in the Bishopric of British Columbia.

THE CHURCH RESERVE IN VICTORIA

A parcel of land had been reserved for the use of church and school in 1852. At the time it was of little value and there was no controversy over the designation of about 2000 acres to the church by Governor Douglas. When the impact of the gold rush was felt in Victoria and land values began to rise, the property was deemed to be too large to be in the control of one church. Also, both the appointment of a bishop and the construction of his iron house on the Church Reserve raised some objections.

A Congregational minister argued that the exclusive use of the property by the Church of England was evidence of an 'embryo state church'; and the editor of the Colonist maintained that other heads of denominations were also entitled to erect a residence on the Church Reserve if the Church of England was. Another objection to the use of the property by the Church of England came from Roman Catholic Bishop Demers who brought a suit against Bishop Hills because a newly built fence restricted the Roman Catholic Bishop's right of entry to the cemetery which was adjacent to the Bishop's residence. The outcome of the case was in the favour of Bishop Demers and he was awarded 500 1. in damages. However, this dispute did not significantly alter the right of the Church of England to the property and the Bishop (91)
knew in advance that the outcome of the court case would not affect the title to the Church Reserve.

When the Bishop spoke to Governor Douglas and Mr. Dallas, a North American member of the HBC board of management about the Church Reserve in 1860, they both supported the claim of the Church of England to the property. In 1861, the year of the court case with Bishop Demers, the Colonial Secretary Wm. Young informed the Bishop that the HBC and the government had consented to convey the property to the Church of England. Dr. Tolmie who had retired from the board of management of HBC in 1860 and was then a member of the Legislative Assembly in Victoria, also told the Bishop there was no difficulty about the conveyance.

In the same year the Bishop requested permission from the Governor to work on a rough draft deed for conveyance and these terms were eventually accepted by the Colonial Office. When the Governor read the despatch from the Duke of Newcastle to the Bishop in November 1862, he told the Bishop all that was necessary was for the Attorney General to draw up the deed of conveyance. However, in 1863 on the day the Bishop departed for England, Attorney General Cary called on him to inform the Bishop that there were still unresolved difficulties that prevented him from producing a deed of conveyance.

The Church Reserve in Victoria was never used as reserve for all denominations. The original designation of the property was intended for the exclusive use of the Church of England. The Bishop acted on the assumption that the property belonged to the Church of England by building his residence on it, by his
insistence on the conveyance for the Church Reserve, and by making alterations to Christ Church which had been built by the HBC on the Church Reserve. Even the objections of the opponents of a Church Reserve were based on the complaint that the property had been exclusively used by the Church of England.

The claim to the Church Reserve was supported by the HBC and both levels of colonial government. Notwithstanding negative remarks made in the local press, official support for the Church of England claim remained in line with the policy of the home government.

The Church Reserve issue points up the different factions that existed in Victoria at this time, but it also demonstrates that the Church of England had a special relationship with the colonial government, and was thought to be the most suitable religious institution for the colonies of British Columbia. Even the objections which were voiced by representatives of the Congregationalists and the Roman Catholics reflect that the Church of England was more central to the establishment of British settlement than other denominations.

**SCHOOLS IN VICTORIA**

The Church of England established two schools in Victoria in 1860. One was known as "The Ladies College" and the other was "The Collegiate School for Boys". They were the only schools that provided a secondary education in the colonies of British Columbia.

The Ladies College, held in the former house of Judge
Cameron the Chief Justice for Vancouver's Island, was run by several women who came from England to work as teachers for the Church of England. The object of the institution was" to provide careful religious training in combination with a solid English Education, with the usual accomplishments"; the curriculum was "English in all its branches" and included a wide variety of academic subjects such as Grammar, Geography, History, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Latin and Modern Languages, as well as music and art. It expected to draw students from the entire continent:

Victoria possesses peculiar attractions for an establishment of this kind, being situated near the sea, with a public park, in a country unsurpassed for salubrity of climate and for beauty and grandeur of scenery; there is speedy and direct communication with the chief ports on the Pacific, affording an opportunity for a first-class Education to families residing not only in Victoria and British Columbia, but in more distant places of the Continent.

In the fall of 1860 there were 21 students attending the school. The school was the precursor to Angela College founded by Angela Burdett-Coutts and constructed in 1866.

The Boys Collegiate was held in the building which had formerly been the Congregational Chapel, and was purchased from Rev. Wm. Clarke when the denomination split into two groups. The emphasis of the school was on professional training:

The Institution will be conducted upon the plan of the Grammar Schools of England, both as to Instruction and Discipline, with such modification as the peculiar circumstances of a new colony may require, so as to qualify for the Learned Professions, Commercial and Mercantile Pursuits, and the Universities.
The school offered a Hebrew course which attracted a number of Jewish students; it was taught by a Hebrew scholar from Cambridge University. Drawing and Modern Languages was taught by Edward Mallandine, an English architect. When the Boys College opened in September 1860 it had 33 students and by December 42 students were in attendance; the son of Governor Douglas was one of the students.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SCHOOLS AND SETTLEMENT

The importance of Church of England schools for settlement in British Columbia was recognized in the correspondence of the Colonial Secretary, Sir Bulwer-Lytton in 1859, who envisioned the Church of England bringing "education in her train". The education provided by the schools helped to form a link between the settlers and the mother country.

The policy of this country has been to throw the doors of the colony wide open, and to oppose no obstacles whatever to the entrance of an American population; it is, however, a reason why we should earnestly desire that the teachers of the rising generation should be drawn as far as possible from the mother country, that they should form a link which is greatly wanted between our dependency and ourselves, and also to be the means of fusing into one harmonious and Christian community.

The Church of England schools provided an opportunity for educational advancement to any who could afford it, they also welcomed children from Hebrew and American black families. Both the Colonial Office and the Church of England realized the need for the provision of an English education in a colonial situation.
The Church of England had no influence through schools for children from settlers' families in the Colony of British Columbia because there was only one school in the colony and it was for the younger children at the Royal Engineers Camp just outside New Westminster. There were very few children in the other settlements of the colony. Since the government in Victoria promised to provide schools where there were twenty children or more and none were built, it appears there were no settlements in the Colony of British Columbia with twenty children.

Settlers were aware that when schools were built the number of women and children would increase. The married inhabitants of Yale had requested the Bishop to provide a school in their letter of welcome to the bishop in 1860.

...Your petitioners hail the advent of your Lordship to British Columbia, both as a social and religious blessing, and look forward with hope and confidence to the establishment of schools, as well as churches, in its various townships.

That such institutions, besides the education of the children at present in the colony, would conduce to other most desirable results, in encouraging numerous isolated individuals here to bring their wives and families to join them, whereby speedy and wholesome settlement would be promoted, and the moral tone of our present rude society reformed and elevated.

The petition concluded by offering Yale as a suitable site for a seminary, or school. The original copy of the formal address was signed by the married men and it included the number of children who were already in Yale, but these details were not published with the letter.

Before Bishop Hills left for England in 1863 he went to (96)
see Governor Douglas. Among the subjects they discussed, one was education; the Bishop pointed out the need for planning new schools.

I mentioned outlying districts Cedar Hill, Esquimalt, Saanich, Lake [District] needing assistance. He had no other plan than the old one of central spots; [School] Master paid by Government & children paying 5$ a year. He expressed a strong opinion against the Government assisting those who could provide education for themselves. Free schools were only for charity children. I suggested Government aid being given in aid of the efforts of a District. For instance if the Government were to give 50 [pounds] towards Cedar Hill School the remainder might be made up by myself & the childrens' payments. He thought this would be a good plan.

The Governor did not appear to have any definite view upon the subject of Education. He expressed himself however in favour of a School Tax. 271

The Governor appears, from this discussion on education, to have made decisions more by expediency, than by any long term planning. The recognition of the need for a plan was advocated by the Bishop; his view was that the schools in the rural settlements should be increased by through the combined efforts of the church and the government.

**SUMMARY: CHURCH OF ENGLAND BUILDINGS AND ENDOWMENTS IN THE THE COLONIAL LANDSCAPE**

The increase of Church of England structures in colonial settlements was the result of cooperation between the British public, the Colonial Office, and the government in Victoria. Beside the Bishopric Endowment Fund which Angela Burdett-Coutts contributed, the funds raised through the Columbia Mission came from numerous individuals in Britain. The
appointment of the Bishop was a joint act of Queen Victoria, the temporal head of the Church of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury who was the spiritual head of the church. The motivation for the establishment of the church in the colonies was to effect settlement, in much the same way that the work of the Royal Engineers, and the establishment of the British judicial system were intended to establish a British presence in the colonies of British Columbia. These buildings of the Church of England were obvious landscape features.

There were other properties which belonged to the church which were not as obvious in the landscape; a large amount of money was spent on investment properties. These were part of the effort the Church of England made to establish itself permanently, and they were also important because they were a sign of confidence in the permanence of British settlement.

**CHURCH ARCHITECTURE**

The sites selected for churches were sometimes chosen to dramatize the presence of the church, but in Victoria, the sites selected for the two churches were very different. Christ Church, was particularly prominent because it was on a high ridge overlooking James Bay. This was due to a decision which Governor Douglas and the surveyor, J.D. Pemberton had made around 1852. St. John's, Victoria was built on a level lot at the northern end of the town. It was on property which the Bishop purchased near the streets of Douglas and Fisgaard.

St. John's would have been more remarkable for its exterior
building material than for its site; the building was made of pre-fabricated iron. It was an anomaly because every other church built by the Church of England in both colonies, at this time, was made of wood. One reason it was purchased by Bishop Hills was that because it was a collapsible iron structure, it was convenient for transportation by water to Victoria.

Descriptions of the churches in Victoria were published in the Columbia Mission Report for 1860.

Dissenting Chapels are growing up; there is a Methodist Church, ecclesiastical, with a tower and spire, nearly completed, built, I understand, mainly by the subscriptions of Church people! There are two other Chapels, being the fruits of a split already between two Congregationalists. There is a Roman Catholic Church with a bishop, priests, and nuns. All these are of wood. Christ Church, our own, stands nobly on a site which one day may be occupied by a Cathedral. This is also of wood. It contains about 400 (people). So my iron church will come at the most fortunate moment, before our people are drawn away, and we shall be prepared for the further influx of people in the spring.

The importance of the site was noted but little else to explain the architectural details of Christ Church. The comments are similar to those written by Archdeacon Wright the following year.

The two churches, Christ's Church, and St. John's, were pointed out to me— the former remarkable for its noble site, the latter for its commanding size...

Christ Church, a plain structure, occupies a commanding position, and as it is built of wood, will, we trust, in due time, give place to a noble cathedral...

St. John's an iron structure, brought out by the Bishop, has proved a great blessing to the colony. Its appearance is much more ecclesiastical than that of Christ Church...

Since both men remarked that Christ Church was made of wood,
the use of wood as a building material for this church must have seemed somewhat unusual.

In 1862 when the school-chapel at South Saanich was opened the Bishop commented: "the Church is a very pretty structure indeed & is prettily situated. It is capable of holding 100-277 persons. Today it was fairly filled".

Another comment was made in reference to the new school that was built in Nanaimo in 1862: "the new school is nearly finished & of good size- 45 x 72 (feet). It is Grecian & in opposite contrast to the Church, the view of which its position obstructs". Although the Grecian style of the building was mentioned, there were no other comments made about the architecture of the building.

Among the Bishop's comments on churches in the Colony of British Columbia, the remarks on church architecture were also very brief. Several comments were made about the churches in New Westminster, and Yale, but very little of significance.

Holy Trinity, New Westminster, had been designed by Captain Lempriere of the Royal Engineers and was completed in November, 1860. An article first printed in the New Westminster Times was reprinted in a Columbia Mission Report.

The edifice which commands a lovely view of the river, mountains, and surrounding scenery, is built in the early style of Gothic architecture, and thanks, to the skill and watchful care of our enterprising fellow-citizens, Messrs. Manson and White, to whom the building was intrusted, it presents the fullest richness of appearance as well as the closest consistency with the rules of ecclesiastical architecture. Externally, the porch, belfry, east and west windows, and general appearance, at once convince the beholder that he is viewing a building erected for (100)
no ordinary or secular purposes; ... The interior consists of a nave, two aisles, chancel, vestry, and recess for organ. The uprights and rafters are of fir, and the walls of the best cedar. The roof is supported upon two rows of massive pillars, with Gothic arches between, a series of arches also spanning the nave and giving a rich and ecclesiastical appearance to the whole... The whole building reflects the highest credit both upon the taste of the committee, who approved of the plans (presented by Captain A.R. Lempriere, R.E.), and upon the builders Messrs Manson and White, who have performed their part in a truly workmanlike and skillful manner. 279

The article described the church in great detail, in contrast to the entries in the Bishop’s journal which describe Holy Trinity quite briefly.

Between February and December, 1860, the Bishop recorded three visits to New Westminster during which he went to inspect the progress of the church. One entry remarked that the site was attractive, another mentioned that the work of building the church has been well done, and the third entry, on the day Holy Trinity was consecrated discussed details about the service.

In Douglas when the Church was built there was some controversy about the crosses which were placed on the porch and gables; but the journal entries were concerned only with the irrationality of the objections. The only remark made about the church was when the Bishop inspected it just before he consecrated it: the church was described as “very nice”.

In Yale the Church of England had the use of a store for worship services, and it probably looked like most other stores, until Rev. Crickmer made some improvements in 1862, just before he left. The changes were not appreciated.
When the Bishop arrived on Visitation in 1862, the clergyman that replaced Crickmer, Rev. Reeve, took him to see the chapel.

Before Mr. Crickmer left he placed over the miserable little building in which Service is held a very prominent Cross, some 4 feet high. This was injudicious. He has painted up 'English Church', another mistake. Mr. Reeve very properly has made a point of not altering anything done by his predecessor lest he might seem to condemn him, but is alive to the injury done. Not that we should object to the Cross, on the contrary, only the very prominent charge.

These comments are more concerned with moderation and good taste, from the Bishop's point of view, than architectural style.

It is somewhat surprising that the Bishop made so few remarks about church architecture because he was respected for his knowledge of painting and he had sufficient knowledge of church architecture to make the major decisions for the Iron Church which was shipped to Victoria. Also the list of things to bring to the colonies that he jotted down in 1859 included plans for churches. When the Bishop visited Lytton in 1862 he took a set of plans for a church with the intention of presenting them to the settlers. The plan he had with him may have been one he brought from England, or it may have been one designed by the Royal Engineers.

Another aspect of note is that the Bishop appears not to have had a strong preference for Gothic church architecture for the churches he built between 1860 and 1863. The churches built by the Church of England in the Colony of British Columbia were wooden and might be termed Gothic in style because they had

(102)
"pointed arches and vaulted roofs", but the use of wood and the small size of the buildings probably would have made them seem pale reflections of Gothic architecture to critics like John Ruskin, or those familiar with English Gothic churches.

St. John's, Victoria, stood as a significant exception to the wooden churches of the period because it was imported. The Bishop chose an industrially pre-fabricated church, rather than one made of wood for his parish church in Victoria. The Iron Church would not have been considered a building that demonstrated the elements of Gothic Architecture. It appears that Bishop Hills did not insist on strict principles of Gothic architecture for the churches he built between 1860 and 1863.

It is possible that the immediate need for churches was greater than the desire for a specific style of architecture, and the Bishop saw these buildings as temporary until larger churches in the Gothic style of architecture could be built. For example, Christ Church, Victoria, was seen as a temporary structure because both the Bishop and Archdeacon Wright commented that it was an acceptable site for a future cathedral. Also, Christ Church, Hope was thought of as a temporary building which would eventually be replaced by a more impressive building. The Bishop remarked at the ceremony for laying the foundation stone at Christ Church, Hope that when a later generation built a new church they would find the cornerstone that was laid in 1861:

One day their children would not be content with so humble an edifice but would proceed to erect a more magnificent temple. They would find that stone & they would know the work was entered upon in faith &
Typical design of Anglican churches built in the Colony of British Columbia between 1860 and 1865: (a) Holy Trinity, New Westminster, floor plan; (b) Christ Church, Hope; (c) St. Mary's Sapperton, built in 1865.

Figure 11.

(104A)
we trust they would have come to praise God for the manifest blessing vouchsafed to the ministry there.

The journals for the period of 1859 to 1863 contain very few comments on church architecture that could establish a connection between one particular style of architecture and the Church of England. The existing photographs of these churches are more revealing than the journal comments.

The floor plan of the wooden churches was uniform in design. (See figure, 11). They were characterized by a central nave with the lectern generally at the front on the right-hand side and a pulpit on the left; several steps led up to a small chancel which contained the altar and vestry alcove was attached to the eastern end of the nave. The baptismal font was usually at the western end of the nave. On the exterior these churches usually had a side entry porch and a bell cot, or small roofed structure superimposed on the main roof that held the church bell. Crosses were usually attached to the gable peaks on the porch and both ends of the central portion of the building.

There were no bell towers on these churches, probably because of the lack of bell foundries in the colonies of British Columbia, and bells were expensive to import. In both the colonies there was only one peal of bells that belonged to the Church of England. They were sent as a gift to the diocese from Angela Burdett-Coutts. When Holy Trinity, New Westminster asked to have the bells that Angela Burdett-Coutts sent for a cathedral, the Bishop loaned them on the condition that a "worthy" building would be built for the bells.
Church of England Properties in Victoria:
Base map: J.D. Pemberton, "Plan of Victoria and Part of Esquimalt Districts, 1861" scale 1:4, manuscript map.
Figure 12.
(106A)
TABLE 2: CHURCH PROPERTIES PURCHASED FROM 1860 TO 1863

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>DOLLAR COST</th>
<th>PURPOSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>nil/ grant</td>
<td>church and parsonage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>1587</td>
<td>church and parsonage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4468</td>
<td>endowment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillooet</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>church and parsonage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>nil/ lease</td>
<td>church, parsonage and school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>endowment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>church and parsonage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Archdeacon’s house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9500</td>
<td>endowment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Saanich</td>
<td>nil/ grant</td>
<td>church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3235</td>
<td>endowment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>3620</td>
<td>churches, schools, parsonages, and Bishop’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>endowment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24,380</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yale</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>chapel and parsonage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general pattern of spending more money on endowment properties than for schools, church lands and buildings can be seen in what happened in Victoria. (See figure, 12). Among eighteen different properties, only three were used for church and school purposes. The location of residences and whether they were rented or purchased by the other Church of England clergymen is not known. One parcel of land was purchased for St. John’s Church, one building was purchased for the Boys Collegiate School, and a third piece of land was used for Cedar Plains school-chapel. The Church Reserve land, lot number LXXXVIII (88), on which Christ Church, the cemetery and the bishop’s (106)
residence were located was not conveyed to the church until 1865. The remaining fifteen properties were purchased for endowment of the Bishopric. During this period the bishop appointed a steward of church lands for "Vancouver Island and the District of New Westminster"; Mr. J.I. Crease was the steward who advised the Bishop regarding purchases and sales of properties.

The purchase of endowment properties was a means of ensuring the continuation of the Church of England. It was a variant of the traditional relationship between church and state, and it retained the principle of using land as a commodity to provide long term stability. The church was able to provide for the settlers, before they were able to support the costs of buildings and clergy stipends in new settlements. It was a distinct break with the traditional state church system used in Britain, and from the system of clergy reserve lands which was no longer tenable in Upper Canada.

SUMMARY: THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE COLONIAL LANDSCAPE

The dominant view of British Columbia's historians is that since there were no clergy reserves in British Columbia, there was no State Church.

At the very threshold of our colonial existence we were threatened with the possibility of having a State Church...Public sentiment was soon shown to be unequivocally opposed to the union of Church and State, and in deference thereto, the Governor cancelled the large (2,118 acres) proposed reserve. When Bishop Hills arrived in January 1860, recognizing the prevailing feeling, he agreed that the grant of one hundred acres which had been promised in the arrangement with Mr. Cridge, should be reduced to
thirty acres in the city of Victoria and transferred to trustees for the Church. 

The implication is that the government made no further grants to the Church of England. However, Governor Douglas tried several times to make grants to the churches. Aside from the creation of the first Church Reserve in Victoria, the Governor also requested permission from the Colonial Office, in 1860, to make land grants of one hundred acres to all denominations, and he was refused. The next year he made two grants to the Anglican churches in Douglas and Lillooet, without consulting the Bishop first.

The Bishop wrote to the church people in Douglas and Lillooet and asked them to refuse the grants. Several weeks later when the Bishop and the Governor were at a wedding celebration they discussed the situation.

Day, as has been the case for many days, fine & bright. Attended wedding breakfast of Mr. Pemberton & Miss Brew. Met the Governor, had conversation with him about the State Grants. He urged me not to [mind] the attacks & objections, they would die with time. It was the duty of the State to build Churches. He had expressly said nothing to me about them that all the responsibility might rest upon himself. He would build Churches in every place.

I explained to him that the rancour of the Sects was so strong that experience showed such a matter was not sufficient to die out. It would increase more. There was a strong feeling among the [Canada] party & we must receive all obstacles with duty of our usefulness.

The basis of the Bishop's objection was that the grants could not end with the Church of England but would extend to other religious groups, and therefore that "public money" could be used to support "Truth or Error".

(108)
The numerical increase of Church of England buildings in Victoria, the planting of the British religious instutution, the churches designed by the Royal Engineers, and the investment in endowment properties were the means of building up the Church of England, and they were also indications of the British way of life which the government established in both the colonies of British Columbia.
CHAPTER FIVE:

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND BRITISH EMIGRATION

The thesis has argued that the policies carried out by Bishop Hills were an integral part of the stabilization of settlement in British Columbia between 1859 and 1863. One of the supporting corollaries has suggested that this was demonstrated by an increase in the number of British emigrants who came because of contact with the Church of England. Some individuals brought letters of introduction from their home parish, but only a small number are named in the journals. The largest and most unusual group of emigrants that came through contact with the church was women who came on the 'bride ships' in 1862 and 1863. The influence of the church on British settlement between 1859 and 1860 was partly through its encouragement of this particular scheme of British emigration.

There was a gradual recognition on the part of the government and the Church of England that in order to establish the new settlements more emigrants from Britain were needed. In 1859 and 1860, it had been thought that many of the miners who were American would eventually prefer British Columbia over the settlements in the United States because most of the men were English speaking and of British extraction. However, by 1862 the church was aware that a greater number of women were needed to effect settlement, and Britain had a surplus of young, unemployed women.

(110)
The movement of population that began in the mid-nineteenth century British settlement of the colonies in British Columbia was influenced by important events in two places. The discovery of gold on the lower Fraser River which attracted many to mainland British Columbia who were not British subjects, and the changes in social and economic conditions in England that were influenced by industrialization and disruptions caused by the Civil War in the United States.

Following the Oregon Treaty of 1846 that defined the British and American international border west of the Rocky Mountains the British government took steps to insure settlement of the Colony of Vancouver's Island. The government granted the whole of the island to the HBC for a rent of seven shillings a year with the provision that the HBC pay for the necessary costs out of its profits. The charter grant was quite specific:

And whereas it would conduce greatly to the maintenance of peace, justice and good order, and the advancement of colonization and the promotion and encouragement of trade and commerce in, and also to the protection and welfare of the native Indians residing within that portion of Our territories in North America, called Vancouver's Island, if such island were colonized by settlers from the British dominions and if the property in the land were vested for the purpose of such colonization in the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay; but nevertheless, upon condition that the said Governor and Company should form on the said island a settlement or settlements, as hereinafter mentioned, for the purpose of colonizing the said island, and should also defray the entire expense of any civil and military establishments which may be required for the protection and government of such settlement or settlements. 303
November, 1860 meeting of the Columbia Mission in London:

Since the discovery of gold a large population has poured into it from the neighboring states; but that population is not now, by any means, a fixed or settled population. It has poured in and poured out again; in fact there has been a constant ebb and flow. From month to month the numbers have varied from many thousands to not many hundreds. From the nature of its occupation, from the nature of the country, this mining population is shifting, separated, isolated, and at this moment, I believe it is not an exaggeration to say that there is hardly a spot in the whole of British Columbia where it can be said there are 300 fixed and settled inhabitants.

There is another reason which makes it highly desirable that the National Church should strike its roots deeply and firmly in Columbia. I speak not of the highest and most exalted reason that could be given; I speak of what naturally occurs to who has been mixed up with the political affairs of this colony; I allude to the un-English character of the population... In that respect this colony stands quite alone, there never having been a case, I believe, where so large and preponderating a portion of the population has not been drawn directly from the mother country, but has poured in from, or through neighboring settlements, and has thus been Americanized in its passage and lost its British habits and feelings.

There was some emigration from England in process, but it was not as rapid as the movement from the Oregon Territory and California because of the greater distance between Britain and British Columbia. In 1860 it appeared that the solution was to reawaken the 'British habits and feelings' of those who came that were of English extraction.

**THE INFLUENCE OF BISHOP HILLS ON BRITISH EMIGRATION**

The consecration of a colonial Bishop in the nineteenth century was an important public event in Britain. The ceremony for Bishop Hills took place in Westminster Abbey; four bishops
and the Archbishop of Canterbury participated in the service.

George Hills began his episcopacy with a tour through the British Isles to explain the Columbia Mission and to raise funds

[The Bishop] came to the conclusion that he could not safely leave England, and rely upon existing Societies supplying that aid which was so immediately required. The Bishop also felt that the remarkable circumstances which led to the formation of this Mission were wholly unknown throughout the country; the very name and position of the colony being strange to the country at large;... on a careful review of his position, he resolved to make a rapid tour throughout the United Kingdom.

During the tour he raised a further 15,000 pounds in addition to the funds which had been given for the endowment of the Bishopric by Angela Burdett-Coutts.

The Bishop's public speeches were a reliable source of information about British Columbia for Church of England parishoners, friends of the Columbia Mission and the general public from the time of his consecration in 1859. The Columbia Mission Reports were sold by Rivington's, in London and Hodges, Smith & Co. in Dublin, and British newspapers carried accounts of the meetings held by the society. The Columbia Mission Reports also contained advertisements for books and government reports about British Columbia:

Persons who may wish for more extensive information respecting the Colony, and the development of the region between it and Canada, are advised to read the following books.

Vancouver's Island and British Columbia by J.D. Pemberton, Esq. Surveyor-General
The Saskatchewan Explorations, 2 Volumes by Dr. Hind

(114)
In 1860 the "Occasional Paper" written by Bishop Hills was published. It was a report of the material and spiritual conditions in the colonies which he observed when he first arrived in the Diocese of British Columbia. The report was distributed to 11,000 clergymen and included a map of British Columbia done by James Wyld, Geographer to the Queen.

There were several other sources available to the British public that contained reliable information about British Columbia for those intending to emigrate, and they included excerpts from the journals of the Bishop of British Columbia. W.C. Hazlitt published *The Great Gold Fields of Cariboo* and R.C. Mayne published *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*.

**BRITISH EMIGRATION**

The Columbia Mission claimed that there was a "considerable emigration from home gradually going on", and it was expected that British immigration would continue to increase, in much the same way as it had in other colonies which were begun when gold was discovered:

The prospects of Columbia as to population we may learn from what has happened in other cases. In the case of Australia, and in the case of California the population jumped up very rapidly in the course of five or six years from a few thousands to hundreds of
thousands. California from 1847 to 1857 advanced from 30,000 to 600,000; Australia from 50,000 or 60,000 in 1851 to 500,000 in the colony of Port Philip at the present time. Judging from these circumstances, we may expect that the colony of Columbia being the subject of like causes, may, in the course of five or six years, or ten years at the most, possess a population of 500,000 or 600,000, perhaps even a million, speaking the language of our country, where a few years ago there were not fifty European inhabitants.

This estimated population increase did not occur in British Columbia as rapidly as was expected, and the numbers of people coming from Britain did not significantly alter the proportion of British subjects in the general population. In April 1861 Bishop Hills called on Governor Douglas to discuss the need for a plan of emigration.

Called on the Governor. Spoke of Emigration read extract from Miss Coutts letter. He had no plan. All money at present must go for roads.

The Governor was still concerned with building of roads for the Colony of British Columbia as he had been in 1860, when the Bishop first arrived. The Bishop had not changed his attitude that there was more to settlement than building roads; the roads may have opened up the country, but they also made it possible for miners to leave more easily.

The increase of British women in 1862 and 1863 arose out of the church's recognition that an increase of British women would help to stabilize the fluctuations of population in the settlements in the Colony of British Columbia. The need for more families in the colony was instrumental in the formation of the Columbia Emigration Society in England.
Meetings that were held in London regarding the Columbia Mission discussed the progress of the Church of England. Much of the information was relayed by letters and reports from the Bishop and other clergymen in the diocese. One of the letters that drew the attention of the meeting in 1861 came from Rev. R.C.L. Brown, the Rector of St. Mary's Lillooet. The comments were regarding the lack of women and the need for families in the mining towns of British Columbia.

Rev. R.C.L. Brown made a suggestion at a meeting in Lillooet that women should be sent from England. One of the miners responded with the remark "Well then Sir, I preempt a wife". The idea took root as a result of the letter that explained what had happened at the meeting in Lillooet.

Fancy the idea of preempting a wife! Yet I assure you, this touches at the root of the greatest blessing which can now be conferred upon this Colony from Home. Think of the 600,000 more women at home than there are men, and then think what society must be here...where there is no wedded life, church going must be difficult, because morality is almost impossible.

I need say no more to induce you to use your efforts to promote the emigration to this Colony of some good respectable young women.

The Bishop of Oxford saw the scheme as a means to secure permanent settlement of the colonies.

There will always be, in the founding of a distinct colony, under all circumstances the greatest difficulty in providing anything like a due proportion of the sexes; and unless you can do that, there will be, in the first place, no taking possession of that distant colony as a home by the men that go there... You make it an impossibility that any one of those people you send there can look upon that new land as home. You deprive it, of necessity, of the first conditions of home- of the possibility of family life,
and of fixing the plant in a transplanted home life, to the new and distant soil...

Now this of itself is fatal to the notion of a colony. It turns the colony into a mere distant and transitory dwelling-place, of the most adventurous, and generally of the most lawless of the population at home. You must give the opportunity for home life to reproduce itself... to transform the distant settlement into an abiding Colony. 324

Several of the men who attended the Columbia Mission meeting in 1862 helped to organize the scheme to send women to British Columbia under the protection of the Church of England. Representatives from the banks of Messrs. Drummonds and Masterman agreed to accept "contributions to an Emigration fund", and the funds collected for the "Emigration Society" were to be kept separate from the "Religious Mission". The Hon. Arthur Kinnard agreed to act as treasurer for the Emigration Society. Eden Colville, who was a representative for the HBC and a director of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, offered to supply a vessel to send the women to British Columbia.

At the meeting, the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird M.P., representing the Colonial Office, spoke about the resources available to accomplish the project.

We have as he [the Bishop of London] has told us, a superabundant female population here. How much our time has been spent of late years in endeavouring to find new occupations for women! And yet, in all our colonies, but more especially in this one of British Columbia, if there is one cry louder than any other, it is that this emigration scheme will be followed up. There is every facility for it. We have experience. We have a department of the Government which has now become, through long training, competent to direct such a stream of emigration. There are associated bodies of ladies in this country who are at work, and are at this moment ready to take up the question and give their whole experience and energy to it... We
have, as the right reverend prelate has observed, a home in Columbia... No one can thoughtfully look on a rising colony without feelings of anxious interest. How much depends on the foundation of society laid in it. How influential a few men and a few families become. To England especially, so girt with the ocean that her sons and daughters must go across the waters even to live, every rising colony has a double interest. Even our dearest of kin may be colonists, and the interests of thousands at home are bound up with the welfare of families scattered to the corners of the earth.

Another reason for sending women to British Columbia was expressed by a man from Coventry who spoke at the meeting. There is an amount of distress which it is almost impossible for the local resources at Coventry to relieve. If it were possible to show many of those who are there in a state of actual distress, a high road by which they may secure for their industry and skill a sphere in the new land - by which they may find a home... in this distant colony- great good would no doubt be done; and this new Emigration Society might thus be made a valuable agent in a great work.

The economic and social distress was caused by the impending Civil War in the United States which disrupted regular shipments of cotton to factories in England, and women who worked in the cotton mills of Lancashire were unemployed.

The Secretary of the Columbia Emigration Society, Rev. John Garrett, who was also the Commissary for the Bishop of British Columbia, wrote to the editor of the London Times requesting the newspaper to print a letter. It was published on April 7, 1862.

Reliable information has reached this country, through various channels, of the inestimable value which a carefully conducted stream of emigration of industrious women from Great Britain would prove at the present critical stage in the rapid progress of the Colony of British Columbia; and this society has
been founded for that purpose, in the first instance, of facilitating such an emigration, under the conviction that in a commercial empire like this, it is an essential element in the sound growth of a new colony that the men who first open it out should be able to settle and surround themselves with the humanizing ties of family life.

Two principles will guide us in selecting women for emigration.

First, we could not guarantee suitable homes to women who should depend upon the use of their brains alone for support, nor does it seem desirable to withdraw from their sphere of valuable occupation in this country those women who have received sufficient education to place them in situations as teachers in families and schools at home. Those who go out under the protection of this society will agree to take service, on reaching the colony, in such situations as the Governor and Bishop, and those acting with their authority, may consider best suited to their several cases, and may have open and ready to give them occupation and a safe dwelling on their landing in Columbia.

Secondly, it is not the wish of this society to unsettle or withdraw from their valuable duties the trained and efficient domestic servants who have good employment and ample remuneration for their services at home. Floating between those two classes there are thousands of women whose hopes and prospects in this country are most dreary and painful beyond description: some are friendless gals between the ages of 12 and 15, who are in various institutions, such as 'Homes' and orphan establishments, who would be invaluable for some years as helpers in the families of colonists, and who would in due time become part of the settled population...

The exact number of women who responded to this letter is not known, but two groups were sent out by the Columbia Emigration Society within the year.

Early in June 1862 Bishop Hills organized a meeting in Victoria "to form a society to cooperate with the Columbia Emigration Society in London". The Bishop and Archdeacon Wright
were present and Dr. Tolmie, from the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Burnaby an official shipping agent for the Columbia Mission and Mr. Sproat who was one of the partners in the Alberni settlement.

The first group of sixty women left England in the Tynemouth on June 9, 1862 and had arrived in Victoria by September. The second group of 36 came on the Robert Lowe and arrived in January 1863; these women were "principally factory workers from Lancashire".

The Bishop again discussed the subject of emigration with the Governor in January of 1863, the day following the arrival of the second group of women:

The Governor & Justice Begbie called. We had conversation upon the subject of Emigration. I urged the necessity of government providing some machinery for bringing out the families of settlers. There does not appear to have been any significant change on the part of the Governor toward formation of a plan of emigration for British settlers, or to help bring out their families.

The emigration scheme to send British women to the colonies was not repeated, partly because those who had assumed responsibility for the venture felt there were too many problems of discipline on board the emigrant ships.

I had a conversation today with three practical men, Capt. Franklin, the magistrate here, Capt. Pike R.N. of H.M.S. Devastation & Mr. Nichol who all spoke very condemnatory of the arrangements of the Tynemouth. They said there was not authority enough in the ship. The Capt. was set at defiance & the ship not being Government Emigration he had not coercive power enough to preserve discipline. They considered cleanliness was not sufficiently attended to & would prefer a sailing vessel to a steamer on account of the necessity for coaling repeatedly.

(121)
The young women had objected to being restrained, but Capt. Franklyn said the Govt. Emigrant ships had [a]
reputation which would have required all single women
to go to their quarters at sunset. They all advise
future emigration should be conducted under Govt.
authority. They say Mr. Lind says [these] ships are
proverbial for their inferior arrangements, his initials W.S.L. reading Worst Steam Line. 339

Most of the women found places of employment in
Victoria and there were very few who went to Colony of
British Columbia as the founders of the Emigration Society had
intended. The total number of women who came on the two ships
was about 100. They represent a group of emigrants which would
not have come to the colony without the help of the Church of
England.

The two groups of women sent from Britain through the
Columbia Emigration Society demonstrate the cooperation between
the Church of England and the Colonial Office to increase British
emigration. The government in Victoria responded positively once
the women arrived by providing temporary housing for them in a
military barracks at Esquimalt, but otherwise, it was not
directly involved in this venture, or in any other schemes to
increase the number of British settlers as far as is known.

SUMMARY: THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND BRITISH EMIGRATION

By 1862 there was an increase in the number of those who
came to establish a permanent home on British soil. Groups
like the Overlanders of 1862, the women who arrived from
Britain in 1862 and 1863, and those who left the United States
because of the Civil War, came to the colonies in British
Columbia because they were seeking a home in British territory.

When Governor Douglas went to see the Bishop in December 1861 he was "full of information as to the country". One of the subjects discussed by the two men was American emigration:

He said there was great excitement amongst the British, French & German population who were anxious to come here and settle. They feared the consequences of the Civil War & the prospect of increased taxation.

In the Spring of 1862 the Bishop went to New Westminster, and he noted that the number of British subjects travelling to the Colony of British Columbia was increasing.

Left Victoria for New Westminster at 9, reached the latter (at) 4 (and) 1/2 with 170 passengers. There were many Canadians & Englishmen on board. It was truly refreshing as a contrast to the sad specimens of fallen man we have had hitherto in mines & adventures [sic] from California & the States. The distance from Canada & England is such that we hardly dared expect to have a British population...

The people who came to British Columbia in small groups during 1862 and 1863 did not create as large a sensational as those who came for gold, but they were clearly determined to settle in the colonies of British Columbia. Also some of these people stayed in the Colony of Vancouver's Island, particularly the one hundred marriageable English women. This would have significantly increased the potential number of British families in the island colony. By 1862 the colonies of British Columbia were established as the home of British subjects and the threat of American domination was lessened.

The role of Bishop Hills in British emigration was one of cooperation and encouragement. From the perspective of those in
England, the scheme of sending out single women was possible because the Bishop was there to receive them, and to see that they were properly looked after. The Columbia Mission meeting of 1862, discussed the two necessary conditions for sending the women to British Columbia.

There are two great conditions— and two only— to be fulfilled: the one is providing that there should be a home in the colony to which our young women can go; and the other is the providing for them on the passage, the shelter which they need to keep them from evil. Now it seems to me at this moment God has given us the opportunity of fulfilling both conditions. Through the Bishop of British Columbia, we can secure a home out there; we are secure that there shall be a man whose first care it shall be that the interests confided to him shall not be neglected, and the souls given to his charge shall not be lost. And then for the other, we know that there are in this land at home numbers of ladies well born, well bred, well educated, who are led more and more, when God's providence seems to have parted them from family life at home, to give themselves to the wider service of the Church, and to give those sensibilities which have been wasted upon lap-dogs, be given to the salvation of souls. 346

Without a Bishop to receive the women they would probably not have been sent, at this time. The presence of an ordinary parish priest would not likely have been seen as sufficient.

For other groups that arrived in 1862 and 1863, like the Overlanders, and those who came from the United States because of the Civil War, the Bishop was probably not as important a figure. These groups did not come under the guidance of the church, but the presence of the Church of England assured these groups that they were in British territory.
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

The problem, addressed by the thesis is, what was the nature and extent of the influence that Church of England policies had on the settlement of British Columbia during the first period of George Hills' episcopate, between 1859 and 1863? Very little scholarly attention has been given to the role of the churches during the period of colonial settlement. The geographical studies that have been done tend to focus on the nature of the gold rush, the influx of population, and the consequent building of roads.

The nineteenth century colonial society that developed in Upper Canada during the same years has been described as greatly concerned with religion: "religion- not wealth, and not politics- was the chief ideal occupation of Canadians". However, the importance of religion during the same period in British Columbia has customarily been seen as insignificant, notwithstanding the presence of the Church of England and the appointment of a bishop in 1859. Since the British government and the Church of England were involved with colonial Canada and British Columbia it seems reasonable to inquire whether the church might have had a greater importance in the settlement of British Columbia than has been usually thought. Thus the research problem has identified a subject that has often been overlooked. The hypothesis, which arose after an exploration of papers published by the Columbia Mission, proposes that the policies carried out by Bishop George Hills were an integral part of the stabilization of British settlements. (125)
in both the colonies of British Columbia between 1859 and 1863.

Chapter two, an analysis of material concerning British settlement and the Church of England in the two colonies of British Columbia, has shown that there is no core of research to which studies of settlement and churches in the colonial period can be related. Therefore, deficiencies in the literature cannot be defined by clusters of studies that revolve around one issue, or one viewpoint that has been the special concern of social historians and historical geographers. The most difficult aspect of the search for a literature which would enfold the research subject, beyond the general lack of material, has been the tacit assumption that there is no reliable material on which to base academic studies. This is due perhaps to a generalized observation that the colonial period in British Columbia was relatively short and that the majority of settlers who came between 1859 and 1863 were miners and had little need or desire to keep records or journals. Further, the trends in recent social science studies have emphasized statistical methods, and this means studies of the colonial period in British Columbia are abandoned in favour of the later period between the coming of the railway and the First World War when more census information and records that pertain to economic development are available.

Supporting evidence for the hypothesis has been presented in three chapters. The chapter on settlement describes the increase of the Anglican churches in both colonies in the context of the spread of British settlement. The guide to the
nature of settlement is found in the impressions which were recorded by Bishop George Hills in his personal journals. He was well qualified to comment on the period because he had the education and experience to present a mature view. Particularly the Bishop's impressions of places where churches were built, or where a serious effort to establish the Church of England was made, have been examined.

In chapter four a discussion of Church of England buildings in Victoria, the most populous settlement during the period, shows the idea of transplantation held by the Church of England, the controversy over the Church Reserve, and the importance of churches in the colonial landscape. Throughout the period there was no significant change in the policies which the Bishop had determined to carry out before he left England in 1859. That is, the 'first in the field' policy, and the voluntary principle that reflected the official separation of the Church and the colonial government remained intact.

Chapter five describes an attempt to stabilize settlement in the mining towns by increasing the number of British subjects. The scheme to bring women of marriageable age was an idealistic and novel solution to a persistent problem for the colonies. While this particular scheme was not tried again, it was the first of many emigration schemes that were advocated by people in England, and it was an early attempt to formulate an emigration policy. The experiment carried out by the Columbia Emigration Society underscores the partnership between the Church and the colonial governments in London and Victoria during the period of
The material that has been presented in chapters three, four and five constitutes an evaluation of the intentions of the Church of England, in its support of British settlements, and the role of the church in the making of the colonial landscape. A crucial aspect to establish at this juncture is whether the material that has been presented is also evidence of influence, and this is dependent upon how the term is applied to the material: "the idea of influence is rather abstract and there is no generally accepted standard of measure for it".

**DISCUSSION: THE PROBLEM OF INFLUENCE**

There are different ways of employing the concept of influence. Historians have suggested one way to show influence, and the geographers who have used the biographical approach advocate another way to determine what constitutes influence.

The historians try to determine the influence of an individual or an event by thoughtful speculation about what might have happened if circumstances had been different.

To prove a veritable influence it is necessary to show that similar ideas thus dressed up would not have been born in the mind of the later thinker or would have been held in a different form or with a different degree of conviction if they had not been generated or modified by the supposed source. And such a demonstration involves speculation upon what might have happened if what in fact did happen had not happened.

Therefore, it is important to speculate about what might have happened if another man had been bishop, or in the place of
making the decisions for the Church of England. Two men were already at work for the Church of England when the Bishop was appointed in 1859, Rev. Edward Cridge and William Duncan. It is thus possible that they might have had a wider influence on settlement if Bishop Hills had not arrived.

Rev. Edward Cridge was the second and last schoolmaster-chaplain appointed by the HBC to serve in the Colony of Vancouver's Island. He was appointed in 1854 to be chaplain of the Victoria District Church for a five-year term. Rev. Cridge was the "senior clergyman of the diocese", but his name was not suggested as a candidate for the Bishopric.

There are two events that offer some clue to the attitude of Rev. Cridge toward British settlement. In 1858 a group of about 400 negroes from Zion Methodist Episcopal Church in San Francisco came to Victoria in search of a permanent home. Rev. Cridge welcomed the representatives of the group and offered to do "anything in his power" to help them immigrate to the colony. They were accepted by Rev. Cridge and Governor Douglas when they arrived and many were received as members in the Church of England. The group that came increased the number of Americans who were in Victoria. This was the only time that Rev. Cridge was connected with an immigration scheme. From this, it appears that Rev. Cridge was open to any and all people who came as immigrants, but he had no evident interest in ensuring an increase of British emigrants, over those from other places.

Rev. Cridge worked closely with Bishop Hills and for a time served as Dean of Christ Church Cathedral. In 1872, when there
was a major ecclesiastical disagreement between the two men, Rev. Cridge left the Church of England and was appointed Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church of America in Victoria. This second event suggests Rev. Cridge’s openness toward American institutions. Therefore, if he had been appointed Bishop of the Church of England, it is probable that the British connection would have diminished and the American influences in the colonies would have been strengthened.

William Duncan was also in the colonies before the Bishop arrived. He had been sent out by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1856 to work with the Tsimshian Indians; in 1862 he founded a separate settlement for the natives, called Metlakatla, in order to remove them from the corrupting influences of white civilization. Apart from Duncan’s negative attitude toward the corrupting influences that came with the expansion of British settlement he was physically distant from the main colonial activities, in northern British Columbia. If he had been ordained and could have possibly been appointed Bishop, probably the Church of England would not have had much influence on the settlements designed by the Royal Engineers or those on Vancouver Island, in the southern part of the Province.

In contrast to Rev. Edward Cridge and William Duncan, Bishop George Hills had a definite plan for the expansion of the Church of England in settlement. His policies were clearly articulated by 1859 when he left England, and he was able to effectively accomplish his goal to build churches in most of the towns in both the colonies. There was no one else in British
Figure 13.
INFLUENCE IN THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

There is another means of determining the influence of the Church of England on settlement in British Columbia. Within a biographical approach the criteria by which influence is determined can be related to the role that an individual had in the development process.

It is not necessary to demonstrate that a development was uniquely contingent on the activities of an individual. Rather, it must only be shown that failure to include information about the impact of the individual would lead to an incomplete picture of the development process.

The aim is to demonstrate how leaving out information about Bishop Hills would limit an understanding of the settlement process. There are several ways this can be shown.

First, it is important to consider the role of the Bishop, George Hills, in the making of the landscape. Second, there is the need to explain how the geography of the colonies in British Columbia "acquires added meaning" by knowledge of the role of the Church of England in settlement during this period.

When the Bishop arrived the Royal Engineers had already begun their work in the colony of British Columbia. They had been appointed by the Colonial Office to assist the Colony of British Columbia with development. They were responsible for making roads, and for the selection of townsites. The Church of England supported their decisions by the construction of churches in the colony. The church did not attempt to establish other settlements.

In regard to the placement of churches in the Colony of
British Columbia, they were only built in the British settlements. None were built along the Fraser River in the gold-mining camps. (See figure 13.)

This map shows the majority of places that the Bishop visited between 1860 and 1863, based on the place names mentioned in the journals. Note that between Hope and Lillooet only a chapel was established. Although the Bishop tried, he was not able to build a church at Lytton. Most of the gold-mining camps were located in the same area. Whereas in New Westminster, Douglas, Hope, Yale, Lytton and Lillooet, the main British settlements, four of the six had consecrated churches by 1863. This reflects the way the Bishop carried out his original plan to build churches where the settled population was expected to increase, in the British townsites.

In the Colony of Vancouver's Island the buildings of the Church of England reinforced the settlements that were begun by the HBC from the time of their arrival in 1849. Victoria and the harbour at Esquimalt had served as the administrative center for the Company, while settlement in Nanaimo was stimulated by the presence of coal deposits that were extracted for use as fuel for steam powered vessels. These settlements were already in place by 1860, when Bishop Hills arrived, and there was no significant increase of settlement in new townsites during the period, with the exception of some efforts to establish permanent settlement at Alberni. In the Colony of Vancouver's Island also the Bishop maintained his policy of building churches in the places where settlement was expected to take a permanent hold. There was no
intention to build churches in isolated areas, nor was there an attempt to build churches as close as possible to Victoria, out of convenience. (See Figure 13.)

Victoria was the only place to have two churches operated by the Church of England, but there was only one church that was fully owned by the church, and therefore consecrated, in the Colony of Vancouver’s Island, St. John’s Victoria. Chapels were built in the rural areas of South Saanich and Cedar Plains when settlers requested them and offered land on which to build the church, but this movement appears to have been initiated by the settler’s because the school-chapels that were built were similar in function to those that the HBC had established earlier.

There were no churches provided for settlers in the small agricultural settlements on Salt Spring Island and Cowichan. In spite of the fact that the settlers on Salt Spring Island requested a church, the Bishop did not pursue the development of churches there until a later period. Several of the settlers in the Cowichan district were eager to reproduce an English way of life, and they too wanted the Church of England in their district, but these were not provided by the Bishop until much later. The enthusiasm of the settlers for the Church of England and the Bishop’s reluctance to build churches for them between 1860 and 1863 makes sense in light of his policy aim to build churches in the more important settlements.

The churches built by the Bishop between 1860 and 1863 in the two colonies gave the landscape a sense of the English homeland. They were a visible symbol of the connection of the
new land to the mother country. In particular one of the comments
about the church was that it made the settlement at Hope seem
English: "the houses and stores are all after the American
fashion; but the church gave the place an English look." The
churches were a reminder of the origin of the colony, and
provided a British context for miners and others who lived
in these settlements.

The "chief Victorian achievement" was to transform the
wilderness of the new world, to "humanize" the land.

The original and creative work of Victorian Canada
was not to invent, but to apply, not to bring forth
new things, but to make old, and contemporary things
live and move in new conditions.

The landscape of the period was made old by the presence of
buildings reminiscent of England. Places that were new and
uncivilized were made less foreign by the presence of the
churches.

A historical geography of nineteenth century British
Columbia acquires an additional meaning by some knowledge of the
influence of the Church of England on settlement. Motivations of
the government and settlers can be more clearly understood.

The close connection between the Church of England and the
governments in London and Victoria during the period was a
reflection of colonial policy. The church in the colonies was
seen as essential for the creation and maintenance of the civil
realm, a role not unlike that in England where it was the
official state church. It had a prominent part in settlement
because the British government determined it should. Although

(135)
the endowment funds for the Bishopric of British Columbia came from a private source, it was a colonial bishopric with a government charter. It was clear before the Bishop arrived that there would be no state church in British Columbia, but it was also evident that the Church of England was to have a preferred position.

The suggestion that the Church of England was influential in stabilizing permanent settlement challenges some of the perceptions that have been held about the period. One assumption is that the Church of England was unpopular with miners. While there were undoubtedly numerous men who desired no contact with the Church of England, there were also those who saw the church as an asset to a more settled way of life, like the married men in Yale who wrote to welcome the Bishop in 1860.

Another assumption regarding the influence of the church has been that it was strongest in Victoria where day to day life was more orderly. However, the church expanded more rapidly in the Colony of British Columbia, than in the Colony of Vancouver's Island between 1860 and 1863. This challenges the generalizations that suggest that the most profound English influences were in the Colony of Vancouver's Island.

The analysis of Harris and Warkentin suggests that in British Columbia settlement was unusual because there were few on the mainland who wanted to settle down and farm and since farming was usually tied in some way to Christianity, both were absent. However, the Anglican expression of Christianity that Bishop

(136)
George Hills introduced was more vital in the British townsites than in the rural communities. It was not particularly tied to farming. This suggests that between 1860 and 1863 the Church of England was more orientated toward the urban setting than has been previously recognized. Bishop Hills built churches in nearly all the towns in both colonies; only Lytton and Alberni were without churches by the end of 1863. Although government surveyors and the Royal Engineers determined the location of towns, the Church encouraged the establishment of permanent settlement by the presence of its churches.

According to W.L. Morton, the greatest decision of nineteenth century Canada was whether to be British or American. Settlers in British Columbia also were confronted with a similar problem because of the influx of Americans onto the mainland. The presence of the Church of England reinforced the decision to be British.

This thesis explores the influence of the Church of England on settlement in British Columbia between 1859 and 1863 through the nineteenth century perspective of an individual, a settler whose decisions influenced the colonial landscape. It is a contribution to the scholarly dialogue on the historical geography of British Columbia. It is hoped that such a dialogue would clarify the "continuing pattern of interrelation between man and the landscape- the sense of the region as a living polis as well as a mere area of land", and reveal a "geography variously shaped by history".

(137)


15. AEPBC, "Special Fund" CMR, 1860, pp. 3-33.


17. "Special Fund" CMR, 1864, p.3.


22. AEPBC, 6 January, 1860, Bishop Hills Journal, hereafter BPHJ.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH


(139)


32. ibid.


36. ibid.


44. S.D. Clark, The Social Development of Canada: An Introductory Study with Select Documents, (Toronto: The Univ. of Toronto Press, 1942), p.3, 12.


51. S.D. Clark, "Mining Society in British Columbia and the Yukon", p. 216.

52. S.D. Clark, "Mining Society in British Columbia and the Yukon", p. 224.


54. S.D. Clark, "The Sociology of Frontier Religion" p. 86.

55. S.D. Clark, "Mining Society in British Columbia and the Yukon", p. 216.

56. S.D. Clark’s application of the Church-sect theory which is the basis for his remarks on British Columbia has lost much of its earlier support as a comprehensive explanation for the growth of churches in North America. See N.K.Clifford, "Religion and The Development of Canadian Society: An Historiographical Analysis, in The Canadian Society of Church History: Papers, 1969, pp. 19-21.


61. Sommer, pp.1-111.

62. Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens, p.279, footnote 1., explains that A.H. Clark was not "the sole influence in
moving historical geography in the United States, in this direction, or even that he was the only advocate of the full use of primary sources... But Clark's role was certainly of major import, and more consequential than that of any other contemporary historical geographer.


66. L.L. Langness, The Life History in Anthropological Science, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p.4. Also see Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn and Robert Angell, The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1945), p.15. Gottschalk states that, "the term human document was invented by social scientists .... (However) all documents are human, since they are the work of human beings and he uses them to discover the past of humanity or the effect of non-human things upon humanity".


69. Bertaux, p.9


71. Gottschalk, Cluckhohn, and Angell, p.3.


74. For example, see the "Preface" in Now You Are My Brother: Missionaries in British Columbia, Margaret


81. T.C. Meredith, p. 46.

82. The Journals of George Hills, first Bishop of British Columbia are held at the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia, and have an established credibility because of their provenance. The Bishop George Hills Papers were sent by the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society to the ecclesiastical archives.

83. Material on Indian cultures in British Columbia is not discussed in this thesis; where it has been briefly mentioned, it is intended to clarify aspects of non-Indian settlement.

84. Gottschalk, Kluckhohn, and Angell, p. 10-11. In a letter to Caroline [Arden], a relative of the Bishop, he refers to the notes in his 1860: "The jottings were made at the time & are therefore rough & not meant for the critic", Victoria, 18 November, 1860. AEPBC.

(144)


87. George Hills, Bishop-elect of British Columbia, attended a meeting of the Royal Geographic Society that discussed the Palliser Report on the Rocky Mountain expedition; Sir R. Murchison presided. At the close of the meeting Hills was asked to make a few remarks, 14 February 1859, BPHJ; see also 28 October 1859, BPHJ. The bishop carried maps with his baggage from which he was able to identify the surrounding mountains; 26 August, 1862, BPHJ. Bishop Hills loaned his aneroid to Mr. Palmer of the Royal Engineers, in Williams Creek, 29 August 1862, BPHJ.

88. Gottschalk, Kluckhohn, and Angell, pp.49-52.
89. Gottschalk, Kluckhohn, and Angell, pp. 51-52.
90. Gottschalk, Kluckhohn, and Angell, pp. 29-30
93. Usher, p. 159.
97. Ernst and Merrens, p.289.
CHAPTER THREE: SETTLEMENT IN THE BISHOPRIC OF BRITISH COLUMBIA


100. 4 August, 1861, BPHJ


103. 29 March, 1863, BPHJ.


106. 21 February, 1860, BPHJ.

107. ibid.

108. 19, 22 May, 1860, BPHJ.

109. 7 August, 1860, BPHJ.

110. There are references to 28 different occasions when the Bishop and Col. Moody were together for private social visits between 1860 and 1862 in the Journals. Also the "Bishop's Letters" published in 1860 mentions Col. Moody's reception of Bishop Hills on 9 March, 1860, CMR, 1860, p. 11. Moody held several government positions: "besides being Commanding Royal Engineer, and holding a dormant commission as lieutenant-governor, Moody was also Commissioner of Lands and Works", Frances Woodward, "The Influence of the Royal Engineers on the Development of British Columbia," BC Studies, 24 Winter (1974-75), 19.

111. 7 June, 1860, BPHJ.

112. ADBC, Bishop of Columbia Correspondence Out, T 57, Box 3, file 1, Bishop Hills to Rev. Hawkins, 1 June, 1861.


114. 19 June, 1862, BPHJ.
115. 24 September, 1862, BPHJ.
116. 8 August, 1860, BPHJ.
117. ADBC, "Bishop of Columbia Correspondence Out", T 57, Box 3, File 1, pp. 51-52.
118. 19 May, 1860, BPHJ.
120. 2 June, 1861, BPHJ.
121. Bishop of Columbia Correspondence, 1859- 1876, Box 3, File 3, p. 10.
123. 23 March, 1861, BPHJ.
124. 18 May, 1862, BPHJ.
126. 8 January, 1860, BPHJ. Bishop Hills initiated prayer for the Governor as was the custom in Upper Canada.
129. Ireland, p.- 101,102.
132. 11 June, 1860, BPHJ.
134. 30 June, 1860, BPHJ.
135. ibid.
136. ibid.
137. Ibid.

138. 22 February (New Westminster); June 14, 18 (Yale); July 17, (Lillooet), 5 September, (Salt Spring Island), BPHJ, 1862.

139. 30 June, 1860, BPHJ.

140. AEPBC, "Presentation to the Bishop of Columbia", newspaper clipping, East Suffolk Mercury, 4 June, 1859, in the Bishop's notebook, "British Columbia Including Vancouver's Island: 1858-1860" follows p. 15.

141. 29 June, 1862, BPHJ.


143. 14 June, 1861, BPHJ.

144. ADBC, "Bishop of Columbia Correspondence Out", T 57, Box 6, File 3, Bishop Hills to Earnest Hawkins, 8 May, 1860.

145. Ibid.

146. 14 June, 1861, BPHJ.

147. 13 June, 1861, BPHJ.

148. The meeting was held on February 27, 1862. "City Meeting", 1862, CMR, pp. 37, 41-46.

149. The author of the letter to the Columbia Mission was Rev. R.C. Lundin Brown, Rector of St. Mary's Lillooet. He won the colonial government's contest for an essay that "set forth, in the clearest and most comprehensive manner the capabilities, the resources, and advantages of British Columbia as a colony for settlement." in contest rules published by the Colonial Secretary's Office, 11 March 1862. Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter PABC). Robert C. Lundin Brown, British Columbia: An Essay, (New Westminster: Royal Engineers, 1863), pp. 18, 58.


151. 3 July 1862, BPHJ.

152. 14 September 1862, BPHJ.

154. ibid.


156. Walbran, p. 349.

157. Walbran, p. 15.

158. 6 January 1860, BPHJ.

159. ibid.


161. ADBC, "Bishop of Columbia Correspondence Out", The Bishop of Columbia to the Secretary of the S.P.G., Victoria, 8th May, 1860. T 57, B3, F3.


163. 2 October, 1862, BPHJ.

164. 1, 4, October, 1862, BPHJ. See also Jackie Lay, "To Columbia on the Tyne: The Emigration of Single Women and Girls in 1862" in In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C., p. 27.


166. Downs, p.52.

167. 8 February, 1860, BPHJ.

168. ADBC, "Bishop of Columbia Correspondence Out", The Bishop of Columbia to the Secretary of the S.P.G., Victoria, 8th May, 1860.

169. 13 September, 15 October, 1861, BPHJ.

170. 8 June, 1862, BPHJ.

171. Walbran, p. 48. The remarks are about a doctor who was employed by the HBC, and then by the Vancouver Coal Company between 1862 and 1864; This is probably the "new Company" that is mentioned in BPHJ, 25 November, 1862.

172. 25 November, 1862, BPHJ.
173. 24 November, 1862, BPHJ.


175. Walbran, p. 15, 468, 469. See Also, T.A. Rickard, "Gilbert Malcolm Sproat", BCHQ, 1, (1937), 22.

176. Walbran, p. 15.

177. 20 October, 1860, BPHJ.

178. ibid.

179. ADBC, "Bishop of Columbia Correspondence Out", The Bishop of Columbia to the Secretary of S.P.C.K., Victoria, 4 December, 1861.

180. 12 February, 1862, BPHJ.

181. ibid.

182. ADBC, "Bishop of Columbia Correspondence Out", The Bishop of Columbia to the Secretary of S.P.G., 27 February, 1862.

183. 23 October 1862, BPHJ.

184. 17 December 1862 BPHJ. The journal entry says, [Rev.] Mr. Knipe "still staying with me". It is not clear when Mr. Knipe went to Alberni, but in the "Pastoral Address", CMR, 1863 he is listed as the clergyman at Alberni.

185. CMR, 1865, p. 56.

186. Walbran, p. 469.

187. Walbran, p. 15.

188. Walbran, p. 35.

189. 21 October, 1860, BPHJ.

190. 1 June, 1861, BPHJ.

191. 24 May, 1861, BPHJ.

192. 26 May, 1861, BPHJ.

193. Walbran, p. 491. Dr. Tolmie was a board member of the HBC until 1860, after this date he was a member of the Legislative Assembly until 1865.

(150)
194. Walbran, p. 129. Mr. Dallas succeeded Sir George Simpson as Governor of Rupert’s Land.


196. 28 March, 1861, BPHJ.

197. Ibid.

198. 13 September, 1861, BPHJ.

199. 3 June, 1862, BPHJ.

200. Ibid.

201. 25 May, 26 September 1861, BPHJ.

202. 14 September, 1861, BPHJ.

203. 18 February, 1862, BPHJ.

204. 26 October, 1862, BPHJ.

205. 7 September, 1860, BPHJ.


207. 5 September, 1860, BPHJ.

208. 5, 6, September, 1860, BPHJ.

209. 6 September, 1860, BPHJ.

210. 7 September, 1860, BPHJ.

211. 6, 7 September, 1860, BPHJ.

212. 13 October, 1861, BPHJ. Also see Walbran, pp. 117, 195.


214. 4 November, 1862, BPHJ.

215. 5 November, 1862, BPHJ.

216. 28 October, 1862, BPHJ.


218. 29 October, 1862, BPHJ.
219. 30 October, 1862, BPHJ.


CHAPTER FOUR: CHURCH OF ENGLAND SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES

221. AEPBC, Correspondence File Relating to Bishop Hills: 1859, Sir E.B. Lytton to Governor Douglas, 24 March, 1859.


223. "Speeches", 1860, CMR p. 18. Chichester Fortesque said, "the system of establishments- the system of endowments for religious purposes- is so absolutely alien to the modern practice of North America, whether within the the British possessions or without them, that it would have been absolutely impossible to introduce that system into British Columbia".


226. ADBC, Longstaff, p.3.


228. ADBC, Royal Letters Patent, p.5-6

229. ADBC, Royal Letters Patent, p.4-5.

230. 14 February, 1860, 26 December, 1861, 9 January, 1862, and 6 May, 1863, BPHJ.

231. 6 May, 1863, BPHJ.

232. 2 December, 1859, BPHJ, "Extracts from the Archdeacon's Journal, CMR, 1861, p. 29.

(152)


236. ADBC "Bishop of Columbia, Correspondence Out", Bishop of Columbia to His Excellency Governor Douglas, Victoria, 4 January, 1862.

237. Wilson, p. 22.


240. Wrinch, p. 235.

241. DeCosmos Editorial in the British Colonist, 10 April, 1861, in Wrinch, pp.235, 236.

242. ibid.

243. 3, 10, 11 May, 1861, BPHJ.

244. 6, 14, February, 1860, BPHJ. Also see Walbran, p. 129.

245. 13 November, 1861, BPHJ.

246. Walbran, p. 491.

247. 26 December, 1861, BPHJ.

248. 24 November, 1861, BPHJ. See also Newcastle to Douglas, Downing Street, 12 June, 1862, in Wrinch, p.236.

249. 24 April, 12 November, 1860, BPHJ.


251. 9, 24 April, 1860, BPHJ.


(153)
The first prospectus for the school was published in May 1860.


Chichester Fortesque Esq., M.P. was Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.

271. 5 March, 1863, BPHJ.

272. Douglas to Barclay, Ft. Victoria, 28 January, 1852, in Wrinch, p. 235. See also a sketch map "A plan of the Town of Victoria Shewing Proposed Improvements" by J.D. Pemberton, to accompany Report to the Hudson's Bay Company, 20 January, 1852, PABC.

273. 25 June, 1863, BPHJ.

274. Underhill, p.4-5.


277. 3 June, 1862, BPHJ.

278. 1 November, 1862, BPHJ.


280. 21 February, 7 August, 2 December, 1860, BPHJ.

281. 17, 20 May, 1860, BPHJ.

282. 22 June, 1862, BPHJ.


284. 20 January, 1859, BPHJ; Underhill, pp. 4-5.


286. 29 June 1862, BPHJ.

287. John Ruskin, Selections and Essays, ed. Frederick William Roe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), p. 215. "Gothic has external forms and internal elements. Its elements are certain mental tendencies of the builders, legibly expressed in it; as fancifulness, love of variety, love of richness, and such others. Its external forms are pointed arches, vaulted roofs, etc. And unless both the elements and the forms are there, we have no right to call the style Gothic."

(155)

289. 9 July, 1861, BPHJ.


292. 22 May, 1862, BPHJ.

293. This is my calculation, based on the Bishop’s records in his journal, 25 June, 1863, BPHJ. Also material was found in the files on "Conveyances of Synod of B.C.", ADBC.

294. 23 June, 1862, BPHJ. This is my estimate of the moneys spent for church properties.

295. 29 September, 1860, BPHJ.


297. 25 August, 1860, BPHJ.

298. 15 August, 1861, BPHJ.

299. ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND BRITISH EMIGRATION

300. 15 February, 1860, and 29 October, 1862, BPHJ.

301. "City Meeting", CMR, 1862, p. 52.


304. Lamb, p.51.

305. Lamb, p.52.


(156)


313. See note, 137 and 327.


315. This map was published with the "Occasional Paper", 1860, CMR.


322. "Speeches", 1862,CMR, p. 43.


325. "Speeches", 1862, CMR, p. 43.

326. ibid.


330. Underhill, p. 15, and 13 January, 1863 BPHJ.

(157)
331. John Garrett, "Columbian Emigration Society to the Editor of the Times", London Times, 7 April, 1862, in Jackie Lay, "To Columbia on the Tynemouth: The Emigration of Single Women and Girls in 1862" in In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C., p. 27.

332. 6 June, 1862, BPHJ.


334. Rickard, p. 22.

335. 4 October, 1862, BPHJ.


337. 13 January, 1863, BPHJ.

338. 14 January, 1863, BPHJ.

339. 31 March, 1863, BPHJ.


341. Lay, pp. 34, 37.

342. 1 October, 1862, BPHJ.

343. 3 December, 1861, BPHJ.

344. 14 May 1862, BPHJ.

345. Ibid; see also Akre, p. 249.


CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS


350. Gottschalk, p. 60.


353. F.W. Howay, "The Negro Immigration into Vancouver Island in 1858", PCHQ, 3 (1939), pp. 112, 101-113


357. Edgerton, pp. 296-298.


361. Akrigg, p. 110. This is a map of the "Fraser River Gold Bars from Hope to Lytton, c. 1858".

362. Peake, pp. 1-2, 6, 18.


364. W.L. Morton, p. 311.


366. Warkentin and Harris, p. 300.


BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES


Memoranda Book: "British Columbia Including Vancouver's Island, 1858-1860".

PRINTED REPORTS AND LEGAL DOCUMENTS

Columbia Mission Reports: Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia.

"The Spiritual Wants of the New Diocese of Columbia" London: Rivington's, [1859].

"Columbia Mission: Special Fund Obtained During a Ten Months Appeal by the Bishop of Columbia since his Consecration in Westminster Abbey on the 24th of Feb. 1859. London: Rivington's, [1859].


"Speeches at the City Meeting, 30th November, 1860." London: Rivington's, [1861].

"City Meeting. 1862". London: Rivington's, [1862].


Legal Documents: Archives of the Diocese of British Columbia

"Royal Letters Patent Founding and Constituting the Bishopric of British Columbia and Naming and Appointing the Rev'd George Hills D.D. the First Bishop Thereof. Date Jany. 12th, 1859."

Maps


Secondary Sources


Deffontaines, Pierre, "Qu'est-ce que La Geographie Humaine?" in Georges Hardy Geographie & Colonisation Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1933, pp. 7-23.


(163)


Longstaff, Frederick V. "Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, B.C.: A Short History." Victoria, privately printed, n.d.


________. "Historical Geography and Early American History" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 22 (1965): 529-548.


(165)


PHOTOGRAPHS

Christ Church, Hope, ca. 1978.
Barry Downs.


St. John’s, Victoria, [ca. 1860-1863]. Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

St. Mary’s, Lillooet. n.d., [built 1862]. Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

St. Mary’s Sapperton, 1865. Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

St. Thomas, Chilliwack, Formerly St. Mark’s Church, Douglas, 1873. Archives of the Diocese of New Westminster.

Victoria District Church, 1859-1860, Later Christ Church, Victoria. Provincial Archives of British Columbia.