A HISTORY OF THE COLUMBIA COAST MISSION

by

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Abstract

Christian churches in British Columbia have long been active in missionary work in pioneer communities. As civilization arrived this missionary enterprise gave way to established and more permanent church work. The history of the Columbia Coast Mission from 1904 to 1969 exemplifies this pattern. This marine medical mission operated in the coastal waters between Vancouver Island and the mainland of British Columbia.

Two men had a profound influence on the work of this Anglican Church Mission: its founder and first Superintendent (1905-1936), the Rev. John Antle, and its second Superintendent (1936-1959), the Rev. Allan Greene. Antle founded the Mission to provide adequate medical services for the coastal loggers. Therefore, during his term of office a heavy stress was placed on the building of hospitals and hospital ships. Facilities at Rock Bay, Alert Bay and Pender Harbour were augmented by the medical Mission ship Columbia. This stress on practical Christianity was carried out very much at the expense of spiritual ministrations.

During the second half of the Mission's history, under the guidance of the Rev. Allan Greene, several factors altered the direction and emphasis of the Mission's work. Transportation facilities in the coastal area both increased and radically changed. The advent of frequent ferry service and the airplane made the Columbia Coast Mission hospitals redundant. Thus, during the late 1940's and early 1950's these establishments were either disbanded or handed over to the local communities. Because of the decline of the Mission's medical work and also becuase of Greene's primary interest in spiritual work, the Mission became increasingly involved in spiritual ministrations throughout Greene's years as Superintendent.

By the 1950's the improved transportation had brought about much permanent settlement in the area which the Mission served. Therefore, during the 1960's missionary work gave way to regular parish work and the role of the Columbia Coast Mission decreased to the point where, in 1969, it ceased to function as a marine mission altogether.

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THE WORK OF THE REV. JOHN ANTLE

Introduction

The Columbia Coast Mission founded in 1904 was not the first mission on the British Columbia Coast; it was, nevertheless, the first mission whose initial function was primarily medical.[1] The impetus behind the founding of the C.C.M. and the major influence in making its first thirty years of work a great success was provided by the leadership of John Antle. A recent arrival in British Columbia from Newfoundland, Antle was appalled by the lack of medical facilities available to loggers in the coastal region between Vancouver Island and the British Columbia mainland.

The area consisted of one of the most intricate coastlines in the world. Georgia, Johnstone and Queen Charlotte Straits contain at least thirty large islands

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[1]After the Gold Rush of 1858 British Columbia and Vancouver Island became well known to the missionary societies of Great Britain. The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) and the Colonial and Continental Church Society (C. and C.C.S.) all took advantage of the new possibilities. Missionary work spread into the Fraser Valley, the Cariboo, the Okanagan, the Kootenays and the North Coast. A notable exception, however, was

and literally hundreds of smaller ones, as well as seven long fjord-like inlets which penetrate many miles into the Coast Range Mountains. The maze of waterways within this immense and hazardous area, including Seymour Narrows and the Yaculta Rapids, demanded considerable navigational proficiency.

At the turn of the century the region did not contain a settled population. Apart from the Comox area there were no towns. There were at least a dozen Indian

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the southern coast where, by the turn of the century, the only Anglican minister was the C.M.S. missionary at Alert Bay. It was to be in this area that the C.C.M. filled a vacancy as a much-needed marine mission serving the needs of people up and down the coast.

Marine mission work on the Pacific coast was spear-headed by the Methodist Church in 1874 when C. M. Tate was sent to Fort Simpson to work among the Indians. When in 1880 he was replaced by Thomas Crosby in the North, Tate established a mission at Bella Bella and travelled by canoe to Rivers Inlet, China Hat and Bella Coola. (George C. F. Pringle, In Great Waters, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1928, p.2.) In 1884 the Methodist Church launched a seventy-one foot steam boat named the Glad Tidings. This ship, piloted by Captain William Oliver, plied the northern waters from 1885 to 1903 when she was wrecked in Shushartie Bay on the northern shore of Vancouver Island. (Ibid.) The Glad Tidings was, however, to be only the first of many Methodist and later United Church ships on the coast.

Anglican attempts at marine mission work during the last two decades of the century were restricted to northern waters where Bishop Ridley had established a mission in 1880 with the Steamship Evangeline. Costs proved too high for Ridley and in 1892 he was forced to sell the ship. From that year until 1912 the Mission was forced to rely upon canoes for transportation. In 1912 the forty-five foot Northern Cross was launched and operated out of Prince Rupert. She was joined four years

villages, notably at Alert Bay, Gilford Island and Kingcome Inlet. The bulk of the population could be found in the many isolated logging camps scattered up and down the coast, ranging in size from several hundred men at Rock Bay to the hand-logging endeavours of one or two men in lonely inlets.[2] Logging camps were often non-permanent; many were actually situated on rafts which could be moved from one area to another.

The only major form of transportation was the Union Steamship Company. If a man were badly injured it could be several days before he could receive any medical attention from the nearest doctor in Vancouver. It was a deplorable situation which, although it had existed for many years, had received little publicity in Vancouver. Then, in 1904 the S.S. Cassiar arrived in Vancouver with the bodies of four loggers who had died because they had not received immediate medical aid. The subsequent newspaper publicity given the incident acquainted many people with the situation.

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later by a second ship, the Western Hope based at Massett on the Queen Charlotte Islands. (Frank A. Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia, Vancouver, Mitchell Press, 1959, p.137.)

[2]Hand-logging, a very popular method of logging from the turn of the century to 1925, was an extremely dangerous occupation. Only one or two men were involved in each endeavour and they would attempt to fall huge Douglas fir trees down the steep banks of the fjord-like inlets into the sea below. Men were frequently injured while engaged in this operation.

The Rev. John Antle, a Newfoundlander by birth and the son of a sea captain, was the Rector of Holy Trinity Church, Fairview. The young Anglican priest was so appalled by the fact that the nearest medical aid for some four thousand loggers was at least one hundred miles' distance to the south by ship that he immediately brought the problem to the attention of the Executive Committee of the Diocese of New Westminster. They in turn formed a Joint Committee with the Diocese of British Columbia[3] and after some deliberation instructed Antle to visit the area and report back on the situation.[4] Thus, at 5 p.m. on June 2, 1904 Antle and his nine year old son set sail in Antle's sixteen foot boat, the Laverock.[5]

Upon his return some four weeks later Antle described his findings in his report to the Joint Committee:

> ...I proceeded forth by way of the Gulf of Georgia, Malaspina Strait and Johnstone Strait, as far as Alert Bay, and returned

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[3]The Ecclesiastical See of New Westminster was Vancouver while the Diocese included the mainland side of the future Mission area. The Ecclesiastical See of the Diocese of British Columbia was Victoria and the Diocese included Vancouver Island and all adjacent islands.

[4]Rev. J. Antle, "Memoirs of John Antle," (unpublished memoirs), Provincial Archives of British Columbia, p.33.

[5]Ibid. The Laverock was a sloop-rigged sailboat equipped with an auxiliary three-quarter horsepower engine bought with a one hundred dollar grant donated by the Joint Committee.

> by the inside route through Sunderland, Walbore and Cardero Channels, and the Euclatau Rapids, arriving at Vancouver June 29th, having visited twelve logging camps and twelve settlements on route. The number of men in the camps visited ranged from twenty-five to two hundred, and the population of the settlements was from one to fourteen families. I was unable to visit all the camps, but touched at the most important and all I had time to visit with the means at hand. Wherever possible I held services at the camps and conducted family prayers in the homes of isolated families, but my time was chiefly taken up in conversation with the foremen, engineers and leading men of the camps, with a view of ascertaining what their attitude towards the proposed mission would be. I found them, without exception, very favorable to the movement, often enthusiastic, offering very valuable suggestions as to the character of the work and not infrequently promising financial support.[6]

The welcome Antle received from the camp foremen had been equalled by that of the loggers who were well aware of the dangers of their jobs. On June 11 Antle had visited the camp at Rock Bay, owned by the Hastings Mill Company of Vancouver. Here, he had addressed a typical audience. In part, he said:

> I am going to try to alleviate this situation to give you hospital service so that when you are injured in the woods, you may have a chance for

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[6]Rev. J. Antle, "Report of a visit of investigation among the logging camps and settlements on the North East coast of Vancouver Island and the islands adjacent thereto, during the month of June, 1904," (unpublished report), Office of the Diocese of British Columbia, p.1.

> your life. I am going to try to help you intellectually through books and magazines and spiritually through religious services.[7]

When he had completed his speech, Antle was immediately surrounded by his enthusiastic listeners who carried him off to the saloon where, apparently for the first time in his life, he found himself standing at a bar. Upon being confronted with, "What's yer poison? Name yer tipple,"[8] Antle refused the offer and accepted cigars instead.

Antle's voyage confirmed his suspicions that more medical aid was required for the loggers; and it probably opened his eyes to a second and quite different medical problem. He had not visited many Indian villages during his investigation; those he did see convinced him that the state of health among the Indians was very poor. Concerning the village at Alert Bay, he wrote that the Indians there were "emaciated and tubercular in appearance, crippled or paralytic."[9] Antle found that the C.M.S. missionary, Mr. Hall was also very concerned but had failed to obtain any co-operation from the Department

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[7] Antle, "Memoirs," p.39.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

of the Interior in Ottawa.[10]

Upon his return to Vancouver, Antle presented his report to the Joint Committee of the Dioceses. His most important conclusion was that any missionary work among the whites in the area had failed because it had been exclusively of a religious nature. Pressing social and medical needs had not been taken into account. In short, he felt that the Church had been "putting in the thick end of the wedge first."[11] The report continued:

> The work must be largely social at first and this will open the way for all that she [the Church] may wish to do and teach. This theory has been put into practice in large cities and great industrial centers, and proven to be correct. It is also the scriptural way.[12]

In order to implement his theory, Antle went on to suggest three remedies. First, that "in the larger camps, especially where there is a saloon, a small reading room would be helpful, where the men could gather on their off days for reading and conversation, without having the temptation of the bar always before them."[13] A second suggestion was that a monthly magazine be

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[10]At that time, Indian Affairs came under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.

[11]Antle, "Report of a visit of investigation," p.1.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Antle, "Memoirs," p.58.

founded in order to act as a link between the camps and to act as the voice of the Church to loggers. Antle's third and certainly his most important suggestion was the establishment of a medical marine mission, equipped with a hospital boat and a doctor.

The Diocese of New Westminster received Antle's report enthusiastically. The Diocese of British Columbia, however, was not as impressed, contending that the cost of establishing and maintaining the mission would be prohibitive.[14] Instead, the Victoria members put forth a number of impractical suggestions, aimed at reducing the costs of the endeavour, which infuriated Antle. Finally, he put his position on the line, saying, "Gentlemen, these are my plans. I am not a cheap man and I will not touch a cheap outfit. Good evening."[15] On that note he got up and left the meeting. His plan was accepted immediately. On December 1, 1904 John Antle was appointed Superintendent

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[14] Ibid., p.60.

[15] Ibid., p.61. One suggestion put forward by the Diocese of British Columbia was that a rowboat be used as transportation for the proposed mission. To this Antle later commented, "I did not fancy that the proposer of the idea himself would fancy spending the night on a beach with only an upturned rowboat for shelter." To a further suggestion, that a thirty foot sailboat be used, Antle remarked that it was "obviously owned by the speaker" and would be entirely impractical as it would furnish insufficient space to accommodate doctors' consultations. Yet another suggestion, that an ex-sailing schooner be used, was also pronounced by Antle to be impractical, as she would require six hands to man her.

of the Columbia Coast Mission, a post which he was to hold for thirty-two years, during which time he was to become as famous on the west coast as Grenfell had been on the Atlantic coast.

The Establishment of Medical Facilities

During the six years following 1904 Antle formulated the basic structure of the medical Mission. It is important to remember that the founder was essentially a priest and therefore much of the credit for the early medical success of the Mission must be given to Dr. W.A.B. Hutton, who worked with the Mission until he drowned in 1906. He was as much of a missionary doctor as Antle was a missionary priest. The combined efforts of both men produced highly successful results which continued long after Hutton's death. Hutton, in short, provided for Antle a vehicle for practical Christianity. Thus, the motto of the C.C.M. became, "Heal the sick and say unto them the Kingdom of God has come nigh unto you."

The major initial purposes of the Mission were twofold: to provide a series of hospitals and an accompanying hospital ship, and to expose the coastal loggers to Christianity. The Mission's history shows that any success in the latter field was generally a result of accomplishments in the former.

The first hospital ship, the Columbia, was launched

on April 4, 1905:

> ...from the Wallace Shipyard, False Creek, Vancouver, B.C. The Ven. Archdeacon Pentreath, assisted by the city clergy and choirs conducted a very appropriate service. Over one thousand people were present and witnessed the event. Rev. John Antle, Dr. W.A.B. Hutton, and J. Petman were on board at the launching.[16]

Being a missionary ship, lithia water rather than champagne was used in the christening of the Columbia. One unfortunate workman, however, thought that the liquid was the latter! Twenty-four days later Bishop Perrin, in the presence of 350 guests, including the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henri Joli de Lotbinière, dedicated the ship, which soon sailed northward from Vancouver on her first voyage to the Mission area.

Two months later, on July 9, 1905 the Mission opened a second facility, the ten bed Queen's Hospital at Rock Bay, the centre of the Hastings Mill Company's operations.[17] The hospital, built by the Company, was

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[16]Rev. John Antle, "Log of the Columbia," undated, quoted in Antle, "Memoirs," p.63. The Columbia's dimensions were sixty feet by fourteen feet. She was equipped with a gas motor having a capability of seven knots. In addition to the galley, stewards' room and captain's room, there was also a large cabin (twenty-four feet by twelve feet) which could serve as an office, a dining room, an operating room or a chapel.

[17]Antle, "Memoirs," p.65. In 1905, Rock Bay consisted of a store, a saloon and a hotel. The logging camp employed about five hundred men.

run jointly by the C.C.M. and the Victoria Order of Nurses (V.O.N.), the C.C.M. providing the doctors and administrative services and the V.O.N. the nurses and equipment.

The first operational year of the Mission gave assurances that the venture would prove successful. Between May and December 31, 1905, 1250 medical cases had been treated by the Mission, both aboard the Columbia and at Queen's Hospital.[18] The Mission ship also patrolled the waters bounded by Cape Mudge (in the south) and Alert Bay (in the north) with Antle serving as Captain, Chaplain and Superintendent. A year of trial gave way to two years of expansion. By the end of 1907 the Rock Bay Hospital had been doubled in size; and a new hospital at Vananda on Texada Island had been donated by the Tacoma Steel Company in order to provide medical services for its men who worked in the copper mine at Marble Bay.

When residents of Alert Bay appealed to the Mission for the construction of a hospital in that community, Antle reported to the C.C.M.'s Annual Meeting of 1907 that:

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[18]Rev. John Antle, "Annual Report of the Superintendent to the Board" (unpublished report held in the Office of Diocese of British Columbia), 1905, p.1.

> The position is a good one, being a center for Indians and rapidly becoming a center for the logging industry. I shall not consider our equipment complete until this third hospital is built and we have a larger and faster boat making regular trips up and down the coast.[19]

On January 9, 1908 at a representative meeting held at Alert Bay, Antle told the assembled residents that the cost of a hospital would amount to 5,500 dollars. The necessary amount was quickly raised in eastern Canada from a campaign which began in October 1907 when Antle appeared before the Board of Missions in Hamilton.[20]

Despite the ease with which funds were raised for the construction of the hospital, Antle expressed considerable caution about the support the hospital would receive once completed. In an editorial in the Mission's journal, The Log, he stated that:

> Experience in the past has not been too encouraging, and while we are eager to meet this seemingly pressing need, we are forced to go carefully lest we be found to have undertaken more than we are able to accomplish. Promise is one thing, performance is another, and in order to arrive at a fair estimate of the latter it is necessary, according to my experience, to discount the former very considerably.[21]

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[19] Ibid., 1907, p.1.

[20] "Columbia Coast Mission," The Log, II, No. 7 (1907), p.3.

[21] Editorial, The Log, III, No. 6-7 (1908), p.4.

In spite of Antle's misgivings, the hospital was completed and opened with all due religious and civic festivity on June 15, 1909, by the Right Rev. W.E. Perrin. Eventually, it became the most successful of the Columbia Coast Mission hospitals.[22]

The Mission was now equipped with three modern hospitals located approximately sixty miles from each other, and each was staffed with a doctor and nurses. The establishment of Alert Bay as a hospital centre immediately created a problem for the Mission in that the Mission ship Columbia was not sufficiently seaworthy to cross the open waters of Queen Charlotte Sound which lay to the north of Alert Bay. A second drawback was her rather low speed of only seven knots, which was not fast enough to enable the ship to cover the whole Mission area for either medical or religious duties. Finally, the Columbia was not large enough to carry adequate medical equipment

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[22]In 1923 the hospital burned to the ground, but the Mission made a remarkably quick recovery from the disaster. A new hospital was constructed and was ready for service in January 1925, although it was not officially opened until May 13 of that year, at which time it was dedicated by the Bishop of British Columbia. The total cost of the new building was in excess of 24,000 dollars. The Mission received a large proportion of this money from grants, and also obtained some valuable assistance in the form of price reductions. Two companies were noteworthy in this regard: B.C. Packers gave a twenty-five per cent discount on lumber, while the Union Steamship Company donated a fifty per cent reduction on freight costs. Also helpful was the free architectural service of a Mr. Eveleigh.

or patients with highly contagious diseases.[23]

Because of these deficiencies, Antle began a campaign in 1907 to raise sufficient funds to obtain a new boat. The campaign, which took place in both England and Canada, was so successful that Antle was able to leave for England in the Fall of 1908 to look for a suitable ship. His search was unsuccessful and he decided in favour of a locally constructed gasoline powered ship. Accordingly, the Columbia II was built in New Westminster at a cost of 24,000 dollars.[24] The new ship was launched on July 8, 1910 and was dedicated by the Bishop of British Columbia in Victoria on August 8.[25]

Columbia II was a considerably larger ship than her predecessor, having a length of one hundred feet, a beam of seventeen feet, thus making her quite large enough to sail in any of the British Columbia coastal waters. The interior of the ship was equally impressive, as it included a salon, a surgery equipped with the most modern surgical equipment, as well as an X-ray machine, a pilot house, a galley and sleeping quarters. This ship remained the focal point of the Mission's work for forty-five years.

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[23] Antle, "Annual Report," 1908, p.1.

[24] Ibid., 1910, p.1.

[25] Ibid., 1911, p.1.

The triumph of the launching of the Columbia II was quickly followed by the destruction of Queen's Hospital, Rock Bay by fire on September 3, 1911. Nevertheless, recovery was rapid and one year later the Bishop of British Columbia opened the rebuilt hospital, renamed St. Michael's.[26]

For the next ten years there was no expansion of medical facilities. The Depression of 1912-1913 and World War I both created difficult times for the Mission. Often the shortage of doctors became acute as many potential Mission doctors went to France during the War. A second factor compounding the problem was the British Columbia medical examination which deterred several out-of-Province doctors from joining the Mission for any prolonged period. A case in point was Antle's 1917 trip to eastern Canada during which he persuaded a Dr. Richards and a Dr. Beadles to join the Mission. Dr. Richards, who was appointed to Columbia Hospital at Vananda, spent five months on the coast but then decided not to write the medical examination.[27]

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[26]Rev. Allan Greene, interview held at Red Roofs, B.C., August 31, 1968. According to Allan Greene, the name "St. Michael's" was given to the hospital without having received the complete support of Antle. The Bishop's son's name was Michael.

[27]Ibid.

The years immediately following the First World War did not bring about an improvement in conditions. On September 30, 1920 Columbia Hospital at Vananda closed permanently due to the decrease in copper production on Texada Island. The name did not die with the hospital, for on August 1 of the same year a small two building hospital, constructed by the logging companies of the Carriden Bay area, had been opened.[28] This hospital, operated by the Columbia Coast Mission, was meant to serve the far northern sector of the Mission area. At first called Carriden Bay Hospital, the name was later changed to Columbia Hospital.

Throughout its brief eight year history, the new Columbia Hospital operated only on an intermittent basis, because it depended solely upon loggers for its patients. In 1921 the Carriden Bay logging camps temporarily shut down and consequently Dr. R. Birdsall, who had been practicing in the area for only a few months, was moved to Rock Bay. In 1924 the hospital, which had been built on pontoons, was moved to O'Brien Bay due to a shift in logging operations. Fluctuations in the cedar market resulted in a further closure at the end of 1925, yet John Antle believed that the hospital was an essential part of the Mission since the frequently rough waters of

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[28]Antle, "Annual Report," 1920, p.1.

Queen Charlotte Sound often made it difficult for the Columbia II to reach the area in an emergency.[29] Although the floating hospital usually operated at a loss, it was kept open until it was wrecked in 1928 while being towed from Greenway Sound to Pender Harbour. This accident proved to be a "blessing in disguise, for it started a campaign for the erection of St. Mary's hospital at Pender Harbour."[30]

The need for a hospital at Pender Harbour had become increasingly evident during the late 1920's. Not only had logging operations increased but also a significant number of settlers had established themselves in the area. Local residents who met on July 3, 1929 at Irvine's Landing, petitioned the C.C.M. to consider building and maintaining a hospital in the area.[31] The petition was signed by 250 residents and met with the

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[29] Ibid., 1925, p.2.

[30] "Here Comes the Antle," Vancouver Daily Province, November 13, 1943, p.3.

[31] "And once more a hospital is built," The Log, XXIV, New Series, No.2(1955), p.2. The Petition: "To whom it may concern: On the opinion of the residents of Pender Harbour and district attending a meeting on the 3rd of July to meet Rev. John Antle, Superintendent of the Columbia Coast Mission, it was unanimously agreed that the time has arrived and opportunity has come for the establishment of a hospital at Pender Harbour. Any person resident of Pender Harbrour and District in agreement with this opinion is invited to express their sentiments by signing this petition to the Columbia Coast Mission for the establishment of a hospital at Pender Harbour."

approval of the Columbia Coast Mission.

Construction of St. Mary's Hospital proceeded through the second half of 1929 and the first half of 1930.[32] The building was opened on August 16, 1930 by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Honourable Randolph Bruce, with the dedication being given by Archdeacon Sir Francis Heathcote. The harbour at Garden Bay was crowded with small vessels which had come up from Vancouver to witness the event as well as with the two Mission ships, the Columbia II, the Rendezvous[33] and the Canadian Pacific Steamship, Princess Patricia loaded with two hundred visitors from Vancouver.

The cost of building the hospital was fifteen thousand dollars, of which the Provincial Government granted one-third, and a wharf was built by the Federal

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[32]The people of Pender Harbour were almost landed with the old Carriden Bay floating hospital. In one of his letters Antle wrote: "It is with great regret that I have to tell you that the hospital which was being towed to Pender Harbour was caught in the gale of last Thursday and is a total wreck, which on the face of things is a great catastrophe but may turn out to be a blessing in disguise. It would always have been a temporary arrangement, and would have cost a great deal to put it on shore, but now I am making an appeal both here and in Victoria for funds to build a new and permanent building and I am hopeful that the result of the appeal will be adequate to carry out what I have in view.

[33]The Rendezvous had been purchased in 1924 to be used for spiritual ministrations in the southern sector of the Mission area.

Government.[34] The hospital served a wide area, including Halfmoon Bay, Sechelt, Wilson Creek, Roberts Creek, Gibsons Landing, Egmont and the Pender Harbour area itself.

The completion of the Pender Harbour Hospital marked the end of a quarter-century of medical success for the Columbia Coast Mission. Three well-equipped hospitals were augmented by two ships and a staff of over forty. The C.C.M. had fulfilled an urgent need and as a result the people of the coast had come to trust and in many cases rely on the medical work of the Mission.

The Mission and the Logging Industry

The successes of the Columbia Coast Mission during its early days relied on the co-operation and, to a lesser extent, the economic well-being of the logging companies in the Mission area. For the most part the companies were very co-operative as both they and their employees fully realized that the Mission had been established almost solely for their benefit. At the outset, Charles M. Beecher and John Hendry, officials of the Hastings Mill Company, promised Antle financial support. Subsequently, the Company entirely financed the building of the hospital at Rock Bay. Similarly,

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[34] "Lieutenant-Governor Bruce Opens Hospital," The Log, I, New Series, No. 4 (1930), p.1.

the Tacoma Steel Company financed construction of the hospital at Vananda. Until the late 1930's when improved transportation made more distant hospitals accessible, the companies helped finance the C.C.M. hospitals, thus ensuring the success of the Mission's medical endeavours during Antle's superintendency.

A second aspect of co-operation by the logging companies was their help in the collection of monies derived from the "Dollar a Month" scheme. The scheme, a type of hospital insurance, was used by the Vancouver hospitals with the up-coast loggers. If each logger paid a dollar a month into the fund, the medical expenses incurred at the time of an accident would be covered. The flaws in the system were the difficulty in persuading an adequate number of loggers that such foresight was really necessary and also in the collection of monies from individual loggers. The second problem was solved, at least in the large camps, by the companies' agreeing to make payroll deductions.

A further example of early co-operation by the logging companies was their attitude towards Antle's views on the liquor trade. Antle was certainly not against the consumption of alcohol in moderation, but in his view the situation in camp saloons had reached extreme proportions. Very few of the saloons obeyed the

liquor laws of the province. Many did not have rooms to rent and most remained open for business on Sundays. Antle believed that the resultant high consumption was detrimental to the health of the loggers.[35] A more important problem was the companies' making "slaves" out of their men by lending them large sums of money which in turn were used to purchase liquor at the saloons frequently run by the companies. Thus, the loggers remained constantly in debt.[36] Antle approached the provincial Liquor Commissioners who had the power to grant or revoke licences, but his requests to close down these establishments were ignored. In 1908 licencing power was transferred to the hands of the Chief of the Provincial Police and the Attorney-General. Antle immediately broached the subject with W. J. Bowser, the Attorney-General. Support was quickly forthcoming and four saloons had their licences revoked while others were forced to observe Sunday

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[35]Regarding his views on the consumption of alcohol, Antle was quite typical of Anglican ministers as opposed to ministers of the more evangelical sects. In 1902 the Church went on record as stating that, "In remedying those [social] evils in one direction, we must be careful lest we create others probably as great in another. Stringent laws often defeat their purpose, and cannot be enforced unless they are supported by the hearty co-operation of all classes." (Church of England, Synod Journal of Proceedings, 1902, p.191, quoted in Albert John Hiebert, "Prohibition in B.C.," [unpublished thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1969])

[36]Ernest Antle, interview held at Victoria, B.C., July 24, 1973.

closing. This action naturally met with considerable opposition on the part of some owners, but the licences were never renewed. The company-operated saloons closed down voluntarily, partially because of agreement with Antle's attitude and partially because of pressure applied by shareholders who formerly had not been aware of the circumstances.[37]

The Mission work was not only helped by the logging companies but it was also greatly influenced by them from an economic standpoint. A notable example occurred in 1914 when the effects of the Depression of the previous year were still being felt in the logging industry. At Rock Bay an almost complete shutdown of the camps forced a cutback in staff at St. Michael's Hospital; from a staff of a doctor and three nurses only two of the nurses, Miss Flower and Miss Hopkins, were retained. Cases too diffi-

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[37]Antle continued his campaign against the liquor traffic right up to the Prohibition Referendum of 1916. In 1915 he wrote that: "At the present time the burning question is concerning the liquor traffic and in this respect the Mission stands as a power in the coast district, where at one time the liquor interests were all powerful. For sometime we have been making Prohibition the subject of sermons, and stiffening the people up so that when the time comes to vote there may be no lack of knowledge on the part of the voter and no doubt as to the result." (Antle, "Annual Report," 1915, p. 7.)

cult for the nurses were treated at other hospitals. Although the immediate financial position of the Mission dictated this move, Antle was not convinced of the long-term practicability of such methods of economizing. In the spring of 1915 he warned the Board that:

> The residents on the coast are more numerous now than formerly and have grown to depend on the doctor, and because, secondly, when the doctor returns to work it takes a long time to get the people informed of his reappointment.[38]

During 1915 the logging industry regained its normal stature and Dr. C. T. McCallum was appointed to the hospital in the spring.

The most obvious example of adverse economic influence was the Depresssion of the 1930's. For the first time in the history of the Mission the hospitals ran at a constant loss because of the large number of people laid off in the logging operations. Companies in the Alert Bay area let go several hundred men for varying periods of time, as did the Merril, Ring and Wilson Company at Rock Bay. Nevertheless, for a large majority of the years between 1905 and 1936 the economics of the logging industry had a very positive effect on the Mission's work.

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[38]Antle, "Annual Report," 1915, p.2.

Mission Financing

One of the major problems constantly facing the Mission was inadequate financing. Finances were obtained from provincial grants, federal grants for Indian work, contributions from missionary societies, the "Dollar a Month" scheme[39] and individual donations. The two most important missionary society contributors were the Missionary Society of the Church in Canada (the M.S.C.C.) and the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society (the B.C. and Y.C.A.S.). The M.S.C.C., based in Toronto, was the agent through which all Mission fund-raising campaigns had to be organized. During Antle's superintendency such campaigns were conducted in eastern Canada approximately every two years. A campaign usually consisted of a lecture tour through southern Ontario. The lectures were descriptive of Mission life and were often accompanied by lantern slides. The M.S.C.C. not only organized these campaigns but also gave regular and special grants towards Mission work. The B.C. and Y.C.A.S., with its headquarters in London, England, also gave annual grants to the Mission. The problem with both of these missionary societies was their remoteness from the

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[39] In 1917 the Workmen's Compensation Board plan was introduced in British Columbia. The plan had little effect on Mission financing. However, it did create more stability in that the Mission was more certain of collecting from the "Dollar a Month" scheme.

Mission area, consequently causing disputes concerning the real needs of the C.C.M. Illustrative of this fact was the donation by the B.C. and Y.C.A.S. in 1933 of a yacht, the Syrene. The ship was only eleven years old and had been built by the reliable firm of Thorneycrofts in England. The ship was renamed John Antle and the Superintendent himself went to Cannes, France, to sail the ship home across the Atlantic. The new acquisition, however, was not a worthwhile addition to the Mission's fleet. The ship had originally been built for a Greek millionaire and the fact that the instrument panel was marked in unintelligible Greek letters seemed to be a harbinger of things to come. At Gibraltar, en route to London, the ship's engines broke down and Antle replaced them with two new Winthrop diesels which later proved to be unsatisfactory in the Mission waters.

By 1936 the Mission had decided to sell the John Antle and replace her with a more suitable craft. As a result, a considerable amount of friction was created between the Mission and the B.C. and Y.C.A.S. The B.C. and Y.C.A.S. wrote to Allan Greene, who by then had replaced Antle as Superintendent:

> We naturally feel unhappy about all that has taken place and the appalling (and as it appears to us, needless) waste of money... It appears to my committee that circumstances being what they are you have done the only thing possible, and in so

> far as any approval from us for the sale of the "John Antle I" is concerned we give it most cordially and with the utmost confidence in the wisdom of your decision.[40]

The true feelings of the Society had been made clear in a letter from the General Secretary of the B.C. and Y.C.A.S. to the Rev. J.A.B. Mercier. With regard to the engines bought in Gibraltar, the General Secretary, the Rev. J. Perkins wrote:

> It would seem that Antle insisted on these particular engines against the better judgement of the firm who considered them unsuitable for that type of boat...it is grievous to think that Antle should have let us in for an expenditure on the engines something like twice the cost of the boat, if not more, culminating in what appears to be a collapse.[41]

The Church Aid Society not only criticized the financial aspects of the problem but also the use to which the ship was put while in service with the Mission. The Society believed that the purpose of the John Antle I was "first and foremost for the development of the spiritual side of the C.C.M."[42] After having studied the report of November and December, 1934 the B.C. and Y.C.A.S. also

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[40]Letter from the Rev. Jocelyn Perkins to the Rev. J.A.B. Mercier, Nov. 27, 1935.

[41]Letter from L.B. to the Rev. T. Lane Connold, June 11, 1935. "L.B." would appear to have been an unnamed official of the B.C. and Y.C.A.S.

[42]Ibid.

felt that the seventeen services held during that time did not represent sufficient use of the boat. It is unlikely that it was just a coincidence that the annual grant from the B.C. and Y.C.A.S. was sharply reduced to 275 dollars after 1936.

Other funds received from the Anglican Church included the regular diocesan grants.[43] Herein lay the major problem in financing the Mission. The very fact that the C.C.M. was an Anglican medical mission severely restricted its monetary sources. It is instructive to compare the C.C.M. with the Grenfell medical mission on the Labrador Coast. That mission, founded in 1892, was originally financed by the English Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen, but by 1912 the Mission had increased in size so much that it was re-organized and incorporated as the International Grenfell Association. As such, it had a Board of Directors representing the Grenfell Association of America, the Grenfell Association of Great Britain and Ireland, the New England Grenfell Association, the Grenfell-Labrador Medical Mission and the Grenfell Association of Newfoundland. The Mission itself was very much founded on Christian principles, but remained non-sectarian in its organization. Thus,

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[43] In the early days of the Mission, grants from the Dioceses of New Westminster and British Columbia ranged between 250 and 500 dollars.

it was in a position to appeal for funds from a complete cross-section of the North American and British peoples, and as such it was highly successful.[44]

During the Depression the C.C.M. did in fact receive large grants, often in excess of sixteen thousand dollars annually, from the Vancouver Welfare Federation. These grants, however, were severely criticized by citizens of Vancouver, who felt that their city had enough of its own problems without supporting the Columbia Coast Mission. The Vancouver Sun defended the Mission and explained the rationale behind the Federation's large donations:

> Although geographically outside the City of Vancouver this grant serves directly hundreds of thrifty, hard working Vancouver people who have taken themselves up the coast in order to wrestle a meagre living as hand loggers, prospectors, and fisherment. Without these self-developed jobs, many of these people would undoubtedly be forced to seek relief in Vancouver. Of its annual budget practically every dollar is spent in Vancouver for hospital supplies

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[44]Antle's idea of founding the C.C.M. was influenced by his knowledge of the Grenfell Mission. Antle often wished that he could have not only imitated the financial success of the Grenfell Mission, but also its method of organization. The C.C.M. was incorporated in 1907 with a Board of Directors and an Executive Committee. The President of the Board, however, was the Bishop of British Columbia and as such Antle was responsible to him. Antle's decisions were often interfered with by the Bishop whereas the primary purpose of the Grenfell Board was to raise money. (Antle, interview, July 24, 1973.)

> and equipment and includes supplies for its hospital ships and repairs and upkeep of all three.[45]

Nevertheless, grants of that nature were very much the exception rather than the rule.

Another source of income were donations by private individuals. These ranged from small monetary contributions usually made by members of the Anglican Church, to large donations, such as Lady Musgrave's gift of a Mission ship in 1911. The ship was named Governor Musgrave after the donor's husband, the Governor of British Columbia from 1869 to 1871.

One of the best known benefactors of the Mission was Lord Strathcona. In 1908 Antle, while searching in England for a replacement for the Columbia I approached Strathcona, the Canadian High Commissioner, for a donation. Antle's request was rather coldly received by Strathcona, who said:

> ...that he did not approve of persons coming from Canada to collect the pence of the poor for building their institutions...and giving the impression there were no schools, no churches, no hospitals, "while we," he said, "spend thousands of pounds advertising Canada and assuring the people they will not lack schools or churches when they go to Canada."[46]

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[45]"What's Happening in B.C. Local Communities concerning Budget of Columbia Coast Mission," Vancouver Sun, October 28, 1939, p.4.

[46]Antle, "Memoirs," p.83.

Antle virtually accused Strathcona of lying to the English people, whereupon his lordship decided that the best way out of the predicament was to give Antle five hundred pounds. Subsequently, Strathcona became very interested in the Mission.[47]

Despite the difficulty in raising funds for the Mission, there were only two occasions in its first thirty years that the Mission was in any real financial difficulty. These occurred during World War I and during the Depression. From 1913 to 1916 the financial situation was extremely serious and yet the Mission did survive, largely because of the dedication of Antle and a few very assiduous assistants. In 1916 Antle himself expressed a degree of amazement when he stated at the Annual General Meeting:

> The feeling we must all have on this occasion ...is firstly surprise that after a year of unprecedented stress and strain in every department of life, the Mission still exists, its hospitals are open, and its clergy, doctors and nurses still actively engaged in a work which is becoming more and more a part of the economy of things on the coast.[48]

The Great Depression, however, caused the Mission more financial problems than any other event in its history. Not only was the logging industry reduced in size, but grants

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[47]Antle had probably approached Strathcona because of the latter's interest in the Grenfell Mission. Strathcona was a chief contributor to that Mission, having given it two ships, the Sir Donald and the Lord Strathcona.

[48]Antle, "Annual Report," 1915, p.1.

to the Mission were often low. Furthermore, patients were often unable to pay medical bills in cash. Instead, the Mission was frequently forced to accept fish, fruit or vegetables as payment. Consequently, the Mission had to place heavy financial reliance upon the usual Government grants and the grants of the Vancouver Welfare Federation.

Despite these problems the Mission served a more useful purpose in the Depression than at any other time. In a manner similar to the very early days of the Mission the Depression offered Antle another outlet for his very practical form of Christianity. When Antle founded the Mission he was successful because he offered the loggers a service they both needed and wanted - medical aid. In the Depression the C.C.M. continued to provide the medical assistance but more important, the Mission acted as a relief agent to the many needy settlers.

In the northern sector of the Mission area the Columbia II served as a relief centre, while in the southern sector the Rendezvous served the same purpose. The Mission distributed direct relief in the form of food and clothing and was in turn reimbursed by the Provincial Government. The distribution of Government relief was supplemented extensively by hundreds of donations of money, food and clothing from Mission

supporters in Vancouver. The ships of the Columbia Coast Mission were, in fact, the only logical means by which relief could be administered to the hundreds of poverty-stricken people who lived in the many isolated settlements within the Mission area.

The system appears to have worked satisfactorily during 1931 but during 1932 the Mission officials were severely critical of the Government's re-organization of relief which empowered the Provincial Police to decide which persons would be granted assistance. Both Allan Greene and John Antle felt that the Mission was far better acquainted with the potential recipients and therefore should be the agency making decisions.[49] Later, official Government relief officers were appointed.

As in the First World War much of the Mission's success during the early 1930's must be attributed to the dedication of the staff. In 1932 John Antle stated that in his opinion the staff of that year was the best in the history of the Mission to date. By 1936 the staff of forty included five doctors, eleven nurses, five cooks, four orderlies, eleven engineers and four lay workers.[50]

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[49]"Skipper Soliloquizes," The Log, II, New Series, No. 10 (1932), p.6. Yet in an interview Greene praised the Provincial Police for their relief work during the Depression. (Greene, interview, August 31, 1968.)

[50]Greene, "Annual Report," 1936, p.11.

Work Among the Indians

The work of the Mission among the Kwakiutl Indians was an interesting aspect of the Mission but should be considered as a secondary function, for Indian work was never considered a top priority by John Antle. The Mission, which was originally founded to assist the loggers, officially took over a considerable amount of Indian work in 1927 as a result of an administrative convenience as much as anything else.[51] That is not to say, however, that Antle had not shown concern for Indian welfare in previous years. Nevertheless, spiritual ministrations had not been emphasized and certainly the chief benefit which the Indians had received was the medical facilities at St. George's Hospital, Alert Bay. Again, as far as Antle was concerned, this type of practical Christianity was the order of the day.

During the post World War I decade, the Mission became far more concerned and interested in the well-being of the Alert Bay Indians than it had previously been. In October 1919 Dr. G. H. Wilson was appointed to St. George's Hospital. This very competent medical man immediately made a detailed report on the medical con-

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[51] In 1927 responsibility for the Kingcome Indian Mission and the missions to the various islands of Johnstone and Queen Charlotte Straits was transferred from the parent dioceses to the Columbia Coast Mission.

dition of the Indians. He wrote, in part:

> I have made a careful examination of all the men, women and children of the following Indian villages:- Alert Bay, including the two industrial schools, Fort Rupert, Harbledown Island, Gilford Island, Village Island, and Turnour Island, for the purpose of finding out the state of health of these people, with a view to remedial measures. The result of these examinations shows that 90% of the people are suffering from the following diseases: tuberculosis, anaemia, scrofula, a condition bordering on scurvey, rheumatism, enlarged tonsils and adenoids, deafness, blindness, and venereal diseases. Tuberculosis is the most prominent of these diseases, involving fully 70% of the people in its various forms, as pulmonary consumption, hip joint disease, tubercular glands, etc.[52]

Wilson recommended as a partial remedy that a small tuberculosis hospital be set up immediately. At that time, the Mission was not in a financial position to implement the doctor's suggestion. The subject was broached to the Indian Department, which showed sympathy for the undertaking, but did not act.[53]

The controversial question of Indian payment for medical services, which had never really been resolved to a satisfactory degree during and before World War I, was

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[52] G. H. Wilson, Report to the Superintendent of the Columbia Coast Mission, 1919, quoted in Antle, "Annual Report," 1919, p.1.

[53] Ibid.

stabilized in 1924 and 1925. In 1924 the Indians agreed to pay a fixed sum each year, this money being paid immediately after the fishing season. Meanwhile, the Indian Department agreed to adopt the Provincial Government's system of a per diem grant for each hospital day, bringing an end to the old system of providing a grant according to the number of indigent patients.[54]

The Indians at this time showed a considerable amount of initiative in bettering their relationship with the Mission. In 1924 they donated 1,400 dollars, which was the full cost of the new X-ray machine installation

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[54]The root of the problem lay in the differing attitudes of the Columbia Coast Mission and the British Columbia officials of the Indian Department towards the payment for medical services by the Indians. The Mission had always expected the Indians to pay on the same basis as the white men. The Department of Indian Affairs, on the other hand, favoured free medical assistance to all Indians. This attitude often placed the Mission in an untenable financial position. (Antle, "Annual Report," 1914, p.2.) For example, in 1912 the Federal Government Indian grant to the Mission was only four hundred dollars, while the Indian agent had allowed the Indians 1,700 dollars worth of medical expenses. In order to try and remedy the situation Antle met with Department officials in Ottawa in 1915. He explained that the federal grant of four hundred dollars per annum for indigent Indian patients would have been only barely adequate if the local Indian agent had sent only indigent patients to the hospital for free treatment. (Antle, "Annual Report," 1915, p.3.) By 1916 the financial problem was partially solved when the Federal Government agreed to grant the Mission sufficient sums of money to cover the losses incurred by unpaid bills of Indians at Alert Bay. (Columbia Coast Mission, Minutes of the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Board, meeting of August 16, 1916.)

in the rebuilt St. George's Hospital.[55] At the opening of the hospital, Chief Whonnock, of Fort Rupert, described the hospital as, "the House of Salvation and the House of Hope. Salvation for the present, and hope for the generations to come."[56]

During 1924 ten Indian chiefs sent a written request to Antle asking that the Mission set up Indian schools in the area.[57] They also asked that the Mission begin to hold church services among their people. Antle felt quite strongly about both issues because, as he stated at the Annual General Meeting of 1925, "I am aware as also are the Indians, that the Methodist Church is ready and willing to step in with both schools and services."[58] Consequently, in 1926 the Dioceses of British Columbia and New Westminster began providing services to the Indian villages.[59]

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[55]G. H. Wilson, Report to the Superintendent of the Columbia Coast Mission, 1924, quoted in Antle, "Annual Report," 1924, p.2.

[56]Chief Whonnock, "Speech of Chief Whonnock," May 17, 1925, quoted in Ibid., 1925, p.1.

[57]Ibid., p.6. The Indians had seen the work of Miss Nixon and Miss O'Brien who had opened a day school for Indians at Mamalillikala where, at their own expense, they were teaching eighteen children.

[58]Ibid., 1925, p.7.

[59]In this instance, the individual Diocese rather than the Columbia Coast Mission commenced ministrations.

The remotest area of the Mission's work with the Indians was at Kingcome, a small Indian village at the head of the twenty-five mile inlet of the same name. It was approximately four hours' sailing from Alert Bay. The Kingcome Indians did not come under the jurisdiction of the Mission until 1927.[60] This re-organization was long overdue for not only was the inlet geographically appropriate to Mission work but, more importantly, the

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[60]The Church had established a firm base in the area dating back to 1889 when, on July 6 of that year, Arthur William Corker, a lay missionary at the time, conducted a service in the village. Only one or two of the Indians spoke any English. Corker, however, was assisted by an interpreter, W. Brothie. Throughout the work among the Kwakiutl Indians the missionaries normally spoke English. The hymns, however, had been translated by the Rev. A. J. Hall, the C.M.S. priest at Alert Bay. The Rev. Hall had made frequent visits to Kingcome between the years 1889 and 1911. The first white man to settle in the area had not arrived until 1893, when Ernest Halliday was granted a quarter section homestead. He moved his family to Kingcome in 1895 aboard the S.S. Coquitlam, one of the Union Steamship's fleet. The Hallidays became very close friends with the members of the C.C.M. throughout their lives and frequently provided the comforts of home to a weary parson. A small Indian school was founded at Kingcome in 1891 by William Corker. Records indicate that up to the 1920's there were a series of unmarried female teachers who taught at the school, most of whom did not teach for more than two years. The first of these women was Edith Grace Beeching, who arrived in 1894 and travelled back and forth between Kingcome and Gilford Island on a seasonal basis. She was later assisted by Miss Christine Carleton who arrived in the following year and remained in the area until 1902. After the C.C.M. took over Kingcome the personnel continued to consist of one or two women. Miss Westburn served as Deaconess from 1927 to 1929, while during the 1930's a list of workers would include the Misses Margaret and Lucy Solomon, Miss Edith Adams, Miss Amy Wakefield, Miss Phyllis M. Arrowsmith and Miss Ruth Vivash. (Rev. C. Williams, "Record of Historical Sketches of St. George's Mission, Kingcome Inlet, B.C." [unpublished essay, Vancouver School of Theology, Archives, University of British Columbia, n.d.] pp.1-3.)

Mission had been giving medical aid to the area for a number of years.

In 1927 the Indian population was approximately three hundred persons. This figure tended to fluctuate both seasonally and from year to year. During the summers the population was usually extremely low because of the annual migration to Gilford Island for the fishing season. By late Fall, however, the village returned to its usual size, which was about 250 persons. World War II, with its accompanying work opportunities in the forest industry, brought about a sharp decline in population from which the village has never really fully recovered.

Other Indian villages which became regular points of call for the Columbia II were Fort Rupert, Harbledown Island, Gilford Island, Turnour Island and Village Island. The work at Village Island must be considered as one of the high points in the history of the Mission's work, for it was here that Miss K. J. O'Brien and Miss Nixon founded a small tuberculosis preventorium for Indian girls in 1926. The Village Island mission also included a small school for Indian children. For her efforts here, Miss O'Brien was created a Member of the British Empire in 1940. Her work with the Indians and that of the Mission in general represented a considerable change in attitude compared with that of the missionaries of the previous

century.

Missionary work among the Indians of North America has frequently been the subject of criticism. Many writers have contended that the concept of the white man's burden, instead of assisting the natives, has disrupted their former well-ordered society and introduced them to only the worst aspects of European civilization. F. E. La Violette, in The Struggle for Survival, Indian Culture and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia, applies this criticism to the nineteenth century Anglican missions in British Columbia, with his most overt example being William Duncan's experiment at Metlakatla and New Metlakatla.[61] He contends, however, that Antle and the C.C.M. missionaries of the twentieth century were a more enlightened group of men, who did not have the hypocritical approach of their predecessors.

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[61]William Duncan arrived in British Columbia in 1857 and went north to Fort Simpson, where he visited the Tsimshian Indians. He then wrote a report which listed his future objectives, the first of which was "To place all Christians, when they become wishful to be taught Christianity, out of the miasma of heathen life, and away from the deadening and enthralling influence of heathen customs." In 1862 he established a "Christian Colony" at Metlakatla, seventeen miles south of Fort Simpson. Duncan refused to give the scriptures to the Indians in their own language and he forced them to adhere to the white man's customs in dress and housing. Duncan has been described as a megalomaniac and it was inevitable that he would come into conflict with the Church authorities. After eight years of disagreement with Bishop Ridley of Caledonia, Duncan moved his colony to Alaska in 1887. (Peake, The Anglican Church, pp.15-18)

When Antle first sailed up the coast in 1904 he considered the two most pressing social concerns regarding the Indians were the liquor situation and the problem of prostitution.[62] He was certainly eager to reform the Indians' habits in these matters, but it is important to note that both of these problems were introduced by the white man. They were not inherent Indian customs.

During the 1930's, both Antle and his successor, Greene sided with the Indians over the question of the potlatch laws. The custom of the potlatch had been part of the Indian culture since long before the advent of the white man. During the nineteenth century the first missionaries, deeply imbued with the Protestant ethic of work (and, by that time, industrialized work), were horrified by the totally "non-Christian" custom of the potlatch, and sought to have the Federal Government curtail the practice. A law forbidding the potlatch was passed in 1884 but not a great deal was done about it in the Mission area until 1914, when the Indian agent, William Halliday, expressed concern and subsequently charged two Indians.[63]

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[62] When Antle first visited the logging camps he often found encampments of Indians who gave their women as prostitutes to the loggers in return for liquor. He was able to gain the co-operation of the logging companies in putting a stop to this practice.

[63] F. E. La Violette, The Struggle for Survival, Indian Culture and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961, p.80.

During the 1920's several Indians were charged and convicted. By the 1930's the problem had become a burning issue in the Church and several editorials on the subject can be found in The Log. In 1930 John Antle discussed the question with Dr. Duncan Scott, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Ottawa. He informed Scott that because of the illegality of potlatching, it was generally carried on in secret, but within the access of white bootleggers. The latter caused the potlatch to acquire the bad reputation which bootlegging has in the white man's society. Antle later wrote:

> ...the result is altogether to the detriment of the Indian and any work, medical, social or religious. Frankly, our sympathies are with the Indian and our hope is that the authorities will go carefully into the matter and devise some modification of the present condition. This will I am sure gain the gratitude of the Indian and the respect of the white men who know enough of the situation to fairly appreciate it.[64]

The following year Greene expressed his views more vehemently:

> The Indian has borne with a great deal of patience an outrageous attack on his liberty scarcely equalled in the annals of British colonialism. The Indian is asking for a modification of the law which will allow

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[64]"The Potlatch," The Log, I, New Series, No. 2 (1930), p.13.

> him to use such of his old customs which are not contrary to what we call our civilization, and I am on the side of the Indian and will do my best to see that he gets what he is asking for.[65]

Despite the feeling of the missionaries in the field the Church did not recommend any repeal or amendment to the Act and the law was not repealed until 1951.[66]

In summary, the major emphasis of the work of the Columbia Coast Mission among the Indians was social and medical rather than spiritual. The Anglican missionaries brought practical Christianity to the Kwakiutl and more often than not took the side of the Indian in any conflict with white civilization.

Assessment of Antle and His Work

In 1936 Antle retired from the Columbia Coast Mission and was succeeded as Superintendent by Allan Greene. By 1936 the Mission itself was a living monument to its founder. The three hospitals, the ships and the forty Mission workers were a far cry from the sloop-rigged vessel in which Antle had sailed northward in 1904. To account for his success completely would be difficult. There is

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[65] Ibid., II, New Series, No. 5 (1931), p.3.

[66] La Violette, The Struggle for Survival, p.96.

no doubt that he was the right man at the right time in the right place. In 1904 the coast required a "John Antle." By 1936 the need on a long-term basis was not as great. Antle, however, did have a great many qualities which contributed to making him a great missionary. He was an extremely dedicated man, able to make the best use of the good years, and able to ride out the storms of the bad years in the history of the Columbia Coast Mission. He was also very persistent. As a result of this quality he usually obtained his desired objective. His fund-raising campaigns and his dealings with the Government over the liquor trade both exemplified this trait. Antle was also a very frank individual. He always said what he believed was right and although this made him some enemies it also won the respect of thousands of people. He once said to Allan Greene, "Greene, I think there's something wrong with the man who has made no enemies."[67]

Although not an easy man to get along with, Antle was a good leader. He had the important asset of being able to choose good subordinates. He was also always ready to praise good works, but quite capable of making his feeling known about poor work to the individual concerned. He also had another good supervisory quality: he was able to maintain an excellent knowledge of an

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[67]"Dropping the Pilot," The Log, VI, New Series, No. 7 (1936), p.3.

individual's work without appearing to be keeping a constant surveillance on the employee. Of this characteristic, Allan Greene commented:

> If his work is marked by carelessness or plain laziness, if it is marked by pitiful unsuitability for the job in hand, sooner or later Mr. Antle will come to know about it, and then, but not until then, has he had us on the carpet. Some of his staff, whose work seemed far from happy or effective, have felt the rebukes of the Chief very keenly, because there was a very accurate knowledge of just what had happened.[68]

However, perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of John Antle was his immense sense of practicality. In 1930 a journalist, Robson Black wrote: "Antle is a Minister not a 'preacher' because the work doesn't need one. He ministers unto them and is ten hours in the practise of christianity to one in enunciating its principles."[69] Herein, surely, lies the basis of Antle's success. From the earliest days of the Mission he felt that the only way to cater to the spiritual needs of his people was to also provide them with the apparently more practical social and medical needs. It was this philosophy that he pursued until his retirement.

Upon Antle's retirement the Daily Colonist wrote:

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[68] Ibid.

[69] "The Skipper of the Columbia," Ibid., I, New Series, No. 1 (1930), p.5.

> He is the "Grenfell" of the Pacific Coast and it may be that if the labours of the two men were weighed in balance there would be little to choose in the services that each has rendered to humanity. They have both been imbued with that spirit which places love of their fellow men among the practical evidences of christianity, and rightly nobly they have performed their respective tasks in the fact of difficulties that often appeared insurmountable.[70]

The temptation to compare Antle and Grenfell is certainly great, but perhaps not totally fair, for in terms of size and publicity the Grenfell Mission must surely come out ahead. Both Missions filled a similar need but the Mission operated by Grenfell on the Atlantic coast was able to work on a much larger scale due to considerably better finances. Certainly part of that success was a result of the social background and personality of both Sir Wilfred Grenfell and his wife, but the main factor was that the Grenfell Mission remained non-sectarian. The sometimes rather parochial attitude of the Board of the Columbia Coast Mission was probably the greatest hindrance to the work of John Antle. Nevertheless, Antle must still be considered as one of the great marine missionaries of North America.

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[70]"Rev. John Antle," Daily Colonist, June 4, 1936, p.7.

THE WORK OF THE REV. ALLAN GREENE

Spiritual Work prior to 1936

The C.C.M.'s second Superintendent, Allan Greene, who held the position from 1936 to 1959, probably had as much influence on the spiritual work of the Mission as Antle had had on the medical work. Greene first joined the Mission in 1911 as a student missionary from Wycliffe College, University of Toronto. John Antle gave him a small launch, the Eirene and he spent the summer visiting the islands in the southern sector of the Mission area. Two years later he returned as a permanent member of staff. In 1914, however, he joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force as a chaplain and subsequently served in France for three years. In 1919 Greene rejoined the Mission and served it for the next forty years.

From the outset, Allan Greene was far more interested in the spiritual work of the Mission than in the medical. Therefore Antle, who had emphasized the latter at the expense of the former, gave Greene almost complete charge of the spiritual ministrations with special attention to be paid to settlers.[1]

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[1] To be fair to Antle, it must be noted that during World War I it was very difficult to obtain priests. The Rev. C. C. Hepburn had left the Mission in 1915 to go

The growth of settlement on many of the islands, notably Cortez and Quadra was sufficient to warrant increased emphasis on spiritual work.[2] Whaletown, Herriot Bay, Quathiaski Cove and Manson's Landing all showed signs of permanent settlement. In fact, two years before Greene's return, the Rev. Fred Comely, who skippered the Governor Musgrave from his headquarters at Quathiaski Cove, had built St. John's, the Mission's first church, in that settlement.

Other factors prompted more spiritual work with the settlers. Antle felt that since there were not enough clergy to look after everybody, settlers with children should receive priority over single loggers. Additionally, the logging camps were increasingly becoming filled with Europeans who had come to Canada a few years earlier in

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overseas. Furthermore, the ships Governor Musgrave and Columbia II were not adequate to cover the vast expanse of the Mission area and Antle found it increasingly difficult to find competent men to operate the large Columbia II. In fact, it was necessary to tie up the ship for four months in 1917 while Antle was in eastern Canada on a fund-raising campaign. Further problems with the Columbia II occurred on October 31, 1917 when the ship struck Escape Reef in Johnstone Strait and incurred 863 dollars damage after pounding on the rocks for three hours.

[2]The following statistics represent the number of names of people listed in the Greater Victoria Directory and Vancouver Island Gazette for 1914. To estimate the actual population a multiplication factor of three would probably be appropriate: Campbell River - 70: Cortez Island - 31; Herriot Bay - 36.

[3]Comely had first joined the Mission in 1913. In 1914 he returned to college, followed by a few months as Priest at Alert Bay until 1916 when he re-joined the Mission.

the great wave of immigration. Antle was totally in favour of supplying these men with literature and medical treatment, but felt "that the wisdom of pressing religious services upon the logger at this time is open to question."[4]

In 1919 Greene, with the Makehewi, a new Mission ship acquired in that year, was sent to Quathiaski Cove. With the Rev. H. M. Bolton as his assistant, he was initially able to do a most efficient job of the spiritual work. However, the resignation of Bolton in 1920 and a year-long tie-up of the Columbia II in 1922 created many problems. In the latter year Greene, attempting to minister to the whole Mission area singlehandedly, logged approximately five thousand miles on the Makehewi, whereas his 1921 total had been 4,500 miles.[5]

By 1923 the Makehewi was found to be inadequate for Greene's needs and arrangements were made for the construction of a new ship. On March 7, 1924 the M. S. Rendezvous went into service. This ship was well suited for her work as she could be handled by one man in all but the roughest waters. Her cabin, which could seat twelve people, was adequate for small church services.

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[4]Antle, "Annual Report," 1917, p.5.

[5]Rev. A. Greene, "Report of the Reverend Allan Greene to the Reverend John Antle for the Year 1922," (unpublished report held in the Office of the Diocese of British Columbia), p.1.

With the exception of the years previously mentioned, Allan Greene maintained a fairly regular system for visitations during the 1920's. From Quathiaski Cove he made regular ports of call at Valdes, Cortez, Hernando, Savory, Redonda, Read, Raza, Rendezvous, Stuart, Helmcken and Thurlow Islands; the coast between Campbell River and Sayward on Vancouver Island; and between Lund and Loughborough Inlet on the mainland.[6]

The missionary was usually able to see most of the people on his route only once a month. Consequently, he found it necessary to offer something more than just a church service to lure the settlers out to hear him. A typical evening often consisted of a service preceded by one hour of moving pictures.[7]

During the 1920's Greene established his position among the settlers with the construction of two churches on Cortez Island, at Whaletown in 1921 and at Squirrel Cove in 1926. The settlement which made the establishment of these churches possible created new problems for the Mission. Could the Mission, founded to look after the medical and spiritual wellbeing of people who lived in remote locations, legitimately continue its work once an

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[6] Ibid., 1924, p.1.

[7] Ibid., 1922, p.1. By 1922 the moving pictures had replaced the former supplement of lantern slides.

area had become settled? Allan Greene summed up his feelings on this question when he stated that:

> The Columbia Coast Mission is a pioneer institution. It can no longer honestly use funds which are received for pioneer work to maintain settled work like Powell River, Quathiaski and Cortez Island, while large areas in which pioneer work might be done, such as North and West of Vancouver Island, and the Northern mainland, remain untouched.[8]

At the Annual Meeting of February 1921 John Antle echoed Greene's words when he said that in eastern Canada he had found that many people felt that it was wrong that the M.S.C.C. should grant more money to the C.C.M., which operated in reasonable proximity to Vancouver, than to some of the large missionary dioceses of the west and north-west.[9] Antle failed to persuade the Board to put Quathiaski and Cortez Island under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of British Columbia, in the same way that Powell River had been made a self-supporting parish within the Diocese of New Westminster early in 1921.[10]

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[8] Ibid., 1920, p.1.

[9] Antle, in fact, recommended that the Columbia Coast Mission in the future raise all its funds from western Canada. This action would have meant refusing aid from the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society. His suggestion was not acted upon.

[10] Columbia Coast Mission, Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board, meeting of February 17, 1922.

Some furthering of pioneer work was carried out in 1923 after a July voyage of the Columbia II with Bishop Schofield on board to the north west coast of Vancouver Island. A subsequent Board decision extended Mission work as far as San Josef where, by this time, there were a considerable number of settlers.[11]

The problem of pioneer work versus settlement was one which increased throughout the Mission's history. To some extent, the Mission made the situation worse by building churches and thus giving local residents a definite religious center. This method was quite different from the Roman Catholic Church, which usually avoided building churches among white settlers and instead continued the practice of allowing itinerant missionaries to visit their people.

Other Marine Missions

A second problem which both Greene and his predecessor encountered was competition from other Christian Churches. Antle's success with the medical work of the Mission was due in part to the previous complete absence of medical facilities. Such was not the case with the spiritual work, as both the Presbyterians, the Methodists

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[11]Antle, "Annual Report," 1923, p.1.

and, to a lesser extent, the Roman Catholics were very active in this area.[12]

From an Anglican point of view, the First World War had the potential of being a golden opportunity for church work for in October 1914 the Presbyterian missionaries, who had considerably less financial backing than

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[12]The most well known of the other missions was probably "the Good Samaritan Navy" of the United Church. This enterprise developed after 1927 from separate missions originally started by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. In the early days both the Anglican and United Churches operated in much the same area and tended to compete with each other to some extent. Such duality, however, has now evolved to the point where the two missions share an airplane to do their work. By 1927 the amalgamated United Church was operating in five different areas with five mission ships. The Rev. S. Redman operated the William Oliver out of Alert Bay; the Rev. G. Ridland, the Edward White from Cape Mudge; the Rev. C. E. Molta, Broadcaster, on the west coast of Vancouver Island; George Pringle, Sky Pilot, out of Vananda; and the Rev. R. C. Scott, the Thomas Crosby (Pringle, In Great Waters, p.37). The Pentecostal Church ran a mission at the north end of Vancouver Island from 1951 onwards, while the Roman Catholic Church established itself early on the west coast of Vancouver Island, in 1874, with the founding of the Nootka Mission by the Rev. A. J. Brabant. During the 1950's the Catholics operated the Sea Queen out of Friendly Cove, while in 1963 they launched the Star of the Sea, which served a three hundred mile area including Simoon Sound, Alert Bay, Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Sointuala, Minstrel Island, South Bentinck, Namu and Klemtu ("Archdiocesan Boat Blessed to Serve Coast Mission," B.C. Catholic, November 21, 1963, p.1.). Finally, the Shantymen's Association must be mentioned. The Association is inter-denominational and was formed in 1908 to bring the Gospel to out-of-the-way places. They have served the west and north coasts of Vancouver Island with a hospital at Nootka and a series of mission boats called Messenger. The most recent form of transportation, however, is a camper bus, Messenger IV.

the Anglicans, left the whole coastal area except for Powell River. The Columbia Coast Mission was then allowed to use the church at Powell River once a month in order to minister to the followers of the Anglican faith among the fourteen hundred Powell River Paper Company workers.[13] In 1919, with the return of the Presbyterian missionaries, the Anglicans showed concern over "intrusions" and instructed the Bishop of New Westminster to meet with the head of the Presbyterian missions to establish some jurisdictional boundaries.[14] An agreement was not immediately forthcoming and by the end of 1920 the Presbyterians had six missionaries in the area.[15]

Nevertheless, in 1921 a committee on co-operation between the two Churches was formed. The result of this committee's deliberations was that the Presbyterians would look after the spiritual work in the logging camps and the C.C.M. would look after the majority of settlers.[16]

In 1922 a Methodist minister, the Rev. George Pringle on the Sky Pilot began to work out of Vananda.

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[13]Antle, "Annual Report," 1915, p.1.

[14]Columbia Coast Mission, Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, meeting of November 10, 1919.

[15]Columbia Coast Mission, Minutes of the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Board, meeting of September 7, 1921.

[16]Columbia Coast Mission, Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board, meeting of February 25, 1921.

He placed most of his emphasis on the area to the south at the expense of Rock Bay and Sayward, two centres which the Presbyterians had undertaken to look after. At the Annual Meeting of 1922 Allan Greene mentioned this potential field to the Board and recommended that the Columbia Coast Mission move into the Sayward area which, by this time, had a population of 275.[17]

In 1924 Greene indicated that relations between the two Missions had become more stable:

> We each try to cover a distinct field, and we are each doing our best by the people in our respective fields, with the understanding that each is free to visit the other man's territory in the interests of his particular church people.[18]

By 1925 a church hall had been constructed at Sayward and the Mission was sharing the building with the Methodist Church. The Presbyterians and Methodists never did compete with the Columbia Coast Mission as far as medical services were concerned, for their hospitals were further north in such places as Bella Bella.[19]

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[17] Greene, "Report to Antle," 1922, p.2.

[18] Ibid., 1924, p.2.

[19] There was no duplication of work among the Indians. The unwritten rule had always been that the first Church to minister to the Indians in a given area should continue to do so. In general the Anglicans tended to look after the central area, while the Roman Catholics were based on southern Vancouver Island and the United Church was north of Vancouver Island.

In 1927 the Presbyterian and Methodist Marine Missions combined as a result of the establishment of the United Church of Canada. The union produced an exceptionally well-organized mission, which was to become almost as famous as the Columbia Coast Mission itself.

The Phasing Out of Mission Hospitals

A few months after Greene was appointed Superintendent of the Mission in 1936, he wrote:

> In no sense did I attempt to play the "new broom," in fact I found the old brooms still functioning very satisfactorily and perhaps all I have attempted in this first year of my superintendency has been to renovate them a bit and insure greater effectiveness in their manipulation.[20]

Despite the content of his initial report, Greene's superintendency proved very different from Antle's. His Mission experience had been totally with spiritual work and it was perhaps normal that this aspect of Mission work gradually took precedence over medical work. More significantly, by the outbreak of World War II the need for medical work by the Mission had decreased greatly. Improved transportation facilities made possible easy

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[20] Rev. Allan Greene, "Annual Report of the Superintendent to the Board" (unpublished report held in the Office of the Diocese of British Columbia), 1936, p.3.

access to the Vancouver hospitals and communities such as Alert Bay had reached a sufficient size to make local jurisdiction over hospitals a possibility.

The chain of events which led to the closure of St. Michael's Hospital, Rock Bay in 1945 had its beginnings in the late 1920's, but only reached fruition during the latter part of the War. Immediately prior to 1930 the Mission had been anticipating a possible closure of logging operations at Rock Bay with the withdrawal of the Hastings Mill Company from the area. The Merril, Ring and Wilson Logging Company stepped into the void and Rock Bay received a temporary new lease of life. The many shutdowns during the 1930's were largely due to the adverse effects of the Depression but by the early 1940's log depletion became a major problem.

In the Fall of 1940 the Merril, Ring and Wilson Logging Company ceased operations, thus causing a considerable loss of income from the "Dollar a Month" scheme. A number of other smaller companies continued to operate in the area but Greene found that in many cases it was difficult to persuade the loggers to give the Mission financial support. Many loggers apparently had been put off by some minor case of inefficiency at the hospital. Greene felt quite bitter about the whole matter and stated in his report for 1941:

> It is disconcerting to have a group of men refuse to go on contract because of some trivial failure on the part of the hospital staff to give them 100 per cent service. If they are unfortunate enough to be seriously injured, these same men demand of their Company and of us, immediate medical care at this or other hospitals, all because they are paying one cent a day per working day for Workmen's Compensation Board Medical Services.[21]

In fact, the Rock Bay Hospital ran at a loss of 3,500 dollars during 1940 and Greene warned that if that situation continued the hospital would have to be closed.[22]

Despite the problems with the logging camps, Greene believed St. Michael's could still serve a useful purpose because there were some twelve hundred people living within a thirty-five mile radius of Rock Bay. There were two factors, however, of which Greene did not take account. When the Rock Bay hospital was first built the only mode of water transportation to Vancouver was the Union Steamship Company's rather infrequent ferry runs. By 1941, there were many scheduled ferries on the coast, as well as aircraft,

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[22]Greene, "Annual Report," 1941, p.4.

[23]"St. Michael's Hospital," The Log, X, New Series, No. 7 (1941), p.3.

which were available in an emergency.[24] Furthermore, many of the "1200 people" lived within access of hospitals at Powell River and Campbell River.

In 1944, despite an increase in logging activity, there was a further financial setback when construction was completed on the air strips in the area. At the same time, the Air Force completed construction of a hospital at Hardy Bay, thus creating a second reduction in the number of available patients.[25]

Early in 1944 an attempt had been made to offset these problems by using part of the hospital at Rock Bay as a chronic care institution. Patients admitted under this category were subsidized by the Provincial Government or paid for the services directly to the Mission. Rock Bay, however, was not a satisfactory site for such an undertaking as it was almost impossible for relatives

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[24] In the early days the Union Steamship Company had run three ferries a week into the Mission area. These ships, the Camosun, the Venture and the Chelohsin made stops at Campbell River, Alert Bay, Quathiaski and Port Hardy (Union Steamship Company, Ferry Schedule, 1913). By 1937, however, the Venture was making one trip a week to the northern section of the Mission area with forty-four stops on the way from Vancouver to Rivers Inlet. Stops on the return trip were made at O'Brien Bay, Simoon Sound, Minstrel Island, Soderman's Camp, Port Hardy, Port Neville, Sayward and Rock Bay. In the southern area, the Chelohsin and the Cheakamus each made trips three times a week (Union Steamship Company, Sailing Guide, Vancouver Sun Publishing Company, 1937).

[25] Greene, "Annual Report," 1944, p.6.

of patients to visit. After a considerable amount of soul-searching by the Board and the Superintendent, the Columbia Coast Mission decided, in 1945, to sell the old hospital to a group of sportsmen who wished to use the building as a fishing lodge.[26]

During the war years St. George's at Alert Bay was the most prosperous of the Mission's hospitals. Its success was in considerable part a result of increased logging operations in the area, as well as large amounts of wartime construction. In 1941 a new eight-bed men's ward had been built at a cost of 6,100 dollars and by 1942 fifty-two households or individuals belonged to the Alert Bay Sick Benefit Hospital's Association. A similar organization had been started at Pender Harbour. Both had the firm support of the Superintendent of the Mission, who felt that such community spirit gave the potential patients of the hospital a sense of belonging to the hospital.[27] By 1946 it had become obvious that

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[26] Ibid., 1945. The author visited the old hospital in the summer of 1970. The building still stood, though it was rather obscured by the prolific growth of trees around it. The only inhabitants were a group of "hippies" who had taken over one of the wards and the hospital kitchen. Very few reminders of Mission days remained except that upstairs in the chapel a Bible dated 1928 was lying on a table, and in a shed outside there were several old files of medical records which, upon examination, indicated that venereal disease was one of the most frequently treated ailments.

[27] Ibid., 1942, p.5. Contract rates were $1.25 for single people, $2.50 for married couples, $3.00 for families.

Alert Bay was indeed a permanent settlement. The Mission, consistent with previous policy in the sphere of spiritual welfare, felt that the community could run the hospital itself.[28]

A society was formed which represented the major logging interests in the area and the hospital was thereupon leased to the Society for a period of fifty years. Under the terms of the agreement 36,000 dollars was raised by the Society, 20,000 dollars of which was to be spent upon the buildings and purchase of equipment. 5,000 dollars was to be given to the Columbia Coast Mission in order to compensate for stores and equipment and to settle outstanding accounts of patients.[29] The hospital, leased to the St. George's Hospital Society, was incorporated on January 1, 1947 thus ending the Mission's jurisdiction over what had been one of its most successful enterprises.

The Columbia Coast Mission's decisions to close down the Rock Bay Hospital and to relinquish direct con-

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[28]Alert Bay had become the natural centre for logging communities at Port McNeil, Coal Harbour, Port Hardy and Malcolm Island. It is important to note that by the late 1940's the old idea of the "logging camp" filled with men only was beginning to die. Better transportation resulted in the establishment of more permanent towns to which workers could bring their families.

[29]Greene, "Annual Report," 1946, p.6.

trol of the Alert Bay hospital represented a considerable change in the work of the Mission, a change which gave rise to a degree of criticism by some members of the Board and other Mission supporters who felt that somehow the Mission was "abandoning ship." In his Annual Report for 1946, Allan Greene countered such criticism:

> With all these changes, I suggest that any thoughtless suggestions or remarks that the Mission is falling to pieces should end. We still have the biggest single Missionary task there is to be done in either of the Dioceses concerned, and are doing it...It has settled down, perhaps more solidly than before to the task of frontier evangelism and Social Service, and as long as we are alive to our opportunities, there is no question whatever that the church will support us. It is when the patient gives up hope that the medical world begins to despair of survival.[30]

The Mission's third hospital, St. Mary's, Pender Harbour, suffered considerably during the Second World War from a shortage of doctors.[31] This problem led in

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[30] Ibid.

[31] During World War II the Mission found it almost impossible to keep doctors as many of them joined the forces. In 1941 Dr. David Ryle, who had been with the Mission for eleven years, left to join the Royal Canadian Air Force. Losses of this nature were by no means confined to the doctors. Also resigning in 1941 was the Rev. J. D. Addison, who had served as chaplain aboard the John Antle. Addison joined the Canadian Navy as a combatant officer. Allan Greene himself again became Captain the Rev. Allan Greene, Chaplain, 85th Battery, R.C.A. and paid frequent visits to the artillery base at York Island.

turn to large deficits in the hospital budget. However, by 1946 it appeared as though the Pender Harbour Hospital Society would keep step with Alert Bay and take over the hospital from the Mission. An agreement had been made whereby the Hospital Society would spend 15,000 dollars on a staff residence, thus creating eight more beds in the hospital itself. The hospital was to have then been transferred to the Society on October 1, 1946, but the Society was able to raise only 5,000 dollars. Thus, the transfer was temporarily postponed. Nevertheless, efforts to raise money for the construction of the nurses' residence proceeded quickly and in 1948 the residence was constructed at a cost of 19,000 dollars.[32] At the same time, the Hospital Society decided to leave the hospital under the jurisdiction of the Columbia Coast Mission. Two years earlier Greene had advised:

> ...we should go very slowly before we consider handing over the hospital to the Pender Harbour Hospital Society, unless they can absolutely assure us that they are in a position to finance its operations indefinitely and create a Hospital Board that will really function; and I further offer my opinion that from the standpoint of the Church throughout Canada, our Mission should continue to operate this its only hospital as St. Mary's with its

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[32] Ibid., 1948, p.8. Construction was financed in the following manner: Pender Harbour Hospital Society raised $11,000; provincial grant provided $5,000; Columbia Coast Mission, $1,000; M.S.C.A., $2,000.

> chapel and the adjacent homes for the aged is a unique undertaking, and its practical demonstration of the Church at work along medical, social and spiritual lines. I am jealous of the Mission keeping up at least this section of its 42 years of medical services together with that of the Hospital ship "Columbia." It has been my privilege to minister to the sick in this hospital and I feel that here if anywhere a work of healing to both body and soul has been accomplished.[33]

On January 1, 1949 the one remaining hospital received a considerable boost with the introduction of Provincial Hospital Insurance. Under the new scheme the Government covered the hospital costs of all those who had joined the scheme.

By the early 1950's the need for Mission participation in the operation of the hospital became doubtful. A road was completed from Sechelt to Pender Harbour and moreover, many patients were flown to Vancouver for treatment. The C.C.M., therefore, withdrew entirely from the field of hospital work.

Despite the abandonment of the three hospitals the Mission had certainly not become totally preoccupied with spiritual ministrations. In the early 1940's a decision was made to build a number of cottages at Pender Harbour in which pensioners could live. In 1944

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[33] Ibid., 1946, p.4.

land adjacent to St. Mary's Hospital, on which there already existed three residences, was purchased for the sum of ten thousand dollars and subsequently a fourth building was constructed on the property.[34] The homes were open to those of old age pension age without the means to support themselves. These people could rent a home for only five dollars per month, a fee that was enough to cover insurance costs, minor repairs, provincial taxes and the wages of a maintenance man.[35]

In 1949 a clubhouse was built near the homes and was used by the old folks, Teen Town, and various local auxiliairies. Harold Auchinleck, the long-time cook on the Columbia II was placed in charge of the clubhouse, but unfortunately he died that same year, at the age of seventy.

A further feature of Mission work was added in

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[34] Ibid., 1944, p.5. Monies came from the M.S.C.C. and the Women's Auxiliary.

[35] Ibid., 1950, p.7. Eventually six homes were constructed and were named after prominent workers in the Mission. These included T. F. Barton, Ben Drew, W. P. Egerton (all secretaries in the Mission); Comely-Monk House, after Fred Comely and Caroline Monk; Howard House after Howard Maynard, who was killed in World War II; Miles House after Walter Miles, who served on the Management Board in Victoria. Immediate relatives of these people usually gave some funds towards the construction of the homes but perhaps the biggest contribution came from the Women's Auxiliary at St. Mary's, Kerrisdale, which donated over four thousand dollars.

1946 when a clinic was built at Whaletown. The chief instigator behind this venture was the Rev. Rollo M. Boas, who had joined the Mission two years earlier. Clinics were held on the second Friday of every month by Dr. N. Bathurst Hall or Dr. Philip Margetts of Campbell River. The doctors were picked up at Herriot Bay by Boas in the Rendezvous and taken on the thirty-five foot vessel to Whaletown. The clinic doubled as a medical and dental service centre and "by a happy coincidence, Kay Boas was a trained nurse working for a dentist before her marriage. This may have had something to do with her magic knack of being in the right place at the right time as she managed to fulfill a threefold role in the clinic as receptionist, nurse and dental assistant."[36] After the death of John Antle in 1949, this clinic was renamed the John Antle Memorial Clinic.

Mission Ships

Although the Mission had withdrawn from hospital work by the early 1950's, medical work continued until the mid 1960's on the Columbia. In a sense the Mission ships provided a bridge between the medical and spiritual aspects of the Mission's work as they were to some extent involved with both functions. The Rendezvous and the

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[36]Greene, "Annual Report," 1946, p.3.

John Antle I have already been briefly mentioned. The latter ship was followed by four ships of the same name. The flagship, of course, was the Columbia II. Because this ship was so well known to the public, she gave the false impression during the early 1950's that the Mission's primary function was a medical one.

During the 1930's the ship, based at Alert Bay, served as a hospital ship for St. George's Hospital. Her regular patrol often included some ninety points of call. Places such as Village Island, New Vancouver, Meny Island Lighthouse, Bull Harbour, Kelsey Bay, Sointula, Hardy Bay, Cape Scott, O'Brien Bay and Kingcome Inlet were all regular stopping points. A careful study of a longer list of points of call would show that they included Indian villages, settlements on the islands, lighthouses, logging camps, and floating villages.[37]

The Columbia II was also used for other purposes: during 1938 she was used in fire-fighting service in the Leobauer Inlet and in 1939, crowded with school children, she sailed to Vancouver in order that they might see King George VI and Queen Elizabeth on their royal tour of Canada.

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[37] In 1939, which was a fairly typical operating year for Columbia II, her mileage was 17,034 miles, of which 3,874 were a result of S.O.S. calls.

Probably the best illustration of the Columbia II's activities is a first-hand account of a typical voyage on the ship and some of the daily routine involved. Charles Defieux, a newspaper man, made such a voyage during the spring of 1939 and described his trip in the Vancouver Sun:

> MONDAY, May 15 - Cleared Alert Bay, 9 a.m., for Telegraph Cove, across Johnstone Strait, to see Mrs. M., who had called for a doctor. Chaplain paid calls ashore. North through Blackfish Sound across the chop and long ground-swells of Queen Charlotte Strait to Blunden Harbor. Indians having gone to Deserters Island to fish, "Columbia" continued to Allison Harbor, there to visit the Belhams before heading into Seymour Inlet. Met Dewey Spencer's freighting gasboat in narrow tree-lined Schooner Passage and took aboard an injured logger bound for Alert Bay and suffering from a broken rib. The logger, rigging slinger from Erickson's Camp, was duly taped up. He will remain aboard and go back to his camp. Through the famous rapids now, the gap of a little more than 200 yards, only entrance to a network of waterways which have a total coastline of more than 1,000 miles. With the tides at their strongest, the current flows through at more than 20 knots.
>
> The inside waterway might well be likened to a fork, although the prongs bend further outward and wind so that their tips are but a few miles apart by airline. Capt. MacDonald turns up the centre prong, Nugent Sound, to tie up for the night at Zoney's Camp, stopping en route to the head of the sound at Johnson & Kingrey's floating camp - all camps are on floats.
>
> The "Columbia" has to wait for 30 minutes while Zoney's camp finishes moving to a new location and mooring lines made secure. The long medical case there, an

infected hand, had already been given excellent first aid attention by Mrs. Runyon, sister of Mrs. Zoney.

TUESDAY, May 16 - Back down Nugent Sound, marked by a pleasant hour with the Frank Jenkinsons at their camp and into Seymour Inlet with stops at the Ashleys, Erickson and Maigrots. There's late magazines for all and a friendly word with the skipper, doctor, chaplain and crew. At Maigrot's Dr. Bayfield treated one man with a rib injury, aided a man with acute neuralgia, and by advice and treatment saved another camp worker the loss of a tooth. On then to the head of Seymour Inlet to the Dumaresq No. 2 camp and the gracious hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Percy Sutherland, who tell of grizzly tracks, the sighting of four swans and a school of giant blackfish. The Sutherlands came aboard for a social evening.

WEDNESDAY, May 17 - The night was marked by a heavy electrical storm, with the thunder seemingly bouncing around between the peaks lining the shore. The "Columbia" retraced her path down Seymour, with pleasant calls at Curley Hope's, Bruno Shonan's, the Stone's, and along the base of the fork to ascent the northern prong, Belize Inlet, branching off into lagoon-like Allison Sound, and an overnight stay at the main Dumaresq camp, where the fine hospitality of the country was expressed this time by the Dumaresq brothers. Doctor Bayfield treated several loggers suffering from minor ailments. The men came almost en masse to exchange magazines.

THURSDAY, May 18 - the "Columbia" moved back to the rapids, making a call on Mrs. Ettinger en route. Again the "Columbia's" supply of magazines was called on. Out through the rapids, although for a time "Columbia" was almost at a stalling point bucking the ten-knot incoming tide. Out to sea and

across open Queen Charlotte Sound to Pine Island, where the only residents, Les Smith, light keeper, and his assistant, Hector Fowler, lowered a boat by tackle and came out over the swells for magazines and a welcome chat. With them came Mickey, their fox terrier. "Columbia" saw them safely back on their rocky home again and continued across the sound to visit Mr. and Mrs. Jones, storekeepers at Cascade Bay, fishermen there, and Mrs. Cholberg, who required medical treatment.

Out to sea again, and this time a call at Nahwitti, the Indian village on Hope Island, where an Indian man and woman came out in dugout canoes to see the doctor and also to get reading matter. A large and playful blackwhale gave the "Columbia" escort part of the way to Bull Harbor at the extreme northern tip of Vancouver Island. Bull Harbor, on Nigel Island, is a fishing base for trollers and halibut men and site of the large wireless station.

The doctor, padre, engineer and your correspondent went ashore by rowboat to visit the wireless station staff and walk on the ocean beach. An enjoyable stay with Mr. and Mrs. Ward, Mr. and Mrs. McDonald and Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd was curtailed by receipt of an emergency message. A logger at Morrison's Camp, Forward Bay, 40 miles south of Alert Bay, had cut his foot badly.

There was no sleep for the skipper and engineer. The motors drove the "Columbia" through the night to reach Forward Bay before 8 a.m. The logger was speedily taken aboard and examined by Dr. Bayfield and was in his hospital bed at St. George's Hospital, of the Columbia Coast Mission, Alert Bay, three hours later.

A short stay for lunch at Alert Bay and the "Columbia" made the short trip to nearby Sointula and Port McNeill, where

> the doctor and padre made their rounds. Late afternoon saw the "Columbia" back at Alert Bay to rest until Sunday, when plans call for her to return to Bull Harbor and work southwards from there, ministering to fishermen, loggers and others at Shusartie, Deserters Island, Hardy Bay, Fort Rupert and other places.[38]

Despite the good work done by the Columbia II she was, on occasion, the object of criticism. Some believed that she was not used extensively enough to further the spiritual side of the Mission's work. In 1936 the ship's chaplain, the Rev. Henry Dance, resigned "because he feels in all honesty that he could not satisfy his holding such a position when he was unable to carry out adequately his religious duties by the people in the Columbia's territory."[39] Superintendent Greene readily understood Dance's feelings, explaining, "I want the people concerned to regard this ship as they do the "John Antle" and the "Rendezvous," as a bearer of ministrations, medical, social and spiritual, and I hesitate to allow the ship to become purely an itinerant hospital ship."[40] Despite the good intentions of the Rev. Greene, the massive distances involved, the type of people in the area, and an exceptional number of

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[38]"With the Columbia Coast Mission," Vancouver Sun, May 27, 1939, p.7.

[39]Greene, "Annual Report," 1936, p.10.

[40]Ibid., p.11.

emergency calls all contributed to the failure of the Columbia II to fulfill the spiritual side of the Mission's function.

Another major problem with the ship was the cost of her upkeep. By 1940 Columbia II was thirty years old and, being made of wood, she needed extensive work done on the hull.[41] Greene mentioned this problem in his Annual Report for 1941, then continued in his ever-optimistic manner:

> ...a wealthy friend could, with the signing of his pen, divert for this purpose enough of his capital to assure us of building a first class all-weather vessel. To do this properly would cost us $50,000 and yet that investment would guarantee us a ship good for another 25 years' useful service.[42]

Greene's wish, however, was not to be fulfilled!

The size of the ship also created problems as she needed a minimum crew of five and this in itself posed staffing problems, especially during the War. A more serious consequence of the Columbia II's size was the ever-present possibility of the Mission appearing too

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[41]The work was not started until March 4, 1948, when the Columbia II ran aground on a reef at Warner Bay in Seymour Inlet. She was subsequently towed 240 miles to Vancouver where the seriously damaged hull was repaired ("M.S. Columbia," The Log, XVI, No. 2 (1948), p.2.).

[42]Greene, "Annual Report," 1941, p.3.

ostentatious and thus failing in spiritual work with many people, whereas success might have followed the visits of a smaller boat. The crew of the Columbia II worked as a self-contained unit and while this proved advantageous in medical work it probably did not in spiritual work as it often prevented the Mission from mixing with settlers on an individual basis.

In the opinion of Ernest Antle, son of the founder of the Mission, the Roman Catholic Church's approach was more successful than that of the C.C.M. The Catholic priests were loath to use their own mission boats and more frequently travelled on regularly scheduled ferries or "hitched rides" with Government boats or private vessels.[43]

The only priest of the C.C.M. who followed this pattern was the Rev. Heber Greene, older brother of the Superintendent. He joined the Mission as Chaplain of the Columbia II in 1943 and remained with the Mission until his retirement in 1958. Although assigned to the Columbia II, Greene spent much of his time travelling on foot at the northern end of Vancouver Island. He took a great interest in all people and as a result many people on the Island claimed him as a personal friend. As such, he was a most successful priest. On his retire-

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[43]Antle, Interview, July 24, 1973.

ment, his brother wrote of him:

> Heber would have made a good side-kick to St. Paul, the great missionary of the early christian church, whose sea-faring and foot-slogging were so like Heber's...Mrs. Heber knew less about her husband's doings than anybody else. "Heber-hunting" became a great game for the crew of the Columbia, yet eventually he always turned up and boarded the ship.[44]

Although the Columbia II was the most publicized of the Mission's ships, the Rendezvous and the various John Antles did important work, too. During the 1930's both ships did a considerable amount of medical work but this function almost disappeared by the 1950's in favour of spiritual work. After Greene left the Rendezvous in 1936 the Rev. Cyril Venables operated the ship in the southern sector of the Mission from his head-quarters at Quathiaski Cove until 1938, when he became the full-time missionary at Alert Bay. In 1939 she was out of commission for a whole year as the Mission did not have a minister to assign to her. In 1940, however, the Rendezvous returned to her regular run with the Rev. J. D. Addison acting as captain of the vessel.

Some of the problems incurred with the John Antle I (formerly the Syrene) have already been referred to. In

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[44]"Men May Come and Men May Go," The Log, XXVI, New Series, No. 9 (1958), p.7.

1936 that ship was replaced by the Florida V, a fifty-five foot seine boat owned by B. C. Packers Limited and built by them in 1924. The new ship, renamed John Antle II began operating out of Pender Harbour. Until 1937 she was captained by the Rev. Dr. T. Lane Connold, who had a crew of two. Dr. Connold had joined the Mission in 1934, taking charge of St. Mary's Hospital, Pender Harbour. His qualifications as an ordained minister and a medical doctor made him especially suitable for Mission work.

During 1936 Dr. Connold and his crew in the John Antle II made regular runs to Jervis and Sechelt Inlets, Halfmoon Bay and the Ballenas Island and Sisters' Rock Lighthouses. They also took a regular monthly run into the territory of the Rendezvous, including stops at Cortez, Read, Maurello, Sonora and Stuart Islands.[45]

During the tie-up of the Rendezvous in 1939, the John Antle II took over much of her route. Consequently, the work of the latter vessel became, in Greene's opinion, spread far too thinly. Furthermore, the John Antle II always posed a serious financial problem to the Mission because of the nature of her work and because of the type of people she served. The first problem was caused by the extensive medical work done by the ship, but with no regular grant from the Provincial

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[45]Greene, "Annual Report," 1937, p.9.

Government.[46] The second problem was that the earning power of the John Antle II was considerably less than that of the Columbia II. Whereas the people in the Columbia II area were usually employed as loggers or fishermen and were often reasonably well off, those in the lower section of the Mission area were mainly settlers and homesteaders on small incomes. These people often had difficulty paying their medical fees which resulted in much of the work of the John Antle II being done as charity.

In his report for 1938, Greene stated:

> I am ready to admit that even yet her work as a hospital and mission ship is somewhat experimental, and may call for careful re-adjustment, if she is to warrant the heavy annual cost incurred to keep her in operation... If I have any particular problem on my heart it is the work of the "John Antle," as I want this vessel, with its doctor and chaplain, to fully justify herself.[47]

But the following year, Allan Greene stated that the ship was too big and too slow to cover the large territory required.[48]

In 1944, the John Antle II was sold, partially

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[46] Between 1936 and 1942 the Government did give two emergency grants to the ship.

[47] Greene, "Annual Report," 1938, p.4.

[48] Ibid., 1941, p.5.

because Greene was unable to find a doctor or an engineer for the ship. The Superintendent suggested that her replacement have a threefold purpose: an ambulance, a supervisory ship for the whole Mission area and a Mission ship for evangelistic work in the John Antle patrol area.[49] Subsequently, a smaller vessel was purchased and named John Antle III.[50]

Despite the seemingly constant shifting of ships through the second half of the Mission's history, the last genuinely new ship had been the Columbia II, in 1910. In 1950 Greene stressed that large sums of money would soon be needed to replace existing vessels. He spoke in terms of 200,000 dollars, but pointed out that:

> Many city parishes are these days spending a like sum on a new church which serves a maximum figure of 2,000 souls. Our Mission, in terms of the people reached each year through spiritual and medical services touches the lives of over 10,000 people.[51]

As the 1955 Jubilee year approached, a campaign to raise funds for new ships was intensified, even

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[49] Ibid., 1944, p.8.

[50] The John Antle III, primarily used for spiritual ministrations served until 1953 when she was put into reserve and replaced with the former Western Hope of the Prince Rupert Mission, renamed John Antle IV.

[51] Greene, "Annual Report," 1950, p.7.

though there were already murmurings that an aircraft might be more appropriate. In 1956 Columbia III was launched and the old Columbia II, after forty-six years' service and 500,000 miles cruised, was finally paid off.[52]

The new ship, sixty-seven feet in length, was smaller and more economical than her predecessor had been, as she could be operated by a crew of four instead of the minimum of five which the Columbia II had required.

In 1957 a second ship was launched and was named John Antle V. This craft was built by Star Shipyard in New Westminster and launched on January 26, by Mrs. Allan Greene, who smashed a bottle over the bow, but forgot to give the new ship a name! The launching of these two ships, accompanied by great fanfare and much publicity gave the superficial impression that the Columbia Coast Mission was both prosperous and much-needed. In actual fact, such was not the case.

Problems of the 1950's

During the 1950's the Mission encountered many serious problems. The Mission had always had difficulty in recruiting priests. During the early 1940's it was a

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[52]"Old Mission Ship Columbia Recaptures Respectability," Vancouver Sun, September 24, 1964, p.9. The old ship was renamed Wayward Lady, a name later changed to Lady Valentine, owned by Eric Griffith of White Rock and berthed in Blaine, Washington.

situation that could be accepted for the duration of the War, but the problem persisted in the immediate post-war era. Apart from Heber Greene and Rollo Boas, previously mentioned, men were unwilling to stay with the Mission for more than a few months at a time.[53] In 1949 Allan Greene declared:

> I have been perturbed at the absence of enquiries from the young men in our Divinity Schools as to possible life-long work as seafaring parsons. Evidently our Canadian Youth is not sea-minded or we would be overwhelmed with applications. The religious folk we sometimes refer to as the fundamentalists turn out from their schools of religious training droves of young men and women prepared to go anywhere at nominal salaries just as long as they are privileged to preach the Gospel to the family of God. The Anglican Theological Colleges seem capable of turning out a handful of men, most of whom think of their destiny as they become rectors of well established parishes, and the foot-slogging jobs of rural parts are evidently regarded as hardly warranting their giving their whole lives to the little flocks of God's children who so often bear no brands of Churchmanship and therefore, to such men, are hardly the responsibility of their status as priests of the Church of England.[54]

This attitude, later the theme of Pierre Berton's

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[53] Included among the men who served for short periods of time with the Mission were Archdeacon Reska of Kimberley, the Rev. L.A.C. Smith, of Trail, George Lark of Wycliffe College, Toronto and John Maunsell and Dr. Victor Rogers, in 1948. (Greene, "Annual Report," 1948, pp.3-7.)

[54] Ibid., 1949, p.9.

book, The Comfortable Pew, was by 1950 far more serious than in previous years when the Mission's function had been primarily medical. Yet, during the 1950's the Mission's contributions to the northern half of Vancouver Island appeared to be significant. The Mission constructed four churches at this time: the Church of the Good Shepherd was built on Lasqueti Island in 1951, while other churches were completed at Blind Creek, Port Hardy and Sayward so that by 1957 the Mission maintained ten churches.

The very reason for the construction of the above mentioned churches was that the size of the local populations warranted them. By the late 1950's the problem which had arisen in the southern sector of the Mission area as early as the 1920's had now reached the northern sector. Could the C.C.M. continue to operate as a missionary enterprise in a settled area?[55] The Mission had two choices: expand northward by aircraft to the more remote areas of the British Columbia coast or gradually disband.[56]

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[55]Population statistics, Courtenay-Sayward area: 1921, 10,051; 1951, 17,204 (not including Comox or Campbell River). Vancouver Island North: 1921, 3,681; 1951, 7,803. (Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1951, Vol. I, Sec. 6-81, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1953.)

[56]Perhaps the only area of the Mission where true missionary work was carried out during the 1950's and 1960's was at Kingcome Inlet. From 1942 to 1954 Kingcome was ministered to by Mr. and Mrs. Ernest W. Christmas,

Further problems arose when serious staffing shortages occurred in the late 1950's. After George MacDonald's retirement as skipper of the Columbia III in 1957 and Heber Greene's retirement as chaplain, the Mission employed a series of men to fill the vacancies. In 1958 there were four captains in four months and three successive chaplains on the ship. Greene considered this problem was detrimental to the Mission's activities as it led to feelings of insecurity in the populace visited.[57]

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who travelled the Inlet in their little ship, the Gwa-Yee until 1952, when they replaced her with a thirty foot sailing vessel, the Veracity.

From 1958 to 1961 the Kingcome Mission had a minister in charge in the person of the Rev. Eric Powell, who was portrayed in Margaret Craven's book, I Heard the Owl Call My Name. By that time an arrangement had been made whereby the Kingcome Mission was sponsored jointly by the Diocese of New Westminster and the C.C.M. Eric Powell was supplied to the Mission by the Diocese while the C.C.M. provided a small ship, the Allan Greene, which was launched in 1959. Thirty-five feet in length and equipped with an eighty-five horsepower engine, the ship enabled Eric Powell's duties to be expanded to include regular visits to Indian villages at Gilford Island, Village Island, Turnour Island and New Vancouver. Powell's replacement in 1961 was a lay reader, Ron Deane, who looked after the Mission until 1963 when he was followed by the Rev. Eugene Newman Diespecker, who remained at Kingcome until 1967. Two years earlier the C.C.M. had withdrawn from Kingcome as part of its move to relinquish its medical duties. As a result the Kingcome Mission reverted back to its former position of being totally within the jurisdiction of the Diocese of New Westminster. At this time, the C.C.M. bought a new nineteen foot catamaran named the Che-Kwa-la and presented it to the Diocese for use at Kingcome. The new boat was financed from the sale of the John Antle and it replaced the Allan Greene.

[57] "Annual Report," The Log, XVI, New Series, No. 10 (1958), p.4.

It was an even more difficult task to attract doctors to the Mission. Four hundred dollars a month was a sum far below what young doctors would expect to earn. Men such as Dr. E. Mt. Joy Pierce, who resigned as ship's doctor in 1958 at an age of more than eighty years, and seventy-nine year old Dr. F. O. Gilbart did good work, but certainly could not be expected to stay with the Mission on any sort of permanent basis. Perhaps the worst year in the Mission's history as far as medical work was concerned was 1959, inasmuch as there was no doctor on board the Columbia II for most of the year.

It was appropriate that Allan Greene chose that year to retire. Although he was seventy years of age, Greene was still very active and could probably have continued doing an excellent job for a few more years, but three years previously he had given his own reasoning for the timing of his retirement:

> Rumour has it that I've retired. Not yet, my friends. There's the odd kick left in the old dog, but, if my board will tolerate me for three years more, I'll gladly make room for a younger man after 48 years of association with the C.C.M. I'd like to make it fifty for sentimental reasons, but that's unwise. So many men like to think of dying in harness, forgetting that in doing so they often drag down the wagon with them in their declining years.[58]

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[58] "Aboard the M.S. Columbia," The Log, XXV, New Series, No. 3 (1956), p.3.

CHAPTER III

THE DECLINE OF THE MISSION

The Work of the Rev. Patrick Ellis

The retirement of Allan Greene from active Mission work was much more than the end of an era. His successor, Archdeacon Patrick Ellis was a much younger and possibly more practical man. During his superintendency it was firmly recognized that the Mission had outlived its usefulness as a medical mission and, to some extent, as a spiritual mission. In fact, the Mission, which had shown symptoms of disease during the 1940's, began to fail rapidly during the 1960's until 1969 when it was finally disbanded in its marine form. During 1959 Ellis chaired a committee which undertook a full-scale evaluation of the Mission work. The committee made several recommendations to the Mission. They suggested that although there was no longer any need for medical work in the southern area of the Mission, the work done by the Columbia III in the northern sector could still be of great use. Since the Columbia III did not normally incur any debt to the Mission, her work should "continue as is until such time as a marked change in population and medical services warrant a new policy."[1] A further recommendation was made

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[1]Columbia Coast Mission, "Report of the Survey Committee" (unpublished report, Office of the Diocese of British Columbia), 1959, p.1.

to maintain the Whaletown clinic as it was operating efficiently at that time.

With regard to the spiritual work of the Mission, the committee suggested that there was no longer any need for the John Antle V to be based at Pender Harbour, as there was now a road along the Sunshine Coast all the way to Lund. They argued that a shore-based priest could maintain the work in a satisfactory manner, and they suggested that the John Antle V should join the Rendezvous II on patrol in the area surrounding Cortez Island. In support of this recommendation, the committee quoted the 1956 population statistics, which showed that in that area there were 657 families representing 2,245 people. The report went on to state that:

> These figures, of course do not represent just Anglican families, but it is our understanding that the C.C.M. visits and ministers to all people up the coast regardless of their denomination, and if this is the case this constitutes established parishes. It would appear therefore that having two men to work in this area is a genuine need.[2]

A further recommendation was one of an administrative nature: that the Mission area should be made into an archdeaconry. The report suggested that such a move:

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[2] Ibid., p.2.

> ...would give the Mission an authoritative place in the ecclesiastical set-up. The Archdeacon could hold the licence of both Bishops, reside in the area, and have the official standing to oversee the whole work of the C.C.M.[3]

The report was the first real admission by the C.C.M. itself that it would have to play a smaller role in the future.

The first change occurred in 1961 when St. Mary's Church, Pender Harbour, was transferred to the Diocese of New Westminster. The action was followed in 1964 by a decision to deed the old folks' homes and St. Mary's Hospital at Pender Harbour to the same Diocese. In return, the Diocese agreed to look after the occupants of the homes and give any monies raised from the sale of the property to the care of retired people within the Diocese.[4]

In 1965 a general reorganization of the Mission was agreed upon. A parish of Port Hardy, Port McNeill and Beaver Cove was created and as such no longer under the jurisdiction of the C.C.M. The Cortez Island clinic at Whaletown remained under the C.C.M., as did Quadra Island and Sayward, while the church at Lasqueti Island was taken over by the Diocese of British Columbia and was placed under the jurisdiction of the priest at Parksville.

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[3] Ibid., p.3.

[4] Columbia Coast Mission, Minutes of the Executive Committee, meeting of October 5, 1964, p.1.

The Columbia III remained the chief service of the Mission with a patrol running north from Cortez Island to the northern tip of Vancouver Island, including all the islands en route.[5] In 1967, however, the C.C.M. area was further reduced when Cortez Island and Quathiaski Cove were taken over by the Diocese of British Columbia.

Upon the retirement of Ellis in 1965 the Mission headquarters, which had been located at Campbell River during his superintendency, was moved to Victoria in order to reduce costs. Ellis was replaced by Archdeacon Forth and at the same time the Rev. Ivan Futter, who had served in the Canadian Army from 1939 to 1960 became the Mission's chaplain. Futter, an Englishmen who had had considerable experience at sea, was to be the dominant figure of the Mission during its last few years.[6]

In 1966 the decision was finally made that the Mission should leave the medical field for good. This decision had of course been in the making for several years but was precipitated by a report handed down to the Mission in November 1966 by the Columbia III's doctor,

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[5]Rev. Patrick Ellis, "Annual Report of the Superintendent to the Board" (unpublished report held in the Office of the Diocese of British Columbia), 1965, p.2.

[6]"Mission Ship Dedicated," Vancouver Sun, June 19, 1968, p.9. Futter, who was born in Norfolk, went to sea in 1946 and rose to the rank of Second Officer in the Atlantic Empress Fleet.

Frederick Wiegand. Wiegand pointed out that the population, which had been thought to be about 1,500 persons in the Columbia III area was in fact approximately 475 by 1966. The population of Kingcome was only 75 compared with 250 three years previously as many of the Indian families had moved to Campbell River, Alert Bay or Nanaimo.

The major factor causing a population shift in the white population had been the changing methods of the logging industry. Hand-logging had long since passed into disuse and even the A-frame logging of the 1950's, a method which had produced many small logging operations, had now given way to larger companies with their highly mechanized methods requiring very few men. A good example of the decrease in population was at Sullivan Bay where in 1957 there were twenty-one logging camps, of which five employed between forty and sixty men each. By September 1966, however, there were only five camps in the same area, the biggest of which employed about sixteen men.[7]

Dr. Wiegand considered the ever-increasing facilities of the Public Health service to be another significant factor. He commented:

> In addition to running the Indian Health Center at Alert Bay, the two Indian and Northern Health Services public health

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[7]Frederick M. Wiegand, "Report on the Medical Phase of the Columbia Coast Mission" (unpublished report, Office of the Diocese of British Columbia), 1966, p.2.

> nurses there provide public health nursing (including immunizations, vaccinations, pre-natal care, new born care, etc.) on visits once a month every month to the following outlying areas: Kingcome Village; Echo Bay; Gilford Island; Village Island;...As can be appreciated the ports-of-call listed above serve at least half of the people in the Columbia's area directly or could serve a large majority of the total population if more people who live in float houses, etc. were willing to go 5-7 miles by boat to be seen by the nurse when she came to the port-of-call nearest them. In short, the services of a competent public health nurse are readily available once a month to the great majority of people in the Columbia's patrol area any time they care to take advantage thereof.[8]

The overriding factor, however, in Wiegand's assessment of the situation was the airplane. Not only could an airplane reach any area in the Columbia III's area within a few minutes in an emergency, but also there were three regularly scheduled flights a week to several of the larger ports of call of the Columbia III. Because of this much more convenient service, more and more people in the area were relying on air services instead of the Columbia III. Air travel naturally meant more speed but also it meant a much higher quality of medical assistance was accessible. Wiegand explained in his report:

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[8] Ibid., p.3.

> The progress that has been made in medical knowledge and in medical and surgical techniques...make the facilities that are available only in a hospital mandatory for best possible patient care to anybody who has a significant accident or illness. Hence even with a doctor on board any patient that is significantly ill has to be transported to hospital in Alert Bay to get continuous medical and nursing care anyway.[9]

Thus, in 1967 the decision was made to sell the Columbia III, the magnificent ship built in the mid-1950's, in favour of a smaller and more economical vessel, suitable for spiritual ministrations only. By 1966 the Mission had sold the Allan Greene and two years previously the John Antle V had been disposed of.

On June 17, 1968 Bishop G. P. Gower dedicated the Columbia IV, forty-two feet long and capable of eleven and a half knots.[10] This ship, however, did not prove satisfactory. Her hull was not of a practical design for rough northern waters nor were her engines in good condition. Consequently, in 1969 the C.C.M. completely disbanded marine transportation and decided to co-operate with the United Church in the use of an aircraft. Thus, the suggestion proposed by Archbishop

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[9] Ibid., p.5.

[10] "Racy Chapel to Ply Coast," Daily Colonist, July 13, 1968, p.8.

Sexton as early as the 1940's finally became a reality and the role of the C.C.M. as a marine mission came to an end.

Summary and Conclusions

An assessment of the work of the Columbia Coast Mission is a difficult undertaking, in no small part created by the nature of the work itself. It is easy to add up the number of accident cases treated in a given year or even to count the number of marriage services in a parish register, but it is more difficult to ascertain what personal effect the Mission had on the lives of the many people who lived in the Mission area during the twentieth century.

There is little doubt that the medical mission of John Antle provided a necessary and useful service at least until the 1930's. His hospitals were, for many years, the only ones on the coast and with minimal transportation facilities available, were in constant use. With the growth of settlement and transportation during the 1940's and 1950's it was appropriate that the Mission should have abandoned its three hospitals at Rock Bay, Alert Bay and Pender Harbour. With the aid of hindsight, it is now possible to conclude that the Mission should not have launched the medical missionary ship Columbia III

in 1956. With several hospitals within easy reach of aircraft, it might have been more appropriate if the Mission had equipped itself with that mode of transportation at that time instead of in 1969.

The success of the spiritual work of the Mission depended greatly on the approach taken by the two Superintendents, Antle and Greene. During the early days of the Mission Antle had made little attempt to give spiritual ministrations to the loggers. He certainly held church services but he fully realized that the average man in the camp would not be very receptive to theoretical Christianity. The story is often told of the occasion when Antle was conducting a church service in a logging camp when news came that a man had been badly injured. Antle rushed from the service, still wearing his cassock and surplice and roared off in the Columbia to the scene of the accident. Later, upon returning to the camp, he apologized to a logger for not finishing his sermon. The logger replied, "Why, that was the best sermon I ever heard."

Allan Greene, on the other hand, made a considerable effort to bring spiritual ministrations to both loggers and settlers. He possibly had even less success in the logging camps than Antle, for at least Antle was considered by the loggers to be one of their

own kind. Greene, the son of an Ontarian Anglican priest found it very difficult to relate to the men. Greene, however, did have a good measure of success with the settlers who arrived in ever-increasing numbers as the years passed. He was much more of a "public relations" man than Antle had been and as a result he made a great effort to become personally acquainted with these people. For the Anglicans among them he certainly provided a necessary spiritual service. His value to the non-Anglicans is most difficult to measure. He did not convert many people to the Anglican faith, but certainly won many friends for the Church.[11]

It is difficult to assess which of the two Superintendents of the Columbia Coast Mission contributed more to the Mission, as its history is so totally interwoven with the history of the coast itself. On the surface, it would appear that Antle made the greater contribution. He founded the Mission and guided it through its formative years; moreover, in material terms he provided the coast with a much more necessary service than did Greene. Yet, it is easier to gain fame in founding an organization than it is to carry on the work in times which will inevitably destroy it. It is ironical that the man who made Antle and the Columbia Coast

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[11]The Anglican Church, unlike many other Christian Churches, makes little effort to convert people.

Mission famous throughout Canada was Allan Greene. He was far more adept at giving the Mission good publicity than was Antle. Immediately upon becoming Superintendent he went to eastern Canada and gave eighty-one addresses which were attended by a total of 22,000 people. These lectures were supplemented by a set of colour films made in 1935 about the work of the Columbia Coast Mission. Upon his return to British Columbia, where he gave a further thirty-three lectures, Greene assessed the value of this type of work when he stated that:

> It is highly desirable that the tour of Eastern points be repeated next year, and a new set of motion pictures produced, if we are to maintain the deep interest created by my recent tour. I was only one among a number of missionary deputations, but I feel that the total result of our efforts will be a strengthening of the missionary programme throughout Canada and a very definite, if indirect reaction in favour of our own work.[12]

Greene repeated his eastern trip frequently throughout his superintendency. He was also responsible for visits to the Columbia II by well-known dignitaries. These included Lord Tweedsmuir in 1939 and Earl Athlone

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[12]Greene, "Annual Report," 1936, pp.12-12. The content of the films included Indian villages, logging camp scenes, fishing boats, schools, settlements, pioneers, the work of the Columbia II, tuberculosis preventative work among the Indians, religious activities. These silent movies were supplemented by a text read by Greene. These films are still available and are held in the Church Archives, Vancouver School of Theology.

in 1941. Such visits, as well as the day-to-day activities of the Mission, resulted in very good press from the Vancouver and Victoria newspapers. Greene became well known on C.B.C. radio for his series of talks about the Mission; and in 1953 a National Film Board short movie made most of Canada aware of the Mission. The Mission thereby gained public recognition as a significant contributor to the way of life on the British Columbia coast.

Thus, Allan Greene and John Antle made their separate but equally important contributions to the success of the Columbia Coast Mission. Antle will be remembered as a great missionary pioneer, while Allan Greene must be credited for establishing the Anglican Church as a permanent institution in the coastal area of British Columbia which the Columbia Coast Mission had served.

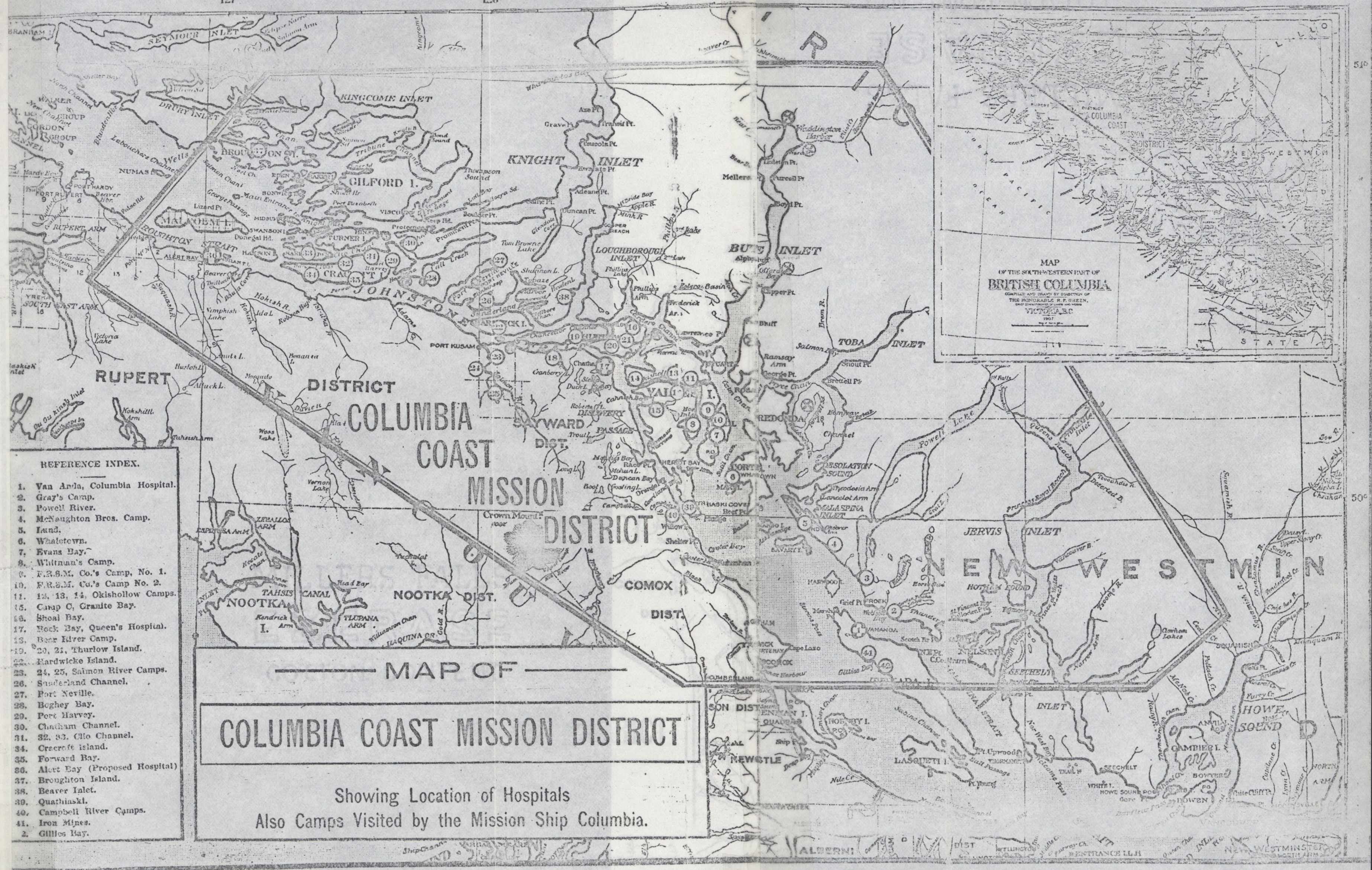

Fig. 1: The Log, IV, No. 2 (1909), pp.6-7.

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A HISTORY

OF THE

COLUMBIA COAST MISSION

Author [redacted]

Richard John Lonsdale,
August 31, 1973.