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BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF THE WEST:  
The Life of John Booth Good, 1833-1916.

by

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ABSTRACT

BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF THE WEST:

The Life of John Booth Good, 1833-1916.

John Booth Good's missionary career was set against the universal background of the Church of England's missionary experience, pre-contact Christian intrusion to the territory, and missionary exertions of other denominations. Records found in England, Nova Scotia, Washington, D.C., California, as well as in Kamloops, Lytton, Nanaimo, Yale, Vancouver and Victoria, reveal the man and his motives. The scattered locations of the records have contributed to Good's relative obscurity compared to other Anglican missionaries such as William Duncan of Metlakatla.

Good's background as an orphan set the stage for his life, leading to his association with the West family and his resultant impetus to become a missionary to the

Indians. His compelling drive to mission and his dependence upon his family may be traced to these early years. The single mindedness of his character was both beneficial and detrimental to his calling. While it gave him the incentive to continue his Indian mission work in the face of extreme adversity, it contributed to conflict with his white parishioners and intruded upon his financial acumen. Good was devoted to his Indian people to the exclusion of all except his family and his church. The unfortunate advent of a new Bishop with no previous missionary experience led to the termination of his work among the Thompson River Indians, and his removal from the mainland to a less prominent position at Nanaimo. Only his long association and friendship with Bishop Hills allowed him a second chance to continue his clerical calling in British Columbia.

Throughout his career, his deep faith gave him the courage to persevere, facing death and hardship with equanimity, and enabled him to accept the pain that resulted from the early deaths of eight of his twelve children, and the disappointments resulting from some of his surviving children's self determination.

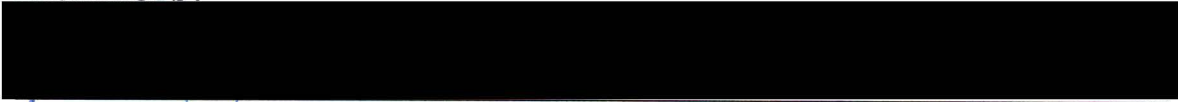
Good's lack of prospects in England ensured he would remain overseas; his lack of English social stature drove him to seek personal recognition in the academic world. While his language works received modest acclaim, his ethnological studies were flawed as he conveniently ignored facets of Indian culture that did not support his concept of the Semitic origin of the Indian people.

Good exhibited many of the traits shown in missionaries of other denominations yet in some ways he was unique. With William Duncan of Metlakatla he pursued the concept of a model village, but for diametrically opposite reasons; Duncan wanted isolation, Good, integration. He took the "watchman system" from the Roman Catholic Church but applied the discipline parameter in a very different manner. Compared to the Methodists, Good reversed their priorities, believing in first converting the Indians to Christianity, then civilizing them.


In spite of confusion created by today's values and issues surrounding Indian land claims and culture suppression, Good was a successful missionary. His Indian church at Lytton still exists as a separate entity within


the Anglican Church of Canada. His record of both numbers and quality of converts drew contemporary acclaim and still shines as an exceptional single handed achievement. Good's life was a microcosm of pioneer Christian mission activity in British Columbia. Despite his human failings, he deserves to take his place among the known British Columbia pioneers.

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## Key to Abbreviations

AADBC	Anglican Archives, Diocese of B.C., Victoria, B.C.
AADC	Anglican Archives, Diocese of Cariboo, Kamloops, B.C.
AADNS	Anglican Archives, Diocese of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N.S.
BCARS	British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Victoria, B.C.
NAC	National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.
PANS	Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N.S.
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
USPG	Archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, England.
VSTA	Vancouver School of Theology, Anglican Archives, Vancouver, B.C.
VSTUC	Vancouver School of Theology, United Church Archives, Vancouver, B.C.

## Chapter 1

"Go ye onto all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature:" The Background to the English Missionary Experience: 1508-1860.

From 1862 to 1899 John Booth Good served the church of England in British Columbia both as a parish priest and as a missionary to the indigenous people.<sup>1</sup> Initially, Good applied lessons learned through the collective missionary experiences of the Christian Church, often in unique ways. He was demanding of himself and his congregations, loyal to his bishops, dedicated to his Indian people, cavalier about finances, and loving of his family. As a student of language, and a correspondent of the University of California and the Smithsonian Institute, he was widely read in ethnology and theological sociology.

John Booth Good was a Victorian missionary. His life spanned the reign of Queen Victoria and reflected Victorian values of industry, self reliance, and the work ethic. Coincidentally, it was a period of religious revival and the resultant motivation to mission. Unique in many ways, Good was nonetheless, a product of the British Empire which, in

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper, British Columbia will refer to the present provincial boundaries.

addition to commercial products, exported the "glorious" military, "fair" government, "proper" social customs, and "true" church.

The Empire provided the organization, motivation, and social thought that was essential for missionary programmes. Without the Empire's commercial wealth and exploratory information, without its government backed by military force, and without its impetus to convert the native peoples to Christianity, the missionary movement could not have so successfully proliferated. These truths were graphically demonstrated in the English missionary experience.

Christianity, from its beginnings, has carried with it the command to "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."<sup>2</sup> As the power of the Royal Navy opened the sea lanes, British ships established the triangular trade pattern between England, Africa, and America. Africa supplied the cheap slave labour for the colonial plantations and a ready market for manufactured goods. The English people saw the new luxuries; the slave trade was conveniently out of sight, and would remain hidden until brought to prominence by the debates surrounding the 1833 Anti-Slavery Bill.<sup>3</sup> Until then, the country was

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<sup>2</sup> Holy Bible, King James version, Mark 16: 15.

<sup>3</sup> "Slavery." Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1962. Vol.20, p.773.

untroubled by problems of conscience. Missionaries not only received little encouragement, but often were forbidden to solicit converts. Money was mightier than mission.

What motivated the British to mission? Was the goal religious, to promote Christianity; societal, to promote Victorian standards and morals; or economic, to extend and consolidate to already powerful British Empire? Missionary work is a measure of the religious health of a church and generally speaking, in the early nineteenth century the spiritual life of the English Church was at a very low ebb. Churches had fallen into disrepair and the clergy had divided into the very rich, often appointed to multiple preferments through political connections, and the very poor, who had to supplement their stipends with secondary employment.<sup>4</sup> Religious revival appeared through the Evangelical Movement, giving rise to the Dissenting Churches such as the Methodists, and the Oxford Movement<sup>5</sup> which revitalized the High Anglican tradition. Unlike the Evangelicals, the Tractarians retained a strong belief in the authority of the church and were directed by a search for the ecclesiastical authority through the study of the

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<sup>4</sup> Paul Horn, The Rural World, 1780-1850, London: Hutchinson, 1980, p.159.

<sup>5</sup> The clergy that followed this philosophy were also known as The Tractarians, named after the ninety Tracts for the Times published by members of the Movement.

early church fathers. The Evangelicals dispensed with most clerical authority, instead putting emphasis on personal repentance, and an individual relationship with God that relied solely on the authority of the Bible. The two schools of thought served to accent the philosophical differences between the ideologies. Later these differences would feed the fire of discord between Good and Bishop Sillitoe.

The nineteenth century had brought with it the feeling that God had blessed Britain beyond all expectation, but for a purpose. Victorian England confused societal standards with Christian standards, bringing both together under the banner of civilization. Britain had led the civilized world and developed a belief in a national obligation to spread the gospel in payment for material, commercial, and intellectual wealth. The feeling that England had been specifically chosen by God as a second Israel was evident in a poem written by William Blake in 1804 and later made into a hymn;

And did those feet in ancient time  
Walk upon England's mountains green?  
And was the holy Lamb of God  
On England's pleasant pastures seen?<sup>6</sup>

Other hymns such as "Country of Emmanuel" and "England, of

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<sup>6</sup> The Book of Common Praise, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Hymn 655.

the Lord beloved" followed similar themes.<sup>7</sup> The concept of Jesus walking on English soil indicated that Christianity became an English religion with little thought for its Semitic origins; God's chosen people were no longer the Jews; God had become white and English. The century passed; Victoria reigned; England ruled; the world stopped and looked with envy and wonder. England had achieved new heights of "national arrogance."<sup>8</sup> The effect on national character was electrifying. From lord to labourer, national pride swelled the collective breast, but with the pride of possession, prestige and power came <sup>the</sup> he disquieting questions about the reasons for success. Was there a deeper reason for Britain's ascendancy than commercial accomplishment? Was God smiling on his people for a reason? Underlying ran an unspoken feeling God really was an Englishman.

In fact well before Queen Victoria, church revival and the moral debate over slavery combined to direct British thought toward the mission field. The S.P.G. was one of the many active missionary societies expressing the social motivation to mission. Except for the Society for the

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<sup>7</sup> See Lionel Adey, Class and Idol in the English Hymn, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988.

<sup>8</sup> This expression comes from John S. Galbraith, "The Humanitarian Impulse to Imperialism," in Robin Winks, ed., British Imperialism: Gold, God, Glory, New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1963, p.74.

Propagation of Christian Knowledge, (1698), and the S.P.G., (1701), many English Protestant missionary societies owed their existence to the religious enthusiasm that was generated by the Evangelicals.<sup>9</sup> As the Evangelical movement gained momentum, the reform generated within the Church raised Christian awareness among the people, turning thoughts of Christianity outward as well as inward. Missionary Societies proliferated, starting in 1786 with the formation of the Methodist Missionary Society. After the M.M.S. came William Carey's Baptist Missionary Society (1792); the London Missionary Society (1795); the Church Missionary Society (1799); the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804); the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (1804); and in response to an appeal by David Livingstone, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (1857).<sup>10</sup> This partial list illustrates the explosion of missionary activity in the nineteenth century.

Early mission experiences in Africa had underlined

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<sup>9</sup> The term applies to the followers of the Evangelical movement both within and without the Church of England, that believed in the sole authority of scripture and an individual's right to interpret it according to his conscience, with a special stress placed upon a personal conversion, and salvation by faith alone in atonement through the death of Jesus Christ.

<sup>10</sup> F.L. Cross, ed., "Missions," The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp.923-924.

several basic precepts necessary for the success of the endeavour. Sierra Leone provided several lessons. There the effect of tropical disease on white people created the strong argument for native clergy that became a foundation stone of later mission goals.<sup>11</sup> It was also found necessary to use the indigenous language. The missionary programme in Sierra Leone had been unsuccessful until 1843 when Henry Townsend, an English missionary, and Samuel Adjai Crowther, a Yoruba black who had been converted and ordained, jointly opened a mission to the Yoruba people. Crowther was able to preach to the blacks in their language, resulting in many conversions, with the first baptisms starting in 1848. It was dramatic evidence of the importance of fluency in the local language, a lesson that John Booth Good would put into practice in British Columbia twenty years later.

Despite Crowther's importance to the success of the mission, Anglican clergymen did not believe in racial equality, though a basic precept of Christianity was Christian brotherhood. Englishmen saw the native as a quite different being to themselves, who, even if made into a carbon copy of an Englishman, and exhibited as an sample of English missionary success, should not be welcomed on the same social plateau. Bishop Fleetwood stated, in relation to

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<sup>11</sup> The Church Missionary Society started sending missionaries and their families to Sierra Leone in 1813 and, by 1826, of the seventy-nine people who had made the journey only fourteen remained, most having died.

the awkward problem of the inheritance by the S.P.G. of a West Indian estate complete with a workforce of slaves:

Negroes were equally the Workmanship of God with themselves [the planters]; endowed with the same faculties and intellectual powers; Bodies of the Same Flesh and Blood, and Souls certainly immortal.<sup>12</sup>

Native clergy were not welcomed as equals; their stipends were considerably lower than those of white clerics as they were expected to retain native living standards.<sup>13</sup> Jean Usher's claim that "The basic ideal underlying missionary attitudes to aborigines was a belief in the unity of the human family"<sup>14</sup> must be modified.

From a missionary point of view, the British Columbia mission experience would prove very different from that of Africa or the eastern seaboard; the western native peoples easily accepted Christianity, possibly because of the work of the Hudson's Bay Company. Originally the Company assigned chaplains to its larger posts but except for occasional incumbents who showed an interest in converting the Indian

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<sup>12</sup> Frank J. Klingberg, Codrington Chronicle: An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710-1834, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949, p.4.

<sup>13</sup> Katherine Pettipas, "The Praying Chief: Reverend Henry Budd," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol.XXXIII, No.1 (April 1991), p.47.

<sup>14</sup> Jean Usher, William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia, Ottawa: National Museums of Canada No.5, p.306.

people, the chaplains confined their services to the Company's servants. The Hudson's Bay Company was interested in furs, not faith, but did not normally ban its chaplains from work with the indigenous people as did the East India Company. When England started showing a propensity towards missions, the London Board of Governors of the Hudson's Bay Company followed. George Simpson, the North American Governor regarded missions as "a matter of convenience,"<sup>15</sup> yet he acquiesced to the request of his London superiors to accommodate the Reverend John West, a C.M.S. missionary, in the Red River Colony. West his mission through a school for the sons of prominent chiefs who would be educated and Christianized before carrying the Gospel back to their native bands.<sup>16</sup> In 1822, Governor Simpson organed the assembly of thirty children from a very wide area to gather at the new school.<sup>17</sup> No data have been found about the post-school experiences of the thirty children except for the two

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<sup>15</sup> J. Orin Oliphant, "George Simpson and Oregon Missions," Pacific Historical Review, Vol.VI No.5, 1937, p.215.

<sup>16</sup> Frank A. Peake, "Church Missionary Society Personnel and Policy in Rupert's Land," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol.XXX, No.2, (October, 1988), p.70.

<sup>17</sup> Oliphant lists the participants as 10 Muscaigoes (Swampy Crees), 5 Thick-Wood Ossiniboines from Saskatchewan, 5 Crees from Isle a la Crosse and Athabasca, 5 Chippewas from Great Slave Lake, 3 New Caledonia Carriers, and 2 from the Columbia.

from the Columbia region, Spokane Garry and Kootenay Pelly.<sup>18</sup> Garry and Pelly travelled to the Red River with the fur brigade of 1827 and remained until 1831 except for one trip home in 1829. Pelly was unfortunately killed in a riding accident in 1831 but Garry returned to his people and performed useful missionary work before losing his enthusiasm through lack of support. he returned to Christian teaching in 1872 in opposition to the Jesuits who had opened a mission among the Coeur d'Alene Indians.<sup>19</sup> Garry's motivation was derived from the fear of Roman Catholicism that the Reverend John West had obviously instilled in his Indian charges on the prairie.<sup>20</sup> The English fear of Roman Catholicism was related to the international scene. In the eighteenth century Roman Catholic France, Britain's

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<sup>18</sup> The names are a combination of place of origin and a surname of a H.B.C. Governor.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas E. Jessett, "Anglicanism Among the Indians of Washington Territory," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol.42, No.3, (July 1957), p.237.

<sup>20</sup> For more details on the background to West's work and the missionary methods that he instituted, see Thomas Jessett, "The Church of England in the old Oregon Country," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol.XVII, (1953), p.197; J.Orin Oliphant, "George Simpson and Oregon Missions." Pacific Historical Review, Vol.VI, No.3, (1937), pp.218-248; Thomas E, Jessett, "Anglicanism Among the Indians of Washington Territory," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol.42, No,3, (July 1951), pp.224-241; Arthur N. Thompson, "John West: A Study of the Conflict between Civilization and the Fur Trade," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol.XII, No.1, (March 1970), pp.44-57.

traditional enemy, was strongly present in the New World and French presence implied a military potential as well as a religious threat. West reflected these deep rooted concerns that enhanced a national fear of French fifth column activity. Spokane Garry had learned his lessons well. From the Christian Church's point of view, it was unfortunate that Garry did not receive support in his work. Isolated, he relapsed, being "distinguished from the heathen only by his acquaintance with the English language."<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, whites, hungry for land, drove Garry from his \$25,000 farm in 1888, the final chapter in the story of a missionary failure that could easily have been a remarkable story of success.<sup>22</sup> Garry died penniless in 1894, being buried by the Reverend Dr. Mundy, a Presbyterian minister. We can only speculate on the fate of the other twenty-eight children; it appears possible that some may have carried out their missions. During the period of initial contact in the Pacific Northwest, Europeans were surprised to find Indians with no apparent association with white culture who had basic Christian knowledge. In some regions, Christian symbols such as the sign of the cross had already been assimilated into Indian tradition. The Indian Prophet Dance,

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<sup>21</sup> "Bishop's Journal," Report of the Columbia Mission, 1860, London: Rivingtons, 1860, p.38.

<sup>22</sup> Jessett, Anglicanism Among the Indians... p.240.

an Indian ritual emanating from the Prophet Cults that blended interior Salish and Christian ideas, was another example of Christian influence.<sup>23</sup> Occasionally the coming of the white man had been foretold by itinerant native prophets but history is generally vague on these early Christian intrusions. Additional Christian influence may have been brought to the area through the Roman Catholic Iroquois sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to initiate the fur trade.<sup>24</sup>

The urgency of survival meant the colonists of British Columbia had little time to worry about the development of the church and conversion of the Indians, yet among the rough pioneers, there remained a core of dedicated Christians; even the most wayward miner would often be moved by the early mission preachers. A spirit of live and let live pervaded the land and, since Indians were considered a nuisance rather than a major threat, provided they did not interfere with settlement, prospecting, and white expansionism, they could conveniently be ignored.

In spite of the colonists' lack of missionary interest, religion was present in the colony. Christianity was first

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<sup>23</sup> Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia: The Impact of the White Man. Victoria; Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No.5. Provincial Museum, 1964, p.88.

<sup>24</sup> Margaret Whitehead, They Call Me Father: memoirs of Father Nicolas Coccola, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988, p.20.

brought by the Roman Catholic Church, starting with the Spanish sojourn at Nootka in 1789.<sup>25</sup> The settlement was abandoned in 1795 and the Church's influence temporality ceased. The next recorded ecclesiastical presence occurred in 1838 when Fathers Demers and Blanchet celebrated Mass at the Big Bend on the Columbia River during their missionary journey to the west coast from St. Boniface to Fort Vancouver. In 1841 Father Demers made a forty-four day trip to Fort Langley, baptising about 300 persons around the Fort<sup>26</sup> and an additional 415 on the journey. With very few priests in an enormous new mission territory and a theological urgency to baptise in order to save the Indians from eternal damnation,<sup>27</sup> the Roman Church could not initially afford to put down permanent roots, yet over the next few years Demers travelled as far as Fort St. James, building small churches among the Indians wherever he stopped to preach. It would be some years before these churches boasted a resident priest.

When, in 1843, the Hudson's Bay Company transferred its

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<sup>25</sup> F.W. Howay and E.O.S. Scholefield, British Columbia From Earliest Times to the Present, Toronto: S.J. Clarke, 1914, Vol.II, p.604.

<sup>26</sup> Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia..., p.607.

<sup>27</sup> The Protestant churches while considering it mandatory, did not place the same urgency on the rite.

Pacific Headquarters from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River to the new Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island, the Roman Catholics followed. Father Jean Baptiste Bolduc, who accompanied the initial party that built the new Fort, conducted religious services for the Indians and baptised 102 Indian children. Fathers Pierre Joseph DeSmet, John Nobili, and H. Lemfrit followed shortly after and, with the consecration of Demers as Bishop of Vancouver Island in 1847, the Roman Catholic Church put down permanent roots. It was unusual for Roman Catholics to be first in the field, as the Hudson's Bay Company normally selected chaplains from the Church of England. The first two Anglican H.B.C. chaplains in the Pacific Northwest were the Reverend Herbert Beaver and the Reverend R.J. Staines. Neither man was of suitable temperament for the post and an appropriate cleric was not found until the appointment of the Reverend Edward Cridge, the last of the Company chaplains.

During this period Captain J.C. Prevost R.N., while navigating H.M.S. Virago along the coast, had been impressed with the character of the Indians. On his own initiative he appealed to the Church Missionary Society for Christian teaching for these people, resulting in the despatch of an English lay missionary, William Duncan who, in 1859, opened a mission to the Indians in the northern centre of Port Simpson. Duncan represented the first formal attempt of the

Anglican Church to take the Gospel to the Indian people.<sup>28</sup> The mission to the Indians was, at first, a parallel and separate programme to the Hudson's Bay chaplaincies that were directed at the white community. The two programmes, white and native, did not merge until the formation of the new Diocese of Columbia under Bishop Hills in 1860.

The Methodist Church was the third major Christian denomination to work in the colony. In 1858 the Reverends Ephraim Evans, Arthur Browning, Ebenezer Robson, and Edward White arrived to start the Vancouver Island and British Columbia District of the Methodist Church.<sup>29</sup> They worked with both whites and Indians, exerting a considerable religious and political influence, but they experienced difficulties with the tendency of governments to treat the Church of England unofficially as the established church. This attitude persisted at least until the turn of the century. The Methodists did not aspire to preferential treatment but, because their denomination had originated in dissent within the Anglican Church, their sensitivity to perceived unfairness led to disharmony between the Anglican and Methodist Churches. There is considerable evidence to support the Methodist point of view as the Anglican Church

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<sup>28</sup> Jean Usher, William Duncan..., p.11.

<sup>29</sup> VSTUC, Minutes, Vancouver Island and British Columbia District of the Methodist Church, March 29, 1860, p.3.

continued to receive more financial and political support than other denominations.<sup>30</sup> Both denominations boasted a determined defence of their positions by strong minded clerical leaders producing a volatile environment.

The working climate for a missionary in early British Columbia was marked by distrust, jealousy, competition, but tremendous potential and opportunity. It was influenced by financial and moral considerations together with the enormous personal energy of the individual missionaries. John Booth Good would be thrust into this demanding environment in 1861.

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<sup>30</sup> VSTUC, Letter, British Columbia Conference of the Methodist Church to the Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, 1897.

## Chapter 2

## The Making of a Missionary: 1833-1860.

Before taking a closer look at the Reverend John Booth Good, it should be recognized that one of the major sources of information is his unpublished autobiographical work "The Utmost Bounds of the West." Good's autobiography presents a very sanitized account of his life and experiences, valuable for the general outline of his British Columbia missionary career and recording changing conditions in the emerging province, but gives little background to his many problems. These are found in other sources. "The Utmost Bounds..."<sup>1</sup> is limited in period, beginning after the Nova Scotia interlude and ending with the return to Nanaimo in 1882. It was supplemented with a autobiographical sketch of Good's early childhood experiences and a letter of commendation from Bishop Hills.<sup>2</sup> The main paper was intended to present

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<sup>1</sup> J.B.Good, "The Utmost Bounds of the West." Typescript autobiography, BCARS, (E/B/G59). Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations and biographical information about Good in the following eight pages are to this source.

<sup>2</sup> The autobiographical sketch was probably written in Nanaimo between 1892 and 1899 as it is typed on letterhead from J.H. Good's furniture store. The document was added as a preface to "The Utmost Bounds" during Good's retirement in California.

the story of missionary endeavours and only allows personal and family matters to intrude when relevant to the overall story. Good displayed a controlled facade for public consumption, avoiding the publication of material that would be detrimental to his church or his superiors, and naturally editing out his personal problems. The document is a combination of description and missionary reporting, the former accurate, the latter glossing over many problems and enhancing successes. However it and the autobiographical sketch provide a framework for the study of Good's life. Fortunately for the biographer, other sources present further information towards a balanced viewpoint.

John Booth Good was born on September 28, 1833, in the village of Wrawby, Lincolnshire, the youngest of seven sons of John and Hannah Good. His father was of Danish descent but his mother, whose maiden name was Booth, "was of pure Saxon blood, whose racial qualities I myself also evidently inherit." His terminology was in keeping with the generic nineteenth century Englishman's very high opinion of his race. Good's parents, who were committed Christians, exerted much influence over their youngest son during the few years that they were alive, and his mother harboured ambitions for her son to enter the ministry. In his autobiographical sketch, Good described his father as having a "sterling religious character" and "exceedingly dissatisfied with the

low standard of faith and morals tolerated by the parochial clergy, who in too many instances, were far more conspicuous in the hunting field than in attending to their proper duties." Good's description of the local church was characteristic of the carelessness and neglect of those times with "moth eaten pews, cold damp flagstones, green with age and mildew; Chancel and alter [sic] desecrated and dilapidated white-washed walls." The search for enthusiasm and spiritual sincerity led Good's father to support the establishment of a nonconformist chapel in the village. The Good residence often provided hospitality to the itinerant preacher on his rounds. The early nonconformist years established Good's Christian commitment but his rising years would establish his churchmanship.

After his parents died when Good was only four years old, he was raised on his grandparents' farm. Starting his education at the local village dame school, he transferred, with his brothers, to the Free Grammar school in the next town. Unfortunately, the children were mainly used as a source of cheap labour for maintaining the stables. Education was sub-standard and the students were beaten when they did not produce satisfactory results.

A change to the village National School, that provided a Church of England education for the underprivileged, stimulated the growing boy. The early Christian influence in his life resulted in the young Good showing such an aptitude

for scriptural studies that he attracted the attention of the local vicar, John Roland West, son of the Reverend John West, the first Hudson's Bay Company chaplain at Red River. West taught Divinity and rewarded Good with special attention, opening the door to greater opportunities and eventually changing his life.<sup>3</sup>

In his formative years, Good drifted from the farm to the vicarage, becoming more and more influenced by John West who became a mixture of a surrogate father and a good friend. While there is no evidence of Good meeting the Reverend John West Sr., he shared many of his interests. West Sr. was a man of action, a student of languages and Indian customs, about which he took meticulous notes.<sup>4</sup> Good too would become a man of action, a student of languages, and a scholar of Indian customs, interested in the origins of the Indian tribes of the Northwest.

The West family was undoubtedly the strongest influence on the young Good's life. At the vicarage Good received private lessons in Euclid, Algebra, and other subjects. The young orphan also spent leisure hours helping around the

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<sup>3</sup> F.A. Peake, "John Booth Good in British Columbia," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol.75, No.2, (April 1984), p.70.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur N. Thompson, "John West: A Study of the Conflict between Civilization and the Fur Trade," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol.XII, No.1, (March 1970), pp.54-55.

grounds and, as he said, "generally making himself useful." The West family introduced him to the ambience of the mission field. Indian artifacts brought back from Red River by the Reverend John West Sr. implanted in Good's mind a desire to evangelize the previous native owners of these objects in the ever expanding western world of Empire. The artifacts provided the motivation and the Empire provided the means. The Reverend John Roland West seasoned Good's Christian beliefs and strengthened his missionary calling.

Through the Wrawby vicarage, two famous people would influence Good's life, the Reverend Henry Budd Jr. and the Poet Laureate Alfred Lord Tennyson. Tennyson and his work moulded Good's writing and influenced his theology. In 1878 H.H. Bancroft commented on Good's rich use of language and in 1901, Good wrote quotations from Tennyson on the flyleaf of his Bible. Good remarked on the eccentricity in the Tennyson family of whom "all bore the same stamp of genius upon them and were most eccentric in their tastes and ways." It cannot be shown that Good's later eccentricity resulted from this connection, but his autobiographical sketch implied that the association gave a certain imprimatur to idiosyncrasy. While Tennyson enhanced Good's life, it was the association with Henry Budd Jr. that gave Good direction and hope in his future mission work.

Henry Budd Jr. was the son of the Reverend Henry Budd, a Cree Indian from Norway House who accompanied West Sr. to

the Red River in 1820, later becoming the first native Church of England clergyman on the continent. Budd Jr. was completing his theological courses at Islington at the same time that Good was finishing his last term at Canterbury. On at least one occasion the two aspiring clerics shared the same platform at meetings promoting missionary effort. It is reasonable to assume that friendly conversations between the two men would reinforce Good's missionary motivation. Where Good had previously only seen and touched the Indian curios, Budd was part of the Indian community, a living example of the second-generation result of West Senior's Indian missionary work. The education of the Indian lad for the mission field was a graphic illustration of the prevalent wisdom of the Church of England's approach to mission that had been developed out of the African experience: using white clerics to teach, motivate, and train selected Indian men to form the seed of a new, native church, staffed by native clergy, within the Anglican Communion. Good cannot have failed to notice its significance.

West's work at Red River was extremely important in the light of the missionary climate in the Pacific Northwest. It laid the foundation for Christian work among the Indian people; it introduced the idea of educating Indian lads through the method of a central boarding school; it developed a desire among the Indians to adopt many of the white man's ways of progress; and most importantly, it

created a climate of cooperation between the Indian people and the forthcoming flood of missionaries.

Good later paralleled West as he pursued his own ethnological and language studies, and developed the same single-minded actions to further his missions. Good was forced to resign in 1882, just as West Senior was dismissed from his post at Red River by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1823.<sup>5</sup> Was West Good's model? There is no hard evidence for or against, but the similarities between the two careers are too many to be coincidental. Undoubtedly the West family was a major influence on John Booth Good's life.

As Good matured, his older brother and other relatives, trying to lessen the financial load on the surviving family, attempted to direct John Booth Good into a trade apprenticeship. Young John had other ideas and enlisted West's aid to obtain a place in the recently opened Diocesan school for training teachers. Upon graduation he was appointed as a teacher to the National School of Haddon Holgate at Spilsby, Lincolnshire, at the request of the incumbent, the Reverend Dr. Rawnsley. After three "very Happy Years" at Spilsby, Good, in 1851, once again through the connections of the Reverend John R. West, obtained a studentship at the newly formed St. Augustine's College, a school designed to train men as missionaries destined for

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<sup>5</sup> Thompson, "John West: A Study...", p.55.

the far reaches of the Empire. His acceptance by Bishop Anderson of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, whose diocese then encompassed the Pacific coast,<sup>6</sup> virtually assured him of a mission posting.

In 1854, the same year that the Reverend Edward Cridge was appointed as the Hudson's Bay Chaplain in Victoria, John Booth Good matriculated at St. Augustine's. By the end of 1856 he had completed the course, winning the Whyte-head Greek Test Prize during his last term. Good also won first class marks in mathematics, science and theology.<sup>7</sup> After a brief examination by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London in late 1856, Good was ready to be launched into the mission field.

The training of new missionaries did not include an English internship; the S.P.G., drawing on over one hundred years experience in the mission field,<sup>8</sup> had adopted a practical approach to the missionary challenge in the different reaches of the Empire. Given basic training, the new missionaries were expected to adopt, within limits, any

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<sup>6</sup> Before the establishment of the Diocese of Columbia in 1860, the entire Dominion Pacific Slope came under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.

<sup>7</sup> Albert E. Hendy, Saint Paul's Church, Nanaimo, B.C. A Brief History Since its Foundation, 1859-1952, 1953, p.11.

<sup>8</sup> I.A.Ritchie Carson, Frontier Parish, London: Associated University Press, 1976, p.9.

method appropriate to the circumstances in which they found themselves. Experience had shown that different native people had different needs.

The die was now cast. John Booth Good embarked on a journey from which there would be delays and detours, but no turning back. With no close family ties to hold him, with childhood influences motivating him, with an influential cleric sponsoring him, Good was well down the road towards his future mission life in British Columbia. But there would be a delay. Until the final organization of the new Diocese of Columbia in 1860 Good would temporarily serve on the eastern seaboard of his future missionary country.

In 1857, the year of the Indian Mutiny, Good embarked for Nova Scotia to commence his missionary career under the banner of the S.P.G. He carried with him the collective world wide experiences of Christian missionaries, and the personal experiences of his formative years. His time in Nova Scotia would be a transitional period for a young man rich in theory but poor in practice; willing to experiment creatively with new methods designed to build and revitalise his congregations. Although Good knew that his tenure in Nova Scotia would be limited to about three years, he would show leadership and enthusiasm by instituting a new system of parish visitation by the laity, innovative fund raising, encouraging an atmosphere of fun and responsibility among his congregation, and creating and nurturing an informal

framework within which both spiritual and financial support would flow to St. Augustine's, his alma mater in Canterbury.

Nova Scotia was just a whistle stop for Good in his missionary journey. He was originally accepted for the mission field in Western Canada by Bishop Anderson of the Diocese of Rupert's Land with a probable assignment similar to that of John West's father at the Red River Colony. For unknown reasons, his permanent appointment was changed to the west coast in the nascent Diocese of Columbia under the Reverend George Hills, the former rector of Great Yarmouth, who would become its first Bishop.

Good arrived in Halifax in February, 1858 and was ordained a deacon in St. Paul's on the twenty-eighth day of the month by Bishop Binney of Nova Scotia.<sup>9</sup> By 1859 Good, tested and proved, was "admitted to the priesthood by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese" on March 20, 1859.<sup>10</sup>

Because the missionary development course at St. Augustine's did not include a practicum, Good arrived in Nova Scotia full of theoretical rather than experiential knowledge. His association with the Reverend John West may

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<sup>9</sup> USPG, C.L.S. 164, Bishop Binney to Secretary, March 11, 1858, p.251.

<sup>10</sup> "Ordination in St. Paul's, Halifax," The Church Record, March 31, 1859, p.3.

have presented some mission ideas but for all practical purposes, except for guidance from his Bishop, John Booth Good was very much on his own.

After his initiation to the country, Good was quickly assigned to the Hubbard's Cove mission, then, after short periods at Stewiacke and Musquodoboit, was transferred to Pugwash.<sup>11</sup> Although details of Good's life in Nova Scotia are sparse, certain patterns, and some of his philosophies of life began to appear.

While it never quite took precedence, money occupied a significant portion of Good's concerns throughout his life. He was not avaricious, regarding money as a resource to accomplish his missionary goals, not for personal comfort and satisfaction. His later attitude to finance was cavalier to the extreme but, as a Minister of the Gospel, doing God's work, Good fully expected in faith to be supplied with sufficient funds to perform these tasks. If funds were not immediately available, he took whatever steps that he deemed necessary, regardless of the consequences. Although both clergy and laity criticised Good's pecuniary impracticality, Good fervently believed that God would provide for his personal needs and those of his mission. He also expected a stipend that would enable himself and his family, to live modestly but comfortably.

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<sup>11</sup> S.P.G., Report from Nova Scotia for the year 1859, p.35.

The Nova Scotia years served as the practicum that was omitted in England. As Good made no report of Indian work, it is assumed that his efforts were confined to the white congregations. He remained aware that after his temporary assignment in the east, his main mission would be to the Indian people of Columbia so he ordered his observations and conclusions accordingly. Good noticed how his elementary knowledge of medicine increased his influence in Nova Scotian society, and considered how much greater an effect it would have among the Indians.<sup>12</sup>

One of his early accomplishments in Pugwash was the institution of "Lady District Visitors."<sup>13</sup> The use of the laity for visitation was a departure from the English concept of church work, visiting being the domain of the village parson. The idea enjoyed the approbation of the Bishop who reported to the S.P.G. how Good "instituted an effective system of visitation throughout his parish, and his congregation and communicants increase steadily."<sup>14</sup> Good, observing the success of this method of parish

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<sup>12</sup> USPG, Good to Secretary, S.P.G., November 7, 1860, CLR 164, p.301.

<sup>13</sup> "Pugwash - Christmas Tree," The Church Record, Halifax, January 20, 1859, p.2.

<sup>14</sup> Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Report for the year 1859, p.35.

administration, later applied the same concept among his far flung Indian parishes in British Columbia.

Good showed creativity in fund raising. In Pugwash refilling the church coffers had the additional benefit of promoting social growth within the parish, bringing people together for Christian activities at times other than on Sundays, and enhancing and enlivening the Christian celebration of Christmas. Good was not hidebound by English ways and traditions, but adapted to the opportunities and needs of his new frontier surroundings. In a letter to the Church Record, he shared his highly successful experience of the celebration of the Christmas tree with his fellow Nova Scotians. The Christmas tree was not universal in England and rare in Nova Scotia, so Good drew on the German experience to support the Pugwash activities.<sup>15</sup> Over the previous few months, the parish, mainly the ladies, made a variety of "fancy and useful articles." The Temperance Hall was rented and a large Christmas Tree erected, decorated with as many of the articles that it would carry, with the extras laid out on tables. Admission was by paid ticket, which luckily included ample food as the event ran from mid-afternoon until evening. Door prizes were taken from the tree but most of the articles were sold. At seven-thirty the tapers on the tree were lit to a round of applause and the

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<sup>15</sup> "Pugwash - Christmas Tree," The Church Record, Halifax, January 20, 1859, p.2.

celebration concluded about ten. The report in the church paper implied a unique success and suggested that others might like to organize similar events. It was a financial success, as the £25 raised compared favourably with the normal weekly offering of £40, and the total of £90 that had been accumulated over the previous eight months by other events. Prominent in the newspaper article is an aside mentioning that "Lady District Visitors" had assisted in raising the £90 earlier in the year, indicating that Good's parish organization had financial as well as spiritual and social targets.<sup>16</sup>

As he threw himself into the intensity of his parochial duties, Good did not forget St. Augustine's. Devoted to his mission cause and his alma mater, and painfully aware of the need for new men, new means, and new missions, Good encouraged the local spiritual and financial support of the Missionary Union of St. Augustine's, an organization "designed to bind together by this common tie the increasing numbers who are aiding St. Augustine's in many ways."<sup>17</sup>

Good's sojourn in Nova Scotia was generally problem-free but not without excitement. One event in Nova Scotia

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<sup>16</sup> "Pugwash. Christmas Tree." The Church Record, Halifax, January 20, 1859, p.2.

<sup>17</sup> "Missionary Union of St. Augustine's," The Church Record, Halifax, December 22, 1859, p.1.

profoundly re-enforced Good's perceived vocational imperative and laid the foundation of his belief in functional immortality. In the winter of 1858, while he was crossing the frozen harbour with two companions, the ice fractured, plunging all three into the frigid waters. Good's survival strengthened his sense that God had a job for him to do and would not let him die until it was complete.<sup>18</sup>

Good was extremely happy, successful, and sure of his vocation; he would never again achieve the same level of professional contentment, yet he felt an

uneasiness arising doubtless from an intense desire for permanent employment in that land which I so soon expect to adopt as my own, and wherein I eventually expect to find a home to dwell.<sup>19</sup>

Good had started his career showing the energy and drive that would accompany his work, apart from one notable exception, for the rest of his working life.

In July, 1860, Good received the letter from the Reverend Ernest Hawkins, the Secretary of the S.P.G. directing him to his originally designated diocese,<sup>20</sup> passage paid,

by the best and most convenient course, but you

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<sup>18</sup> S.P.G. Report for 1858 from Nova Scotia. p.35.

<sup>19</sup> USPG, Good to Hawkins, August 21, 1860, CLR 164, p.299.

<sup>20</sup> USPG, CLS 115, Nova Scotia, Letters Sent, Ernest Hawkins to Good, 27 July 1860.

will be careful not to put the Society to any unnecessary expense...you must prepare yourself for very rough country as well as a very expensive one, but the comparatively large salary of £250 a year, will, with economy suffice for your wants, and going as a single man, you will be indifferent to the hardness and wants of ordinary conveniences which are necessarily met with in new countries.<sup>21</sup>

The Society's intentions were plain. Good was already half way to the new Diocese; he was to complete the journey. Good had other ideas. The Society was obviously unaware of Good's previously arranged plans to marry Sarah Ann Watson. The advancement by one year of his appointment to the Diocese of Columbia had taken Good by surprise as he had planned to save enough money while in Nova Scotia to cover his expenses for a return to England, indicating that he must have known of the Society's plans to send him direct from Nova Scotia to the west coast.<sup>22</sup> The transfer had been advanced one year due to the resignation of the Reverend Dowson supposedly on account of his wife's health, but probably because of Dawson's unsuitability to the rough life in the new colony.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> USPG, CLS 115, Nova Scotia, Letters Sent, Ernest Hawkins to John Booth Good, 27 July, 1860.

<sup>22</sup> USPG, CLR 164, Good to Secretary S.P.G., November 7, 1860, p.301.

<sup>23</sup> Rev. Charles H. Mockridge, The Bishops of the Church of England and Newfoundland, Toronto: F.N.W. Brown, 1896, p.168.

Here the force of Good's personality appeared as he determinedly charted his own course to British Columbia by way of England. To be fair, Good had no intention of making the S.P.G. pay for the extra journey:

I am absolutely committed to return home before starting for Vancouver, [but] I do not ask the Society to pay my passage home - nor if there should be disinclination on the part of the said Society do I care to ask for an allowance for my return to this part of the World - yet on my arrival in Halifax then I hope the Society will not object to pay our united passage from thence to Columbia.<sup>24</sup>

The Society granted Good's request but the fact that Good had to ask for the money was a warning of a paucity of future finances. English missionary ideals, and therefore missionary societies, had just passed the peak of their popularity. Their future would be clouded by a waning of both human and financial support that coincided with a waxing of need. Such thoughts faded to insignificance before the excitement of the voyage to the Pacific Coast.

Good left Nova Scotia in an aura of success. His Bishop bemoaned:

The sudden removal of Mr. Good has caused much inconvenience and will probably be very injurious to Pugwash where he was doing great good. He had reckoned on remaining there for at least another year and our arrangements had been made

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<sup>24</sup> USPG, CLR 164, Good to Hawkins, August 21, 1860, p.299.

accordingly.<sup>25</sup>

Tangibly, on his return to England in 1860, the Churchwardens and parishioners of St. George's, Pugwash and St. Andrew's, Wallace, presented him with a testimonial, their best wishes, and a purse of £8.2.6.<sup>26</sup>

Good left Halifax for England late in 1860, achieving popularity among his fellow passengers, from whom he received at the end of the voyage, a testimonial and a purse, presented to him by one of the passengers, Judge T.C.Haliburton, as well as a gift of a Book of Common Prayer and a Bible from three fellow voyagers, "in grateful remembrance of his valuable services on board the Europa."<sup>27</sup> The Nova Scotia success had made his future look very bright indeed.

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<sup>25</sup> USPG, CLR 164, Bishop of Nova Scotia to Secretary S.P.G., November 1, 1860, p.304.

<sup>26</sup> The Church Record, Halifax, October 3, 1860, p.3.

<sup>27</sup> "To the Editor," The Church Record, Halifax, November 7, 1860, p.3.

## Chapter 3

## Into the Western Mission Field: 1861-1866.

With two years of practical parish experience behind him, and a new wife at his side, the Reverend John Booth Good was ready to face his life's work. With his natural curiosity and exuberance he took full advantage of the journey to Victoria, where his natural energy and commitment was applied to his parish and mission work. The initial interlude revealed a compatibility with his Bishop that developed into a life long friendship; disillusionment with the native people, who were far different from his expectations based on West's experiences; the enormity of the mission task; the failings of his parishioners; and the friction with other denominations.

Early in January 1861, John and Sarah Good embarked through Southampton, bound for St. Thomas on the Royal Mail Steamer Seine. Sarah became ill at "the very smell of the ship" and nurtured the misconception that the vessel would give her relief by anchoring every night.<sup>1</sup> Being immune to seasickness, Good took a lively interest in the journey, relished the new sights, smells, experiences, and people, and related the history of the passing panoramas. The

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<sup>1</sup> J.B.Good, "The Utmost Bounds," p.3.

journey across the isthmus of Panama provided a necessary respite for Sarah and, in due course, the couple embarked by the Uncle Sam for San Francisco. Adventure dogged the journey as the Uncle Sam, a decrepit old paddle steamer, was caught in a gale off the Nicaraguan coast, was damaged, and limped in to Acapulco Bay for repairs, where she remained for more than three weeks. What an experience for Mrs. Good, who had never been out of England! While Sarah welcomed the break in the journey in the sheltered waters of the bay, her husband took full advantage of the interval to watch youngsters diving for coins and picking coconuts, and to explore churches in the surrounding countryside. When a smaller steamer removed three hundred of the steerage passengers, they gave "three cheers for the Parson" as they departed. Eventually, the Uncle Sam was towed to San Francisco by the Golden Age, a crack steamer of the Pacific Line. Again, Good maximized the experience of the voyage, describing environmental conditions that gave sunset the appearance of up to four suns setting, and observing the adaptability of the passengers as they used binoculars and blackboards to play a game of chess between the two vessels. At San Francisco, Good met Bishop Kip, for whom he had a very high regard, and preached twice, no doubt at the Bishop's invitation, in the Church of the Advent.

From San Francisco, the S.S. Pacific carried the Goods north to Portland, stopping for the day on Palm Sunday 1861.

At the invitation of the rector who had been a fellow passenger on the Pacific, Good preached in the local Episcopal church. Leaving Portland, the ship was delayed at the Columbia Bar by severe weather. Good gloried in the view of the massive breakers, "one of the grandest sights that can anywhere be seen." One suspects that his wife was a little less enthusiastic. Finally on April 4, 1861, the steamer entered Esquimalt, the deep water port that served Victoria.<sup>2</sup> The long voyage to the new diocese was over, a holiday relished by Good, and, judging by his later reminiscences, the happiest period of his life. No longer an orphan, he had arrived at his chosen mission territory as the head of his own family with his now pregnant wife. He was as eager to get on with the task, as his bishop was to see his arrival. The journey had shown Good to be adaptable, to be able to overcome adversity, to take a keen interest in his surroundings and their history, to relate well to his fellow man, and to practice his calling as the opportunity arose. Good appeared to satisfy every quality necessary in a neophyte missionary priest.

In Victoria, the Goods stayed temporarily at the home

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<sup>2</sup> Victoria harbour was unsuitable for the larger ocean going vessels as it was slowly silting in. In 1847 a vessel drawing eleven feet of water could enter at dead low water. In an article entitled "The Dredging Machine" dated May 24, 1864, the Colonist reported that the available water was only eight feet at low tide.

of Bishop Hills until April 29.<sup>3</sup> What a different setting to Nova Scotia where the country had experienced European civilization for over two hundred years. It must have taken a modest adjustment for Good, and an enormous adjustment for his wife; a raw country, dirt streets, wooden buildings, a cosmopolitan population, and new social standards. Victoria spelled opportunity and advancement, a putting off of the old and putting on of the new. Bishop Hills had suffered through the same adjustment a year before but, as a bachelor, had no family concerns. He appears to have exhibited a practical sensitivity to the awkward feelings that must have accompanied the changes for his new associate. During these first few weeks at the Bishop's house, the two men came to know each other through conversations, and inspections of the territory surrounding Victoria. These extended camping trips by horse were likely part of Hills' method of evaluating the young missionary and comparing Good's reaction to the rough colonial life with his own exultant discovery of an ability to cope with frontier living. Two men cannot share the experience of camping out in a roaring thunderstorm with drenching rains without coming to an understanding of each other's merits.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Hills, Diaries, Vol. 4, April 29, 1862.

<sup>4</sup> Hills, Diaries, August 22, 1861.

Testing and evaluation was a necessary part of Hills' management strategy; not all clergy were suited to the new world.

Many English clergy had not adapted to the new colonial life. As noted, the Reverend Richard Dowson, the first S.P.G. missionary in the Diocese, had returned to England in 1860. His successor, the Reverend Richard Lomas Lowe, remained in Nanaimo for only a year before being transferred to Saanich.<sup>5</sup> Some clergy were rejected on arrival because of unacceptable behaviour on the journey out. If Hills proposed to place the Goods where the previous incumbents had failed, he wanted to be sure both were mentally and physically suited to the task, as he knew full well that disruptions caused by changes of clergy would be detrimental to colonial Christian life. It was the start of a relationship between the Bishop and the Goods that, while not always perfectly smooth, included a basic mutual respect that frequently blossomed into outright friendship.

Good learned about the country and the people; he became acquainted with the Indians and started to understand the difficulties facing the church in converting them. In a letter to the S.P.G. Good described adjusting to the realities of new circumstances:

I must confess that a closer acquaintance with them and especially with the northern tribes has

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<sup>5</sup> AADBC. J.B.Good, "History of St. Paul's Church," St. Paul's Parochial Register, p.4.

most effectually scattered to the winds any romantic and sentimental conceptions I had entertained of their superior and exalted character over their Red brothers of the Forest on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. The scenes that are weekly enacted on the Indian Reserve within a stone's throw of the School would appal the stoutest heart and make the most philanthropical nature almost despair.<sup>6</sup>

He started to learn Chinook<sup>7</sup> and by June 1861, was learning Cowichan and hoping to be fluent within a few months.<sup>8</sup> For practical experience, Good assisted the Reverend A.C. Garrett,<sup>9</sup> the colony's most accomplished Chinook and Songish [sic] scholar, at the Victoria Indian Mission, and preached at the local churches. He dined with the Bishop and other local pillars of the community and became impatient to start work on his own as a full fledged missionary of the Church of England. He would not have long to wait. On August 28, 1861, Good received an invitation to dine with his Bishop and there was given his instructions for Nanaimo.<sup>10</sup> Ten days

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<sup>6</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, 1861-1867, Good to S.P.G., June 8, 1861.

<sup>7</sup> J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds...." p.1.

<sup>8</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, 1861-1867, Good to S.P.G., June 8, 1861.

<sup>9</sup> The Rev. Mr. Garrett left the Colony in 1886 for a position in San Francisco. In 1874 he became Bishop of Texas.

<sup>10</sup> Hills, Diaries, August 28, 1861.

earlier on August 19, 1861, Mrs. Good gave birth to John Roland, the first of their twelve children.<sup>11</sup> The baby was baptised by Bishop Hills at St. John's, Victoria, on the evening of Friday, September 16, 1861.<sup>12</sup>

Nanaimo was a very opportune location for the Church. The Coal Company operated by the Hudson's Bay Company had earlier tried to obtain the services of an Anglican cleric to serve the local miners, offering to alienate a piece of land for the building of a church and an attached house. In the interim period, at the request of some miners, the land promised had been assigned to the Methodist minister, the Reverend Mr. Browning.

Nanaimo was also a gathering place for the local Indian people, a wintering ground for the Comox tribe, and a place of visitation for the Haidas. Excellent communications with Victoria and physical support from the white community made Nanaimo an ideal location for an Indian mission. In 1859 the Reverend Mr. Dowson had visited Nanaimo and in 1860 the Reverend Mr. Lowe was briefly posted there. Good's appointment to Nanaimo as an Indian missionary fulfilled an

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<sup>11</sup> For a complete chronological list of Good's children, see Appendix 1.

<sup>12</sup> AADBC. Parochial Record of Baptisms and Marriages for the District of St. John's, Victoria, V.I. Record # 21.

obligation to the S.P.G. who paid his salary.<sup>13</sup> He would take over the district, build a church, and minister to the Staffordshire coal miners. Bishop Hills was determined to strengthen the Church at Nanaimo with a permanent clerical appointment, just as Good was determined to fulfil that function.

At Nanaimo, Good ordered his priorities. His main goal of converting the Indian people was impeded by the debilitating influences and low moral tone exhibited by many of the whites. Thus, Good's primary target was the white population:

the native mind and person are so fearfully brutalized and betrayed,... cohabiting with Indian women...and selling them filthy compounds under the name of whisky.

This Community must be reformed,...unblushing vice which now lifts itself on high and stalks abroad must be made to cower and hide its hideous head from the gaze of the public eye and eventually be crushed out of our midst.<sup>14</sup>

On a positive note Good discovered that most Indians already knew the basics of the Christian religion. Building on these elementary tenets, he proposed to learn the Indian language, customs, and culture, then to concentrate his efforts on the chiefs, proposing to obtain their friendship and

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<sup>13</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, 1861-1867, Hills to Hawkins, September 10, 1861.

<sup>14</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, 1858-1861, Good to Hills, January 6, 1862.

understanding by house visits and medical services.

Good did not confine his activities strictly to Nanaimo. His parish was bounded by Cowichan to the south, but was unlimited to the west and to the north. He did not travel the trail into the Alberni Valley, but directed his attention to the north where initial contact with northern Vancouver Island Indians had been made through the Comox Indians who wintered at or near Nanaimo. He travelled to their territory as early as 1862, returning as often as three times a year. Good was impressed with the Comox people and with commendable foresight, obtained, in October 1864, 170 acres in Section 378 of the Comox District to serve as a future base for the church's activities.<sup>15</sup> In 1864, Good travelled to their home territory as interpreter with the Dr. R. Brown Northern Vancouver Island expedition, venturing as far as Cape Mudge.<sup>16</sup>

The Comox land was the first of several acquisitions that Good made for the church. The process proved Good's adaptability to the new laws and conditions of the colony. In England, the Church of England was supported, subsidised, and protected by the government. In the nascent colony,

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<sup>15</sup> BCARS, (GR 1069), Hudson's Bay Company Documents, 1854 - 1864, Papers Connected with Claims to Land. p.15.

<sup>16</sup> BCARS, (Add MSS 0794), Robert Brown Collection, Journals, Vol.IV, p.3.

popular opinion dictated that there would be no state church, no preferential financial aid, and no large grants of land. Good and clerics from other denominations<sup>17</sup> used a loophole in the system by pre-empting<sup>18</sup> land in their own names, and, on receipt of the Crown Grant, transferred title to the Church. Nevertheless, Good's land acquisition appears to have been the outcome of individual initiative, rather than official church policy. Bishop Hills supplemented the acquisitions with other land purchases, for instance 454 acres of land in Saanich,<sup>19</sup> and eighty acres at Hope in 1860. The latter, complete with its own trout stream, was earmarked for use as a College site and bishop's residence.<sup>20</sup>

At Nanaimo Good launched his ministry and followed through on plans for building a church as discussed in

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<sup>17</sup> On November 30, 1860, Fathers Pierre Richard and Richard Buchman pre-empted land in their own names, adjoining what is now Kelowna, for use of the Roman Catholic Church. Similar acquisitions were made by Methodist clergy. BCARS, (Add MSS 0700), F.W. Laing, "Colonial Farm Settlers on the Mainland of British Columbia, 1858-1871." Typescript, Victoria, 1939, p.13.

<sup>18</sup> New settlers were able to pre-empt land as a means of immediately working the ground to take advantage of the current growing year for crop production, taking care of the formal alienation later.

<sup>19</sup> Hills, Diaries, August 21, 1861.

<sup>20</sup> Hills, Diaries, June 18, 1860.

Victoria with Bishop Hills and C.S.Nicol, the manager of the local coal company.<sup>21</sup> Until a church was constructed, Services continued to be held in the Hudson's Bay schoolroom.<sup>22</sup> Good wasted no time in addressing his duties; a month later, the Bishop was able to report:

the attendance has greatly increased at the services. The Sunday school is largely increased. Mr. and Mrs. Nicol have thrown themselves into the church and manage the Sunday School. An excellent site has been chosen for the church and a hearty drive manifested for its erection.<sup>23</sup>

The Hudson's Bay company assigned another piece of land for a church and parsonage and the work of building commenced.<sup>24</sup>

Hills was elated:

If the present management continues in the Hudson's Bay offices and Mr. Good goes on as well as he has begun that we may hope to see here the best elements of religious growth and attachment to the Church as found [in] the New Colonies.

Moreover, according to Hills, who unfortunately gave no details, the Methodists who had been experiencing internal differences, had become less effective.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Hills Diaries, September 13, 1861.

<sup>22</sup> Mission Field, April 1, 1862, p.92

<sup>23</sup> Hills, Diaries, October 16, 1861.

<sup>24</sup> Hills, Diaries, November 7, 1862.

<sup>25</sup> Hills, Diaries, October 16, 1861.

While Good successfully worked towards providing facilities and services for the white community, he was equally interested in the Indians. On his arrival in September 1861, Good had found them "living in very dirty and wretched condition on a tongue of land adjoining the Dunsmere [sic] Mine."<sup>26</sup> The mine manager, Charles Nicol, considered the village a nuisance and early in 1862 suggested moving the Indians to a new location. Good heartily agreed, not for the sake of the mine, but to isolate the Indians from white temptations.<sup>27</sup> With the assistance of Nicol, who was a friend of the Bishop and an active churchman, the local band was moved to a new location complete with new whitewashed houses. For the Indians it was a very fortuitous move as it improved their living conditions just prior to the smallpox epidemic that was brought from San Francisco that fall.<sup>28</sup> Isolation and improved hygiene meant fewer cases of smallpox, and, when combined with Good's vaccination programme, gave the Nanaimo Indians a far greater survival rate than their

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<sup>26</sup> J.B.Good, "Mission to the Nanaimo Tribe, Vancouver's Island," Mission Field, Vol.VIII, May 1863, p.116-117.

<sup>27</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, Good to S.P.G. October 6, 1862. p. 117.

<sup>28</sup> Andrew H. Yarmie, "Smallpox and the British Columbia Indians Epidemic of 1862," British Columbia Library Quarterly, Vol.31, Number 3, (January, 1968), p.15.

contemporaries who had not enjoyed these benefits. Good's elementary medical training at St. Augustine's saved many Indian lives and raised both his and his church's influence with them.

The losers in the village translocation were the Methodists, who had built a school near the old Indian village. Good aggravated the situation by suggesting the Methodists should retire from the field and transfer the school to the Church of England. After speaking "very plainly to the brother,"<sup>29</sup> the resident Methodist missionary, the Reverend Ebenezer Robson, met Bishop Hills in Victoria on November 25, 1862.<sup>30</sup> The crux of Robson's objection was that the Methodists were first in the field, the Anglican Church was intruding, and the competition would harm Christian work. Hills backed Good to the hilt, leaving no doubt that the Church of England would not withdraw from Nanaimo. The Bishop replied that Robson should be happy with more Christian missions in the field; that Nanaimo was big enough for two denominations; that when an S.P.G. missionary was appointed the Methodists had no regular school; that a

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<sup>29</sup> BCARS, (H/Sal), Walter N. Sage, "The Early Missions and Missionaries in British Columbia," A Paper read to the Pacific Coast Theological Conference in Seattle in 1933, p.27.

<sup>30</sup> BCARS, (H/D/R57/H55), Letter, Hills to Robson, Nov. 25, 1862. Ebenezer Robson Collection.

one hour visit on a Sunday did not constitute a Methodist Mission; and that it was not reasonable that the Anglicans should retire.<sup>31</sup>

In fact the Methodists had established residency in the Nanaimo district with the appointment of Arthur Browning on February 17, 1859.<sup>32</sup> It was unfortunate for the Methodists that the original theological disagreement in the Dissenting movement had grown into open antagonism in the mission field of the new colony. Three months previously, while attempting to conduct a service for the miners at Antler in the Cariboo, Bishop Hills had endured deliberate disruptions from the Reverend Mr. Browning. The Bishop wrote:

Just as we were going to commence, he took his stand in the narrow street nearly opposite our place of worship and there maintained a course of loud bawling which of course greatly interrupted our service, indeed [it] deterred people from coming as usual and of course our singing as effectively interfered with him.<sup>33</sup>

The Bishop replied with his musical weapons and no doubt, the miners enjoyed the entire performance. While the incident is not without humour, such relationships did nothing to advance the goals of either church.

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<sup>31</sup> Hills, Diaries, November 25, 1862.

<sup>32</sup> Sage, "The Early Missions and Missionaries," p.25.

<sup>33</sup> Hills, Diaries, August 24, 1862.

At Nanaimo Good made progress with the Indians, but was beginning to experience the financial and human relations problems that would dog him for the rest of his working life. As early as 1861, he requested an increase in his stipend emphasizing that he was receiving a single man's salary while shouldering the financial burden of a wife and child. Plaintively he reported that he was the lowest paid cleric in the Diocese, noting that "Such pecuniary anomalies might give room for individious comparisons."<sup>34</sup> He was partly to blame for his circumstances because he had agreed with the S.P.G. for a single man's stipend. To compound his financial problems he contracted a debt that he found difficult to retire. Details of the debt are vague, but it was to the Coal Company for £200.<sup>35</sup> It was an enormous sum considering that his year's stipend was only £250.<sup>36</sup> Many years later, Good recorded in the parochial history of St. Paul's that the cost of building the church had been subscribed at its opening "with the exception of some

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<sup>34</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, Good to S.P.G. December 16, 1861.

<sup>35</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, 1861-1867, Hills to S.P.G. May 13, 1867.

<sup>36</sup> AADBC, Hills' Correspondence Book, 1859-1876, Hawkins to Hills, October 30, 1863.

\$500." <sup>37</sup> The figures from the two sources do not match but one possibility is that the debt was incurred in the construction of the church. The other possibility is that Good used the money at the Indian mission. Certainly, Good spent his own money on the mission. Although money had been supplied for a basic school room, Good, influenced by his teaching background, wrote that,

[it] shall need a great deal of furniture to make it efficient, and, what I consider very important here, attractive, a bell, melodeon, school apparatus, medicine chest and workmans' tools besides other matters are imperatively required. We ought to buy material in order that the girls might learn to sew and the boys be taught mechanical and other useful arts and employments....So anxious have I been to promote some of these objects that I have ventured to spend a considerable item of my own money for them.<sup>38</sup>

Good held back nothing to get the job done. If money was not immediately available, he believed God would provide; until then, he confidently used his own resources. The mission was imperative. Unfortunately the debt coincided with a major recession in the colony's economy and a general financial crisis throughout the entire mission field of the Church of England; help was not forthcoming. The debt was not satisfied until 1876, after protracted negotiations between

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<sup>37</sup> AADBC, J.B. Good, "Parochial History of St. Paul's," Parish Register for St. Paul's, Nanaimo, p.5.

<sup>38</sup> USPG, Good to Secretary, S.P.G., July 22, 1862.

Good, Bishop Hills, the Vancouver Island Land and Coal Mining Company and the S.P.G.

Good named the church St. Paul's, probably after his favourite missionary saint, as he did the later Indian Church and Mission at Lytton. Throughout his two tenures at Nanaimo, St. Paul's received much aid from the successive coal mining companies. In his small white congregation, he was fortunate to have mine managers who were churchmen with a personal Christian commitment. The transfer of the land for the church was complicated by the Hudson's Bay Company's sale of the coal mining operation to the Vancouver Island Land and Coal Mining Company. The deed to the land was not transferred to the Bishop until well after the church was built. Hence, on June 8, 1862<sup>39</sup> an opening service, not a service of Consecration was held in the new building. The deed was finally conveyed on July 15, 1864,<sup>40</sup> and the Church consecrated on August 27, 1865.<sup>41</sup>

While the company was interested in the church's mission to the miners, Good, who was responding to the conditions of the S.P.G. grant, spent much of his time with

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<sup>39</sup> Hills, Diaries, June 8, 1862.

<sup>40</sup> BCARS, Canadian Collieries (Dunsmuir Ltd.), List of documents sealed in London.

<sup>41</sup> AADBC, J.B.Good, "Parochial History of S. Paul's," Parish Register for St. Paul's, Nanaimo, p.6.

the Indians. His basic organisation used "watchmen," promising Indian converts whose job was to exhort their fellow band members to Christian ways, and to report infractions of approved behaviour. It is not known where Good learned of the system that had been developed by Roman Catholic missionaries but he adapted it to good use. Watchmen were carefully chosen, usually men who already enjoyed positions of some authority, and were given an armband with a red cross to designate their status. Good later used the same system throughout the his huge mission territory on the mainland.

Good taught more than Christianity; he taught the industry of the work ethic by example:

I have laboured for many weeks with my own hands in making roads and improving generally the piece of ground upon which the School Chapel is built and by so doing have left the Indians without excuse should they feel disposed to refuse their services for the like objects.<sup>42</sup>

Good had a practical perception of human nature; a sound example re-enforced theoretical teaching. Good was willing to exploit any advantage to extend his Christian cause.

During his teacher training in England, Good had learned the new Sol Fa system of music. He immediately noticed the Indians' musical aptitude, noting that "they all seem to have an ear for music and it appears natural for

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<sup>42</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, 1861-1867, Good to S.P.G. October 6, 1862.

them to sing in parts."<sup>43</sup> When working with the Reverend A.C. Garrett at the Victoria mission, Good had become acquainted with Garrett's translation into Chinook of the children's hymn, "Here we suffer grief and pain." The Indians at the Victoria mission immediately learned the tune and, appreciating the music, sang it wherever they went.<sup>44</sup> The success of this song in Victoria led to its use in Nanaimo, and the Methodists later used it in the Lower Fraser valley.<sup>45</sup> Good's musical training would later be applied to the musical talent of the Thompson Indians. Music was only one of Good's missionary tools.

Hills told of visiting, with Good, one of the Anglican Indian villages. Their arrival was announced by two young men running through the camp ringing bells to summon the people to greet them. Rugs were spread on the ground for the visitors and at the service

a Litany, The Confession, Lord's Prayer, Belief, [Creed] and Commandments were recited and the responses to the Commandments were touchingly chanted. The order, devotion and seeming

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<sup>43</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, 1861-1867, Good to S.P.G., October 6, 1862.

<sup>44</sup> J.B.Good. "The Utmost Bounds...", p.13.

<sup>45</sup> Crosby, Thos., Tate, Chas., Barraclough, Wm., Trans. Indian Methodist Hymn-Book: Staylim-Paypa ta Methodist-Ts'haylith. Chilliwack: Rev. W.H. Barraclough, 1898, p.20.

intelligence were striking.<sup>46</sup>

Good could communicate the importance of the solemnity of the church's offices to his parishioners. It was no wonder that Bishop Hills remarked on Good's "peculiar ability" to relate to the Indians.

Good did not preach to the Indians from a distance; he moved lovingly among them in their environment. Following the experiential road laid down by long lines of English foreign missionaries before him, he developed a trust with Jacob Skenahan, one of the local Nanaimo Indian Chiefs who was later murdered by one of his own band.<sup>47</sup> Skenahan must have been very impressed, for he brought his eldest son as a present for Mrs. Good and asked to have him prepared for baptism. The practice of presenting Indian children to missionaries while not common, was not unusual. The compact would give the cleric an influential entrée into Indian society, while the stature of the chief would be raised in the eyes of his people. The Chief and the boy arrived at the Good's unannounced at breakfast time. Good, with a wry sense of humour then related:

He [Skenahan] complained of not feeling very well himself and hoped that I would give him something to make him better. I therefore mixed my friend a dose of Rhubarb and Jallop, and at the same time invited him to join us at breakfast. Like a

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<sup>46</sup> Hills, Diaries, June 10, 1862.

<sup>47</sup> J.B.Good, "The Utmost Bounds...", p.27.

sensible man he elected to try eating first, and then feeling so much better for the meal, in order not to waste the medicine which he now did not want, but yet had a kind of magical virtue in his eyes, he gave the dose to his son! After he left, this boy who had seemed to have been a stranger to the bath-tub for all of his life was put through a process of purgation he never forgot.<sup>48</sup>

Good grew very fond of the young lad, treating the child almost as his own with deeply rooted affection, naming him Louis Augustine Good, but stopping short of formal adoption. The circumstances surrounding Louis' departure from the Good residence before 1866 are unknown but the relationship was re-kindled when Good returned to Nanaimo in 1882.

There is no record of Mrs. Good's opinion of Louis but, supportive of her husband's missionary calling, she was probably enthusiastic about the new boarder, even though she already had one child of her own and was training an Indian girl for domestic work. The success of the girl's Christian training may be measured by her immediate contact with Bishop Hills when she discovered the family to which she was assigned did not attend church.<sup>49</sup>

By 1862, the results of the Nanaimo mission looked very promising. Writing to the S.P.G., Good reported,

I really cannot sometimes myself attach the idea of barbarous savages to the orderly, devout, and decently attired assembly of Indians before me -

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<sup>48</sup> J.B.Good, "The Utmost Bounds...", pp. 359-360.

<sup>49</sup> Report of the Columbia Mission for 1866, London: Rivingtons, 1866, p.26.

and though I feel that we may not be over sanguine as to the reality or stability and increase of genuine work of Divine Grace going on in their souls - yet I am persuaded that many of them are being called and led out of darkness into God's marvellous light.<sup>50</sup>

Yet there were hints of a serpent in Eden. Good, still burdened by a debt had other problems.

A prime example of problems caused by Good's drive and determination was centred on the St. Paul's Literary Society. Good, active in the founding of the Society, and fully supported by Bishop Hills, proposed very rigid control over membership that would exclude men who "lived in states of fornication, habitual drunkenness, or other gross immoralities."<sup>51</sup> Good, as Superintendent of the Institute was empowered with the veto, enabling total control. However the members changed the constitution, eliminating Good's position and writing a less controversial constitution. Childishly, Good retaliated by banning the Institute from using the church school building. Good was starting to realize that social rules in the west were considerably removed from their English origin. Hills recorded that Good

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<sup>50</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, Good to S.P.G., October 6, 1862.

<sup>51</sup> Lynne Bowen, Three Dollar Dreams, Lantzville: Oolichan Books, 1987, p.121.

"is greatly discouraged"<sup>52</sup> a phrase that would be used nineteen years later when Good left the Lytton Mission. Bishop Hills, while being supportive of his clergy, was also a good judge of character, noting in his diary that Good "certainly is in earnest but sometimes does not get along with people."<sup>53</sup> These problems were later aggravated by family losses such as the death from whooping cough, on March 24, 1865, of his second child, seven month old Laura Emily Kline.<sup>54</sup>

By 1866 Good was ready for a new field and subsequently moved to the mainland. Whether Good volunteered or was transferred is not clear. For whatever reason, Good and his family moved to Yale in May 1866, paying an Indian \$2.50 out of the Nanaimo church funds to clean the house and move his possessions.<sup>55</sup> On June 2, 1866, Good received formal appointment to Yale, subject to the ratification of the new bishop. The condition attached to the appointment was part of the process started by Bishop Hills to divide his enormous Diocese into smaller more manageable units.

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<sup>52</sup> Hills, Diaries, April 1, 1862.

<sup>53</sup> Hills, Diaries, November 19, 1865.

<sup>54</sup> "Died," Colonist, March 24, 1865, p.3.

<sup>55</sup> AADBC, The Accounts of St. Paul's, Nanaimo from April 1864.

Good had made a solid start on his missionary career. His disappointment at the state of the coastal Indians compared to his idealistic anticipation of the noble warrior did not interfere with his mission task. In fact, he had made great progress with some of the Indian people. He had practised his elementary medical skills in exactly the manner anticipated by the missionary college, with the expected results. Good had shown himself adaptable in relation to his missionary methods but intractable in competing with other denominations. With his successes had come the first demonstrations of his weaknesses, particularly in the field of finance. Good had shown a great love for both his biological and his mission family, an emotion that brought, and would continue to bring, both reward and pain. He had formed a high opinion of his Bishop to the point of the firm friendship that would be the rock to which he would cling through all future troubles. The raw missionary had been tempered in the fire; he was ready for his major life's work.

## Chapter 4.

## The Leading Edge of Mission: 1866-1880.

The timing of Good's appointment was most fortuitous. The wagon road up the Fraser and Thompson to the gold country of the interior had been completed, the telegraph was operational, and the district government agencies were gradually being put in place. Trade and settlement were slowly expanding and the Indians were amenable to the white man's ways, knowledge, and material goods. Most important of all, early contact with the Indians revealed a surprising knowledge of Christian practices that extended beyond the inherent religious ideas of the Indian culture.

For Good the move to Yale was the goal for which he believed that he had been ordained. The Nanaimo experience had shown a brash, uncompromising eager young cleric, but the sojourn on the Fraser revealed the maturing process and the application of earlier experiences. He readily identified with the Thompson Indian people, whose lifestyle was more in keeping with his original concept of "Red Indians" formed at the feet of the Reverend John West. The task was to establish the Church of England throughout five thousand square miles of frontier territory, from Yale to Clinton, to the Nicola Valley; Good was more than equal to it, but in the process he suffered mental and physical

exhaustion, experienced the loneliness of isolation from his family, endured frustration from the lack of resources, and finally incurred the wrath and antagonism of his new Bishop. When he left the area sixteen years later, he was loved by the Indians but rejected by the white settlers, fellow clerics, his new Bishop, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that he had unstintingly served for twenty-three years. Through this rejection, Good was sustained by his deep and undying Christian faith, his continuing friendship with Bishop Hills, who stood by him, the companionship of his Indian parishioners, but most of all by the constant support of his wife.

It is easy to see why Hills sent Good to Yale, the head of navigation on the Fraser, a thriving frontier town and the major transfer point for goods and people bound for the interior. In 1866, the Reverend Henry Reeve, whose main task was a mission to the Chinese, was the incumbent at Yale. Unfortunately, Reeve was fluent in the Shanghai dialect whereas the Yale Chinese spoke Cantonese.<sup>1</sup> Because of the language problems Hills abandoned the Chinese and redirected his mission efforts towards the Indian people, for whom he had developed an affection on his early exploratory trips.

For his efforts to accomplish the Church's missionary

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<sup>1</sup> BCARS., (H/A/C64), G.H. Cockburn, "Some Persons and Places in Anglican Church History," Unpublished typescript, pp. 49-50.

imperative, Hills lacked suitable clergy; his continual cry was the extreme difficulty in recruiting better quality clergy,<sup>2</sup> and the greater difficulty of retaining them. Few clerics were willing to move to the wilds far from civilization, especially since many, such as the Reverend John Sheepshanks, regarded a few years of colonial service as a stepping stone to an otherwise unobtainable preferment in England. Other men were completely unsuited for life in the colony. The first S.P.G. missionary, the Reverend Richard Dowson, remained in the colony a scant two years. The Reverend John Escrut was so overwhelmed by the colonial experience that he fled back to England without exercising the courtesy of informing Bishop Hills until he was well clear at San Francisco.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the Reverend A.C. Garrett, who had operated the Indian Mission and school in Victoria, John Booth Good was the only other Anglican cleric engaged in a major role of Indian mission.

Good discovered that basic Christianity had preceded him. Bishop Hills earlier noted "there are but few Indians indeed who are totally ignorant of the name of Christ,"<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> "Supply of Clergy," Report of the Columbia Mission, 1866, London: Rivingtons, 1866, p.27.

<sup>3</sup> VSTA, Bishop George Hills, Diaries, May 3, 1866.

<sup>4</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, Bishop George Hills to S.P.G., July 24, 1862, p. 89.

and that Indians near Alkali Lake recognized parts of the church service. The Roman Catholics acknowledged an earlier Christian influence. In 1841 Father M. Demers visited Fort Langley and found Indians who already knew the sign of the cross and a few simple hymns.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Jesset has written how whites, on first contact with Indian people, recognized elements of Christian religion and church practices.<sup>6</sup> Jesset documented the genesis of Christian teaching found over a very wide area of the fur trading lands and the remarkable searching for, and accepting of, the Christian religion by the Indian people. There is a tenuous connection between the spread of Christianity and the forty youngsters who went to the Red River.

These early Christian contacts were enlarged by the efforts of the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, the first denomination to exercise missionary endeavours outside of the H.B.C. chaplaincy. Although the Roman Catholic Church had originally held sway over the Thompson

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<sup>5</sup> Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia, Vol.1, "The Impact of the White Man," Victoria: Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir No.5, Provincial Museum of British Columbia, pp.89-90.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas E. Jesset, "Anglicanism Among the Indians of Washington Territory," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol.32, No.3, (July 1951), pp. 224-241. Thomas E. Jesset, "The Church of England in the Old Oregon Country," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, (1953), pp.197-205.

River Indians, it lacked sufficient priests to establish permanent missions, and faced the active antagonism of the Anglican Church. The Roman Catholic Church did not retreat without a fight and soon after arriving, Good reported:

The Romish clergy have lately been at extraordinary pains to inspire dread of our teaching, misrepresenting our Church in every way they can devise.<sup>7</sup>

Anglican hostility towards the Roman Catholic Church led to at least one physical assault on a Roman Catholic priest by "Chillie," an Indian under Good's supervision. It certainly was not Good's intention to promote violence but the incident gave an idea of the enmity between the two denominations. Harassment was certainly intended because when Father LeJacq was assaulted, the key to his Church was stolen.<sup>8</sup> The Roman Catholics, for their part, indulged in such tactics as telling the Indian children they would go to Hell if they continued attending the Anglican school.<sup>9</sup> To be fair, it must be said that the antagonism was mutual, but the end result was that, according to Father Morice, the Anglicans drove out Father Jean-Marie LeJacq, allowing the

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<sup>7</sup> "Progress, Persecution, and Division," Columbia Report, 1867, p.75.

<sup>8</sup> This may have been one of the Chiefs, Chilliheatza. BCARS, (A/E/Or3/Or3), O'Reilly Collection, Diaries, October 31, 1867.

<sup>9</sup> "Bishop's Journal," Columbia Report, 1867, p.90.

Thompson Indians to "embrace the schism of Henry VIII."<sup>10</sup> Bishop Hills, with unusual generosity,<sup>11</sup> credited the work done by the Fathers with paving the way for the ultimate success of the Anglican Lytton Mission. It was unfortunate that so little co-operation existed between the denominations and that the tradition of mutual animosity in England had unfortunately been transferred to the new colony.

On his initial exploratory trip up country in 1860, Bishop Hills had camped on the future site of the Lytton Mission, meeting the Thompson Chief, David Spintlum.<sup>12</sup> The Indian people had, in their culture, a basic religiosity; seeing the technical superiority of the Europeans, they may have concluded that the white man's religion had superior attributes to their own. The native people were curious about the Christian religion and anxious to learn more. From Chilhooselts, a Thompson chief, Hills learned the name of "Skatzalkeetlah," an Indian name that was the equivalent of

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<sup>10</sup> A.G. Morice, Catholic Church, 2: 353, quoted in Douglas Cole and Bradley Lockner, Eds., The Journals of George M. Dawson: British Columbia, 1875-1878, Vol.1-2, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989, p.286.

<sup>11</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, Bishop George Hills to S.P.G., July 24, 1862.

<sup>12</sup> Hills, Diaries, July 2, 1860.

"God" meaning "was above, was great, was good, saw us but we could not see Him."<sup>13</sup> It is obvious from Hills' extensive travels, his reports to the S.P.G., and his diaries, that these close parallels between Indian legend and Christian teaching spelled opportunity, and a mission to the Fraser Indians became one of his highest priorities.

By the time Good reached the Fraser, the Anglican Church had been in the area for eight years. The departure of the Reverend H.B. Reeve (1862-1865), left an interregnum until Good's arrival in 1866. Good was fortunate to find a small but organized congregation and a delightful little wooden church that had been designed and built by the Royal Engineers in 1859. An elementary parish register had been kept but since, in Good's opinion it was not up to standard, he commenced a new parish vestry book on January 7, 1866, noting on the first page certification of the authenticity of the previous five records.<sup>14</sup> The summer passed with every appearance that Good was happier than at Nanaimo. Another son, Percival Lytton was born on December 11, 1866 and baptised on February 24, 1867.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Hills, Diaries, July 6, 1860.

<sup>14</sup> VSTA, Parish Register, St. John the Divine, Yale.

<sup>15</sup> VSTA, Parish Register of St. John the Divine, Yale, B.C. p.41.

As very little organizational work was needed with his white parishioners, Good turned his attention to the Indian people. He had already established a positive relationship with the Indians and soon recognized their inherent musical talent. Using the Book of Common Prayer he taught them the Litany, an excellent starting point because it was an interactive office; the people chanting repetitive responses to verses sung by the officiant. The mainland Indians followed the same musical pattern as their Nanaimo contemporaries with a natural proclivity towards music. Others confirmed Good's success in exploiting this talent when applied to the teaching of Christianity. Archdeacon Wright later wrote,

The Thompson Indians are certainly musical, and chant with evident delight. The hymns were sung with a swing that made the little church ring again.

Wright also noticed that the interest in music was taken beyond the formal services in the church into the Indian camps and daily life. "At about 7.30, we heard the sweetest singing and it turned out to be some of our Indians encamped nearby going through the Evening Service of the Church."<sup>16</sup> Capitalizing on their musical interest, Good placed a priority on the translation of hymns as well as the Liturgy

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<sup>16</sup> "Archdeacon Wright's Report," Columbia Report, 1877, p.31 and 35.

into native languages.<sup>17</sup> Governor Anthony Musgrave also observed the Indians' Christian enthusiasm in the hearty singing by both young and old at a seven hour service led by Chief Sashiatan at Spences Bridge.<sup>18</sup> Good took the Church to the Indians rather than waiting for them to come to the Church. He visited them in their keekwoolies<sup>19</sup> taking small gifts of tobacco which he referred to as his potlatch. For a young missionary relatively new to the colony, the experience was memorable. When the keekwoolley was crowded, the atmosphere became extremely unpleasant. In Good's words:

the heat would grow insufferable, the odour rising from so many native breaths would cling to one's garments for days, and I have come out from these protracted services utterly exhausted, and everything wet on me as though I had been dipped in a bath, whilst I would not get rid of the

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<sup>17</sup> "Columbia," Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the Year 1863, London:S.P.G., 1863, p.57.

<sup>18</sup> Musgrave to Good, March 25, 1870, published in Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the Year 1870, p.41. The actual published letter is attributed to John Murray, Governor of British Columbia. This is obviously an error and should read Musgrave for Murray.

<sup>19</sup> Keekwoolies were native houses that were covered pits in the ground. They originated in the drier, colder Interior, providing a most appropriate form of practical winter housing. The name is sometimes spelled keekwillies but as the first version was the one used by John Booth Good, that one will be used in this paper. The name is derived from "kekule" a Chinook word meaning "house." See Franz Boas, ed., The Jessup North Pacific Expedition, New York, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol.1, Part 4, 1900, p.192.

keekwolley smell for days to come.<sup>20</sup>

Such an occupation was not for the fainthearted. In Biblical tradition, Good sought out his potential parishioners in jail, sick and dying, and among the Indian prostitutes.<sup>21</sup>

Unlike many of his contemporaries Good did not regard the potlatch as an unchristian, immoral, wasteful and materialistic institution which led to slothful habits. Good, though traditional in so many ways, here swam against the tide. He understood the societal importance of the potlatch and adapted the event to complement his mission.<sup>22</sup> On one occasion when a potlatch was planned, Good suggested forgoing a church service that conflicted with the time. The Indians, according to Good, refused this offer, instead insisting that the normal church service be held before the potlatch.<sup>23</sup> His relationship to the practice was successful as the British Columbia Tribune, reporting on a major potlatch in late 1866, noted that

There was a large attendance of the neighbouring

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<sup>20</sup> J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds," p.41.

<sup>21</sup> "Progress of the Gospel Among the Indians of British Columbia," Mission Field, Vol.XIV, 1869, p.194.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of the importance of the potlatch to the Indian people, see Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin, An Iron Hand upon the People: The Law Against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast, Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1990.

<sup>23</sup> Mission Field, Vol.XIV, No.CLXIII, July 1869, p.226.

tribes. Blankets, cooking utensils and money were dispensed to a considerable amount, to the evident satisfaction of the natives. The usual custom of tearing the blankets was not resorted to on this occasion.<sup>24</sup>

Through Good's influence, the potlatch was retained but modified to show Christian generosity rather than theatrical disregard for wealth in order to gain social recognition.

Good made many of his visits in the evenings when the people had collected in their keekwoolies after their days' activities. He often remained until the early hours of the morning. By October 1866, he had a class of forty adults under instruction. Six months later, Bishop Hills reported:

I went to church, and found in it a goodly congregation of Indians. They were from the Frazer [sic] above and below Yale, and also from Tikumstin, or Lytton. Under the guidance of the Reverend J.B. Good, they went through a simple and beautiful service. The Governor was present, and there was evident earnestness and intelligence in the countenance of all the Indians.<sup>25</sup>

Good loved the Indian people, never tiring of being with them, an essential attitude in the life of a missionary. Successful missionary work was a seven day a week occupation. Holidays, weekends and limited hours of work were non-existent. Indians sought Good all day, every day. He was often awake until the early hours of the

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<sup>24</sup> "Potlatch," British Columbia Tribune, Yale, October 6, 1866.

<sup>25</sup> "Bishop's Journal," Columbia Report, 1867, p.16.

morning, pursuing his mission work but his successes were due as much to his philosophy as to his work. Good had studied missions and rejected the benevolent paternalism used by the Roman Catholic Church in California, which he felt impeded the Indians' ability to contribute to their own support. Good vehemently opposed the "debasing influences" of the Reserve system but proposed to

studiously cultivate the pride of independence so ennobling in its effects, and which the Indians so largely possess from nature and early training. We would fearlessly allow him to grow up side by side with his white neighbours, treating him in all respects as a rational being, capable of thinking and acting for himself, and of steady self improvement.<sup>26</sup>

Good's concept of mission was condensed into this statement.<sup>27</sup> The task of the mission was transitory, preparing a separate but equal people to take their place alongside their more "improved" white brothers within the family of man. Once the job was done, the Indian people and the Indian Church would be self supporting and thrive in the new combined community.

Good went quietly about his business, building on the Indians' previous Christian knowledge and establishing a growing, dedicated Christian community. Good's ultimate aim,

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<sup>26</sup> The italics are Good's. J.B. Good, "Principles of Action in Social Life," Columbia Report, 1867, p 29.

<sup>27</sup> See page 8 for a comparison with general church attitudes to native people.

apart from the obvious imperative of spreading the Gospel, was "first [to] convert, then gradually reform " the Indian people in order "to turn a barbarous and heathenish nation from the error of their ways," <sup>28</sup> and to "carry out a perfect code of social and domestic reform." <sup>29</sup>

Good anticipated a homogeneous, integrated white-Indian community distinguished only by physical appearances.

While at Yale, Good had met Sashiatan, a one-time war chief of the Thompsons from the Lytton district.<sup>30</sup> Impressed with Good, in December 1866 Sashiatan contacted Captain Ball, the local magistrate at Lytton. Ball wrote a covering letter for Sashiatan to Good saying, in part:

He [Sashiatan] has taken a great fancy to you, and is determined that all the Indians shall be followers of yours. He wants you to let him know when you intend coming up to Lytton, in order to give timely notice to all Indians throughout the country, that they may have an opportunity of meeting you here. He is a good and valuable Indian, and through him you may obtain an influence over perhaps, a thousand Indians.<sup>31</sup>

Subsequently Sashiatan, in March 1867, led many of his tribe

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<sup>28</sup> J.B.Good, "The Utmost Bounds," p.43.

<sup>29</sup> Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977, p.138.

<sup>30</sup> R.C. Lundin-Brown, "The Thompson River Indians," Mission Life, Vol.III, Part 1, 1872, p.95.

<sup>31</sup> Mission Life, (New Series), Vol.III, Part 1, 1872, p.97.

in a arduous, bitterly cold winter journey down the Fraser Canyon, to meet Good at Yale and invite him to Lytton to meet his people. Good described the "long train of Indians walking in single file" as "a curious sight," but

considered it a providential opening, of which I was bound to make the most I could, believing that, under God, it must lead to results of great import and consequence to the Mission in these parts.<sup>32</sup>

The mission initiative was passing from the missionary to the potential converts. Both Good and the Bishop must have been extremely excited at the potential prospects, but one visit by a group of Indians was not reason enough to relocate the main centre of missionary effort. After two further delegations led by other chiefs from other bands, Good asked each chief to send an intelligent Indian to learn the native language prayers and teach others of his tribe on his return.<sup>33</sup> In the spring of 1867 Good received the famous telegram from the Lytton Indians written in Chinook:

Lytton Siwashes tum tum mika cloash hyaek chaco. Tikke wawwa mika, the Lytton Indians think you had better make haste and come; they wish to speak to you.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> "Thompson River Indians," Columbia Report, 1867, p.66.

<sup>33</sup> "A Mingling of Tongues," Columbia Report, 1867, p.74.

<sup>34</sup> "The Telegraph to Mr. Good," Columbia Report, 1867, p.65.

The telegram was in itself a very significant step, showing the eagerness of the Indians to take advantage of white technology, and their continuing interest in Good and Christianity. As J.W. McKay, the Chief Trader for the Hudson's Bay Company at Yale, suggested, the telegram should be taken very seriously as the Indians had taken the unusual step of pre-paying the twelve shilling reply.

Good faced a dilemma. Delay in accommodating the request would negate Indian enthusiasm, but he was committed to his mission post at Yale. Bishop Hills had given permission for the Lytton visit as soon as a new assistant, the Reverend David Holmes, newly graduated from Good's alma mater, St. Augustines, arrived from England.<sup>35</sup> Holmes arrived on April 29, 1867, allowing for a brief orientation before Good left for Lytton two days later.

Good's response to the telegram was a model of missionary competence. First, he borrowed a horse and a saddle from an Indian,<sup>35</sup> and, retaining him as a guide for the two day, fifty-seven mile journey to Lytton, departed on May 1, 1866.<sup>36</sup> Stopping for the night at Boston Bar, Good,

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<sup>35</sup> "Urgency of the Call," Columbia Report, 1867, p.67.

<sup>35</sup> J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds," p.32.

<sup>36</sup> "They Telegraph to Mr. Good," Columbia Report, 1867, p.65.

never one to miss a missionary opportunity, assembled a large number of the local Indians and

spent the whole evening together in prayers, preaching and singing, and in a conversational meeting, at which I gathered a good deal of information respecting the general estimation in which my mode of instructing the Indians at Yale, and all who sought my aid and counsel was held.<sup>37</sup>

The fact that Good had travelled about twenty-five miles that day, with the prospect of slightly more on the morrow, shows a measure of the man and his motivation. The next day Sashiatan and two other Indians met him and the four men rode together the remaining few miles into Lytton to meet the assembled throng of over 500, who had been waiting four days for his arrival.<sup>38</sup> Good listened to their invitation to teach them, was impressed with their physical characteristics, but was sufficiently experienced to realise that in spite of the enthusiasm, success in this mission field was not guaranteed. Using the universal Chinook language, he firmly dictated the parameters that would govern his response to their request:

I did not want them to be in any doubt my work and intentions if such an arrangement could in any way be effected. Wherefore I pointed out to them all their manifold hypocrisy, uncleanness, and idleness and many other sins and evil practices...; and showed them that if I came to live amongst them and knew them better, they would be exposed to censure and correction, and then

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<sup>37</sup> Mission Life, Vol III, 1872. p.99.

<sup>38</sup> "Columbia," Columbia Report, 1867, p. 52.

they might turn against me.<sup>39</sup>

Upon their agreement, Good shook the hand of each of the hundreds of Indians present, truly an impressive act reflecting the solemnity of the occasion. Good had accepted the invitation conditionally on the Bishop's approval. While the approval was a foregone conclusion, it emphasized to the Indians that it was the church that would be coming to them, and not just the Reverend John Booth Good.

Holmes took over the Yale station, fulfilling the obligations to the S.P.G., and Good moved to Lytton, holding his first service in a store<sup>40</sup> on June 16, 1867 with about 200 people present.<sup>41</sup> When he moved into Lytton, Good secured the use of some old buildings on the main street in town, next to Hunter's Hotel. It was not a ideal location, as Hunter's was the antithesis of a Christian mission, but other than living in tents, he had no option. For the Goods, living conditions were primitive, Sarah reporting that the

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<sup>39</sup> "The Indians Promise to be Faithful," Columbia Report, 1867, p.67.

<sup>40</sup> Bishop Hills had five years earlier held services at Lytton, also in a store. He mentioned that his choice of a place of worship was governed by the fact that the local people were reluctant to attend church when it was held in the courthouse. Hills, Diaries, Sunday June 29, 1862.

<sup>41</sup> "First Sunday Service at Lytton after Arrival," Columbia Report, 1867, p. 78.

house was in very poor condition.<sup>42</sup> The first winter, her concerns for Percy, her new-born son, must have been very great as John Good remembered:

It was the coldest season known for years. Water froze within a few feet of a red hot stove. As the outer walls were full of chinks and one of the tearing northern blasts was sweeping around us day and night, we had the hardest work to keep the children from suffering greatly from the intense cold even in their beds.<sup>43</sup>

Life would continue to be hard at Lytton but the Goods were able to withstand hardship.

By August 5, 1866, Good had started his school for religious and secular instruction with four young boys, adding six more within a month. The pupils were boarded with Lenoquia and his wife, two of Good's early converts, and were duly presented for the opening of school with clean countenances. Within a year, the initial quartet had expanded into a regular school, with a rigid, rounded programme based on Good's early teacher training. School started remarkably late by contemporary standards:

At 10 a.m. the flag goes up and the bell is rung for prayers. Then to work till 12, followed by an hour's recess, when the flag is at half mast. At 1, resume school; conclude at 3 P.M. Industrial work from 3 to 4, and occasional evening classes. All boys are expected to attend both the native and white services on Sunday. I give them a little drill every day to enliven them up, and impart

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<sup>42</sup> "Arrival of Mr. Good at the New Mission," Columbia Report, 1867, p.68.

<sup>43</sup> J.B.Good, "The Utmost Bounds," p.35.

habits of instant obedience, &c.: whilst their hours of play are sufficiently long to prevent them feeling the hours of work irksome and confining.<sup>44</sup>

Considering the students' normal unfettered lives, it is a wonder that such a regimented programme succeeded. The flag, Bishop Hills' suggestion, was a red St. George's cross on a white background. The design may have been Christian symbolism, or it might be recognized as the Royal Navy's White Ensign, a legacy from the Bishop's admiral father. Interestingly, in 1938 this flag became the basis for the official flag of the Church of England.<sup>45</sup>

Good expected his students to be the nucleus of an Indian Training Centre that would be the forerunner of an Indian Normal School. Education and conditioning were two of the keys to a successful programme.<sup>46</sup> The school had immediate logistical problems as Good found it was very difficult to convince parents to allow the children to attend school continuously. The parents were expected to

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<sup>44</sup> "Opening of Indian Boys' School," Columbia Report, 1867, p.80.

<sup>45</sup> F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., "Flags on church towers," The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, Second Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974, p.517.

<sup>46</sup> NAC, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol.3611, File 3755, Good to Minister of the Interior, December 6, 1876.

support the children by providing food and clothing, a difficult obligation in light of the failure of the salmon catch and the berry harvest.

The collapse of the annual food supply foretold a very real spectre of winter starvation. Good responded to the potential calamity by asking Bishop Hills for emergency funds. From very limited means Hills sent \$100. How could Good attempt to feed such a large number of people with such a small sum? Despite a cavalier attitude to his personal finances, he managed this money creatively and sensibly. Instead of purchasing food he bought mining tools. Soon,

hundreds of dollars were secured by this source alone which enabled them to purchase flour and other imported provisions and from that day they were delivered from the caprice of seasons connected with their former state of existence.<sup>47</sup>

The ability to mine gold would alleviate the food problem and move the Indians another step closer to an assimilated lifestyle.

At the beginning of his Lytton sojourn, Good was aided by luck, or Divine guidance, through a most unusual event. He was called to the village of N'Kyah, to the bedside of a very sick Indian woman who desired baptism. After carefully examining her motives, Good performed the rite, leaving the woman in a happy frame of mind. Later that night, she apparently died, and preparations were made for her burial

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<sup>47</sup> J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds," p.44.

the next day. But she was not dead. After a while, she sat up and told the people around her that she had been to heaven, that Good had really been sent by God, and that the Indian people were to do whatever he asked. She then fell back, dead. Such an event would create a stir in a modern sophisticated community so the impact on the village can be easily imagined. While Good capitalized on the event, he was "reluctant to rest [his] teaching upon visions and dreams rather than the pure word of God." <sup>48</sup>

The mission presented an organizational problem. The Thompson Indian people were actually a coalition of smaller bands, who under the overall guidance of the major chiefs, retained minor chiefs in their local villages. Good's mission territory of approximately 5000 square miles,<sup>49</sup> enclosed thirty-three<sup>50</sup> small individual villages in a topography that limited routes of travel. He faced a choice of spending time on the road or bringing the Indians to Lytton. Both options had many detrimental aspects. If Good travelled, he would only see the Indians in small groups on a very infrequent basis, hardly a beneficial situation for a

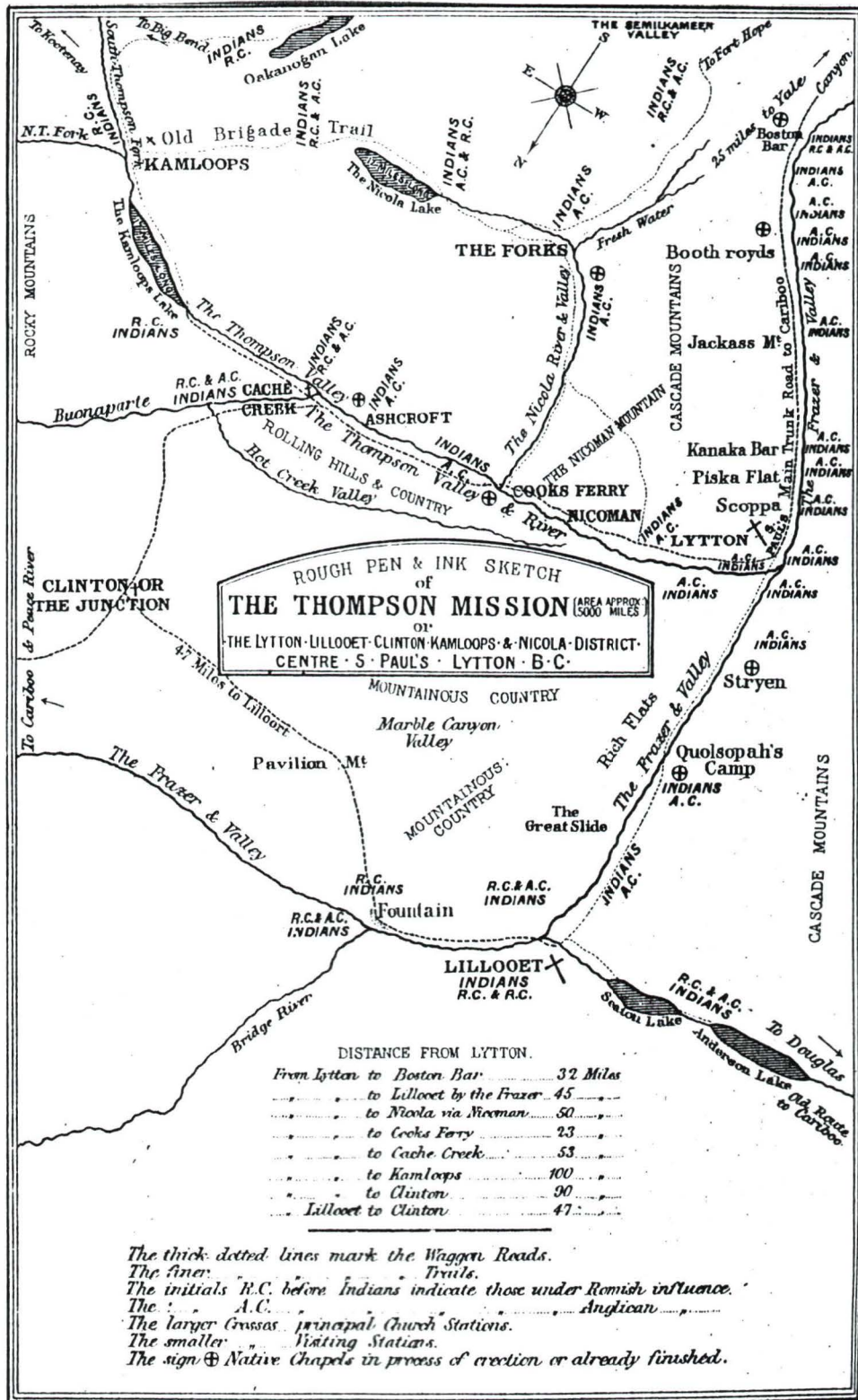
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<sup>48</sup> J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds," p.36.

<sup>49</sup> AADBC, Bishop Hills Correspondence, Hills to S.P.G., December 8, 1868, Box 3, File 3, p.125.

<sup>50</sup> AADC, "List of Villages," Lytton Mission Register, 1867-1945. pp.1-3.

Map of the Lytton Mission, 1871.



missionary enterprise. If he brought them in to the town, there was no accommodation for them and they would be exposed to the worst facets of the white community. It was a dilemma that could only be satisfactorily resolved by more clergy, more buildings, more money. Ultimately, the lack of funds dictated the choice. Good would spend much of his time on the road, recruit native catechists, usually chiefs, to assist him, and would regularly bring Indians in for Sunday services and the great feast days of the church. Mrs. Good offers a glimpse of one of these gatherings:

Saturday, January 1. [1870] - Bitter cold day; wind NNE. Long lines of Indians filing in from all quarters of our district. Mr. Good driven to his wits-end to pack them [in], while more were on their way for Sunday.

Sunday January 2. Fine day, no wind. The boys built a large fire in the middle of the school-yard, and, at 10 o'clock, assembled some 500 Indians. Service continued without intermission till 4 o'clock. Fancy this scene: Indians in all colours (all much cleaner than formerly) seated on the ground, and a clergyman, with his white robes, in the midst, all grave, earnest, and reverently worshipping.<sup>51</sup>

Lytton, at the junction of the Fraser and the Thompson Rivers, was a centre of white transportation and communication, the traditional meeting place for the scattered Thompson people, and the home of the most powerful

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<sup>51</sup> "The Thompson River Mission," Columbia Report, 1870, p.38.

and respected of the Thompson chiefs.<sup>52</sup> It was an ideal base from which to operate. Access was available to the Indians lower down the Fraser, up the Fraser to Lillooet and Clinton, and up the Thompson to Ashcroft. From the Thompson, access to the Nicola and Shuswap Indians was available through the Nicola Valley. From Good's point of view, a religious teaching circuit could be established where he could obtain white support in the form of food and accommodation from the Cornwall ranch at Ashcroft, the H.B.C. Fort at Kamloops, and have access to the old Brigade trail from Kamloops through to Grande Prairie.<sup>53</sup> He also needed some form of organization to continue a religious and organizational presence in his absence.

In keeping with the standard missionary methods of the Church of England, Good paid special attention to obtaining the active support of the chiefs. Sashiatan, one of the two major chiefs, who had been the motivating force behind the winter trek to persuade Good to come to Lytton, had become Good's first catechumen. Always supportive of the mission, he could not make a complete conversion to Christianity, partially due to chronic addiction to gambling, but mainly

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<sup>52</sup> "Columbia," Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the Year 1868, London: S.P.G., 1868, p.44.

<sup>53</sup> Grande Prairie is now known as Westwold.

because of his three wives, none of whom he would divorce.<sup>54</sup> Spintlum, the other prominent chief, was committed to the new religion and strongly encouraged his people to support it. Neither man boasted a pacific background. As Bishop Hills reported to the S.P.G.,

Spintlum is impetuous, demonstrative, and eloquent. He has been notorious as a prominent leader in many daring deeds. His name was mentioned with fear amongst people far away who had never seen him. Sashiatan has been the recognized war chief on the Thompson. He is a quiet man of great bravery. In 1858 he attacked the Hudson's Bay Company Fur Train.<sup>55</sup>

As well as these two prominent chiefs, Hills met twenty other chiefs, most of whom were undergoing conversion. Enrolment of the chief did not automatically ensure the allegiance of the band. Sissquinchute, the Chief of the Bonaparte band, was the sole Christian adherent of his people.<sup>56</sup>

As well as the catechist chiefs, Good developed the services of a full time assistant, Silas Nalee, who served him for sixteen years. Good must have recognized the exceptional qualities of the young man early in his sojourn

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<sup>54</sup> Hills, Diaries, September 9, 1877.

<sup>55</sup> "Indian Tribes in Columbia," Mission Field, Vol. XIII, 1868, p.277.

<sup>56</sup> J.B. Good, "Mission Excursion to the Buonaparte," [sic] Columbia Report, 1867, p.81.

at Lytton. Nalee was an exception to the rule, not coming from a chief's family, but selected on the basis of natural language skills. Whites perceived him as an intelligent person, somewhat removed from the everyday Indian; Good earmarked him for ordination.

Silas Nalee was keen to pursue a clerical life and, during his association with Good, lived up to all expectations. Starting as an interpreter, Nalee's responsibilities were later increased as he was invited to accompany Good and the catechumen chiefs on the mission circuit. By 1877, Nalee was officially recognized as Good's assistant, being on the roll of the Diocese and receiving an grant of £41.4.8 per annum.<sup>57</sup> Nalee often had congregations of 200 or more and appears to have performed his pastoral work responsibly. He was dedicated to the work and anticipated ordination. Good saw Nalee as the first of the native priests, akin to his friend Henry Budd, the foundation of the future native church. In 1879 he wrote to the S.P.G. expressing the hope that since Nalee "shows brighter qualities every year," he hoped that Bishop Sillitoe would ordain Nalee a deacon.<sup>58</sup> Nalee shared the

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<sup>57</sup> AADBC, Correspondence with S.P.G. In and Out, 1877 - 1891, Hills to Bullock, March 8, 1877, p.9. See also Chapter 2 for the church attitude to native stipends.

<sup>58</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Good to Tucker, December 12, 1879.

hardship of the road, negligible pecuniary compensation, the loss of personal belongings through fire, and eventually the disapproval of the new Bishop. Ultimately, he substituted for Good, under the supervision of Sarah Good, during her husband's trip to England in 1874-1875.<sup>59</sup>

Silas Nalee was Good's right hand man, extending the Church's influence, spreading its teaching, fighting alongside Good against the persistent practice of the medicine men and battling against the human frailties, of which gambling and polygamy were seen as the most serious. Nalee was a companion for Good and a ready resource for language skills. Until 1880 there was no hint of any dissatisfaction with Silas Nalee's work. There is no record of Good ever criticising Nalee. Unfortunately, the reverse is not true. Nalee was not always in accord with Good. Bishop Hills mentioned that in 1876, Nalee had slighted Good's work but gave no details.<sup>60</sup> When Good left the

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<sup>59</sup> "St. Paul's Mission, Lytton." Columbia Report, 1875, p.22.

<sup>60</sup> Hills, Diaries, September 9, 1876.

district in 1882, references to Nalee abruptly ceased.<sup>61</sup>

In his work, Good went from strength to strength, but in his personal life his steps were dogged by financial difficulties such as living costs for his large family and a continuing burden of debt incurred in the name of the church. Personal tragedies continued. His daughter Laura had died in Nanaimo before reaching her first birthday; in Lytton and Yale, the Goods lost Lillian, aged 7, and Cyril, aged nine weeks. Lack of income was so severe a problem that, in spite of missionary successes, Good applied to leave Lytton. In a letter to the S.P.G. soliciting funds for Good, Bishop Hills wrote,

I am sorry to say he is greatly disheartened by the want of sufficient means of support for himself and [his] large family, and has applied to be removed from the work which has been so much blessed under him.<sup>62</sup>

Bishop Hills persuaded Good to remain at Lytton but the incident pinpoints the extreme plight of the Good family.

Good was an excellent missionary but an atrocious money

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<sup>61</sup> The Nalee family continued to be recorded among the baptisms, confirmations and marriages, indicating that they remained within the church. One of Nalee's descendants, Paul Nali, was a lay reader at Lytton well into the 1950's. Sadly, the Nalee family no longer exists at Lytton. The change in the spelling of the family name occurred during the tenure of the Reverend Richard Small (1884-1890), (1892-1909).

<sup>62</sup> AADBC, Correspondence with S.P.G., In and Out, 1877-1891, Hills to Secretary, September 16, 1869. p.36.

manager whose dedication to mission blinded his financial acumen. The legacy of excessive, but necessary expenditures in building the church in Nanaimo, where he had used personal resources for its completion, was still with him in the form of a large debt incurred to the Vancouver Island Land and Coal Mining Company. Appeals to his Bishop; his mission society, the S.P.G.; and plaintive appeals to the Company produced few results. The Vancouver Island Land and Coal Mining Company agreed to cancel the whole debt upon payment of the sum of £200, probably the original principal,<sup>63</sup> but this was beyond either Good's or the Church's capabilities. Hills could not assist because the bulk of the endowment for the Diocese was locked into real estate. As the economy had collapsed, property prices fell to fifty percent of their previous value. The Bishop, in an effort to maintain the diocese, had incurred a personal debt of over £3,000.<sup>64</sup>

The S.P.G. was unable to understand why Good was experiencing financial difficulty, as records indicated Good was receiving the largest portion of money assigned to the Diocese. The resultant S.P.G. correspondence contained an

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<sup>63</sup> BCARS, (H/A/So2), S.P.G. Papers, Letter, Good to Wild, April 27, 1867.

<sup>64</sup> "Church Progress in British Columbia." Mission Life, Vol.VI, 1869, pp.595-560.

undertone of suspicion of financial mismanagement. Good's stipend of £250 per annum was excellent by English standards but the S.P.G. was unaware of the high cost of living in the interior of British Columbia. Supplies were four times more expensive at Lytton than in England: as an example, Good wrote that it cost more to send a parcel from Victoria to Lytton, than it did from England to Victoria.<sup>65</sup> The Society was also experiencing a paradox of success; worldwide mission activities continued to expand, while income remained static. The popularity of mission had passed and donors now considered the colonies were "too long nursed."<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, Good, an honourable man, contracted to remit the debt to the Vancouver Island Land and Coal Mining Company at the rate of £62 annually.<sup>67</sup> This was about one quarter of his income, an obligation that placed an enormous hardship on his family.

Good did not learn from the severity of this pecuniary restraint. He would still quite happily spend his own salary, if he had any available, on mission needs; if impoverished, he would simply borrow against his future

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<sup>65</sup> "Lytton Mission to the Thompson Indians," Mission Field, Vol. XVI, 1871, p.295.

<sup>66</sup> USPG, CLS 107, Tucker to Hills, October 20, 1881.

<sup>67</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Good to Secretary S.P.G., August 15, 1867, p.100.

stipend. The problems matured when more than one debtor tried to recover a note that was guaranteed by the same quarterly stipend. The money was simply not there. Good borrowed in the name of the church without the authority of the Diocesan financial officers, and he personally borrowed from individuals. Many lenders complained to Bishop Hills and to the S.P.G., but the best illustration of this most unfortunate practice may be found in the diaries of Peter O'Reilly, the Assistant Land Commissioner for the area. Early in their relationship, Good borrowed \$100 against a note to the Diocese. Later, O'Reilly personally loaned him \$10.<sup>68</sup> O'Reilly kept meticulous records and there is no evidence of either loan being repaid. The relationship between the two men cooled considerably, as O'Reilly distanced himself from Good.<sup>69</sup> No longer did the Assistant Commissioner call on the Reverend Mr. Good on his trips through Lytton. Earlier hospitality to the travelling cleric ceased as O'Reilly pointedly noted that Good "was not

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<sup>68</sup> O'Reilly Collection, Diaries, April 17, 1869 and August 29, 1869 respectively.

<sup>69</sup> Personal loans were a part of frontier life, presumably due to the lack of local branch banks. O'Reilly had previously often loaned the Rev. R.C. Lundin-Brown sums of between \$25 and \$75. O'Reilly Diaries, Sept. 8, Sept. 24, and Oct 26, 1864 respectively.

invited to dine."<sup>70</sup> Previously O'Reilly, as a friend, had picked a grave site for Cyril, Good's nine week old son, and paid \$15 for the funeral.<sup>71</sup> About this time, Bishop Hills began to receive reports questioning Good's sobriety. He took the accusations very seriously<sup>72</sup> but his investigation, including an interview with Good, satisfied him that there was no foundation to the rumours. The accusations however, led Lieutenant Governor Joseph Trutch to withdraw from the Diocesan Church Society<sup>73</sup> and to make "continual vituperation against Mr. Good." There are records of Good's eccentricity in O'Reilly's diaries but none of Good's alleged drunkenness. It is not likely that there was any substance in the charges but Good's innocence is not certain as the same charges surfaced a few years later. Good certainly enjoyed the brandy supplied by H.H. Bancroft as he dictated his early reminiscences for Bancroft's history

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<sup>70</sup> O'Reilly Diaries, October 26, 1877.

<sup>71</sup> O'Reilly, Diaries, August 14, 1869.

<sup>72</sup> Hills, Diaries, November 19, 1873.

<sup>73</sup> A Diocesan fund raising organization for local missions.

book.<sup>74</sup> Good's sobriety may have been questionable but there was no doubt of his lack of financial acumen.

By 1876, Good's personal debts amounted to over \$1,900 to six separate creditors.<sup>75</sup> He was already remitting small sums from his stipend against most of the debts but the major debt had escaped his control. When he borrowed from a Mr. Boyd, he naively signed the paper but left all the figures blank. When Good could not redeem the note, Boyd went to the Bishop for payment. The interest had been set at 24%<sup>76</sup> and had raised the original borrowed sum of \$500 to \$1,070.50.<sup>77</sup> Boyd and one of his associates, a Mr. Johnson, obtained a judgement on May 26, 1876, followed by a summons

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<sup>74</sup> "The Rev. Mr. Good, I think, enjoyed the brandy and cigars which were placed at his command fully as much as construing elegant sentences." H.H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: Literary Industries, Vol. XXXIX, San Francisco: The History Company, 1890, p.538.

<sup>75</sup> AADBC, Bishop Hills, Correspondence, Box 3, File 3, p.209.

<sup>76</sup> Undoubtedly this interest rate was high, but it should be put into perspective by the fact that the new St. Joseph's Hospital in Victoria in 1876, was carrying a large debt at 18% interest. Vera McIvor, Bishop Charles John Seghers: 1839-1886, Victoria: Diocese of Victoria, February 1987, p.18.

<sup>77</sup> USPG, D Series, 44B, Drake and Jackson to Good, December 29, 1875, and Hills to Good, January 21, 1876.

ten weeks later on June 7.<sup>78</sup> Knowing the true situation, and realizing that eight years before, he had entered into personal indebtedness of £4000 for similar reasons, Bishop Hills came to Good's rescue.<sup>79</sup> With the help of Drake and Jackson, a prominent Victoria law partnership and members of the Cathedral congregation, the Bishop stood firm in the face of this unethical threat. The S.P.G., possibly influenced by a public appeal for funds for "an afflicted family" by Archdeacon Wright, offered a loan to the Diocese of £150 (\$727) to retire the debt.<sup>80</sup> In a convoluted sense, Boyd's suit worked in Good's favour because Boyd's associates were unwilling to accept the bad publicity of a court battle against a hard working clergyman. Boyd appears to have capitulated and settled out of court.

The debt, approximately one year's wages, was a terrible burden for both Good and the church. Unfortunately Good also had many smaller debts and the original large debt incurred in Nanaimo. The Executive Committee of the Diocese set about cleaning up Good's financial embarrassments. Their

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<sup>78</sup> BCARS, (GR 0657), British Columbia, Attorney General, Supreme Court, Cause Books (Civil), 1870-1882, pp.113-114.

<sup>79</sup> AADBC, Hills Correspondence, Hills to Bullock (private), January 8, 1868.

<sup>80</sup> H.P. Wright, "Appeal for an Afflicted Family," Mission Life, Vol.VIII, 1877, p.437.

task was eased by the sympathetic assistance of Samuel Robins, a young man at the Company's head office in London, who later became the manager of the Nanaimo mine. Robins informed Hills that the Chairman and Directors of the Vancouver Island Land and Coal Mining Company had agreed to retire the debt for the token payment of £77.1.5.12.<sup>81</sup> The Diocese made the payment, and deducted it by instalments from Good's stipend. The Society loaned Good money to repay other debts but details are lacking. The Bishop chastised Good for his irresponsibility, but recognized the need to give Good every opportunity to continue his exceptional Indian work with a minimum of personal worry. As the Bishop explained to the S.P.G.:

It is of vital consequence that he should be set free from this anxiety, he has a great work before him and his head is in it, he has a peculiar fitness for dealing with the Indians.<sup>82</sup>

In a subsequent letter authorizing Good to live at Yale, the Society informed him that the last £250 that he owed to the Society had been forgiven. The Reverend Mr. Bullock, the S.P.G. Secretary, and an old friend, wrote to him acknowledging that with the help of the Society's loan, Good

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<sup>81</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Robins to Hills, July 15, 1869, p.157.

<sup>82</sup> AADBC, Bishop Hills, Correspondence, Box 3, File 3, Hills to Bullock [Secretary, S.P.G.] April 11, 1876, Private.

had been freed from debt. Writing with warmth Bullock continued;

Suffer me as an old friend to urge upon you the absolute necessity of abstaining in future from indulging your good impulses without regard to consequences. The step which the Society took is most unusual, and not likely to be repeated under any circumstances.<sup>83</sup>

The magnitude of his financial obligations illustrated that Good's faith took precedence over finance. This should have been the end of the story but while Good never again incurred such large obligations, as long the mission remained his responsibility, he accumulated smaller debts.

The stress of living in Lytton had by this time become great. Hunter's Hotel had expanded its services by opening a brothel next door to the mission. Already Good was most unhappy about the negative influence on the Indians of the white working men. Excessive drinking, frequent profanity, and deliberate breaking of the Sabbath were counteracting the beneficial influence of the Mission, not to mention the detrimental example set for his growing family. Good had no option but to move the mission.

Higher up the hill about a mile south of Lytton, lay a piece of property that Good referred to as Petite's ranch. Vincent Petite had originally leased the plot from the

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<sup>83</sup> USPG, CLS 107, Letter, Bullock to Good, October 26, 1876, p.87.

government at an annual rent of \$30 for use as a garden.<sup>84</sup> Good and the church negotiated the transfer of the land and Good also pre-empted an adjacent 160 acres.<sup>85</sup> The pre-emption spanned the main wagon road, following it longitudinally. The immediate aim was to get the mission away from the unchristian actions of the local whites, but Good revealed his ultimate use for the new property,

to be divided into lots and made over to our more steady and advanced followers for erection of their family dwellings; so that in time we might be permitted to see a pretty Christian village growing up around us.,"<sup>86</sup>

It was to be more than just a replica of an English village. The more Good saw of the whites, the more he identified with the Indians. He feared the whites would create a two price structure for services; an Indian taking a horse to be shod at the blacksmith would likely be charged more than a white. In his model village, Good wanted all the traditional trades, but with Indian artisans. Good's plans did not rest with Indian commercial and social independence. Following

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<sup>84</sup> BCARS, (GR 0252), British Columbia. Government Agent, Yale. Vol.35, p.18.

<sup>85</sup> BCARS, (GR 1182), B.C. Department of Lands and Works, Pre-emptions, Various Districts in the Interior, 1869. Original application for pre-emption to P.O'Reilly, Asst. Land Commissioner, October 15, 1869.

<sup>86</sup> "Missions to the Indians in Columbia," Mission Field, Vol.XIV, November, 1869, p.332.

the general Victorian social concept of progress, Good's ambitions for his Indian flock were unbounded:

We want institutions for the young, with devoted teachers to take care of and train them; alms houses for the aged; hospitals for the sick; lodging houses for strangers; houses for our people who desire to form themselves into a Christian village; and, eventually, a College for the education of native teachers who might be sent to evangelize the whole of this western part of Western America.<sup>87</sup>

Good's goal of complete Indian self-support, self-education, and self-development was unusual among missionaries. By instilling Christian principles and developing independence in the Indian people, Good wanted to allow the Indian:

to grow up side by side with his white neighbours, treating him in all respects as a rational being, capable of thinking and acting for himself, and of steady self-improvement.<sup>88</sup>

Good planned to use the Christian Indians to set an example for the whites in removing the immoral problems of the frontier and building a Christian society. Of course, integration would take place only after the Indian people were strong enough to resist negative white influences. Good proposed that his settlement would sit like an English country village, astride the main wagon road, with houses

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<sup>87</sup> "Mr. Good's Services with the Thompson River Indians," The Net, Vol. VI, December, 1871, p.182.

<sup>88</sup> "St. Paul's Mission, Lytton," Columbia Report, 1876, pp.28-29.

set on small holdings so the Indians could support themselves by selling agricultural produce.<sup>89</sup> It must be understood that the proposed village was only for the Lytton Indians. Good had no intention of concentrating the Indians from his huge missionary territory in one Christian centre. It is probable that Lytton was to be the prototype for later villages at locations such as Texas Bar, where he had purchased 160 acres of land for \$250.<sup>90</sup>

The concept of self-help and the general rejection of the concept of major boarding schools did not mean the elimination of these schools. Good recognised that in order to train his future Indian teachers, preachers, and artisans, he would need a central agency. The boys' school, started soon after his arrival at Lytton, was to be the genesis of his training organization. To continue the plan he needed adequate funds and teaching assistance. Besides a teacher training college, Good hoped to obtain government funds to initiate an industrial school to teach trades to the Indians. The latter portion of the education was designed to remove the Indians from possible exploitation by the whites, and to fit them with skills that would enable

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<sup>89</sup> R.C. Lundin-Brown, "Thompson River Indians," Mission Life, Vol.III, Part 1, (New Series), 1872, p.155.

<sup>90</sup> "Survey of the Glebe at Texas Bar," Columbia Report, 1871, p.67.

them to take a secure place in Good's anticipated integrated colonial society. Alas, no money was forthcoming. The government did not share Good's belief that the Indians would live in a planned village or need the traditional white skills. Ottawa saw the Indians remaining in their own small villages, living their traditional lifestyle. They believed that in these circumstances both the Indians and the government would experience fewer problems.<sup>91</sup>

In the meantime at Lytton, Good and his people dismantled the mission buildings, including the church, and moved them up the hill to the new location and built keekwoolies to provide winter accommodation for visitors to Sunday and Feast Day services. The importance of the event was accented by the arrival of Bishop Hills, who used a traditional Indian tool to lay the foundation log for the new church.<sup>92</sup> Good physically worked alongside his Indian flock until the job was done. In spite of the endemic lack of funds, the mission progressed favourably with both whites and Indians. Many of Good's previous problems vanished and he reported success through his Nine Marks of Progress:

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<sup>91</sup> NAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol.3611, File 3755, Letter Superintendent of Indian Affairs to Good, March 24, 1877.

<sup>92</sup> "Laying the Foundation of St. Paul's Church, Lytton," Columbia Report, 1871, pp.46-48.

1. Peace reigns throughout our camps - we hear of no more quarrels; 2. We are organically, I believe, more united than ever; 3. The district is unvexed by sectarian strife or intrusion; 4. Our proselytes are, for the most part, increasingly industrious; and though this year there are neither berries nor salmon, there is little complaint, and no revival of the old superstitious ways of accounting for the lack; 5. Individuality is more marked. Some happy deaths have been noted, and converts have then given cheering testimony of knowing in Whom they have believed; 6. The church is well attended; and the fact of its being removed a mile from the main village affords some test of the sincerity of our hearers in waiting on our ministry; 7. Sunday is now universally observed throughout our stations, whilst in the European town the stores are now closed and Sunday traffic has decreased; 8. Our white congregations improve; 9. There is less immorality, and a kindly feeling towards us is shown on all sides.<sup>93</sup>

This report was typical of the time. It revealed that the task of converting the Indians to Christianity was not as easy as Good had earlier implied, but accented the positive rather than the problems. It is significant that Good had not abandoned his efforts with the whites. Success was necessary to maintain the steady flow of donations to the mission societies. Nobody would back a known loser.

One of Good's mission successes was truly spectacular. Archdeacon Wright told of a Sunday service conducted by Bishop Hills attended by Te-wal-pet-za, a problematic "sorcerer." The man had previously resisted Good's work but had since had a change of mind. Hills was in the middle of his sermon to a packed congregation using the text "Come

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<sup>93</sup> "Columbia," Mission Field, Vol.XVI, 1871, p.114.

unto me" when Te-wal-pet-za took him literally. From the back of the church, he loudly proclaimed the authority of the Christian message, listing each phase of the coming of the church in point form. As he spoke, he advanced by walking on the tops of the seats, completely oblivious to the occupants. Hills, with considerable understatement, wrote "This incident stopped some further remarks I was going to make and instead we knelt down and prayed for the converted." <sup>94</sup>

Good loved the Indian people, guiding them, teaching them, protecting them, and fearlessly acting as their champion when he believed that they were suffering injustices. He continued to intercede on behalf of the Indians in land disputes several years after he left the Province.<sup>95</sup> He corresponded extensively with the Provincial and Dominion Governments on the claims of the Indian people to certain lands, the injustice of the removal of parts of their reserves, and of unsettled land claims in general. In 1870 Good wrote to Governor Musgrave regarding the land

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<sup>94</sup> "Mission Work in the Diocese of British Columbia," Mission Life, Vol.VIII, Part 1, (New Series), 1877, p.46.

<sup>95</sup> Land claims were, and are, a complex problem. At the risk of oversimplification, the two main issues were the removal of Reserve land due to the increasing pressure of white settlement, and disregard for legal extinguishment of title, mainly due to lack of funds for payment.

problems of Chief Naweeshistan of the Nicola band.<sup>96</sup> Peter O'Reilly, the Assistant Commissioner of Lands, was summoned to the Governor's presence because of Good's "interference" in an issue about which the O'Reilly felt that Good was uninformed.<sup>97</sup> O'Reilly claimed that Good "was personally unacquainted" with the 920 acre Nicola Lake Reserve; however this is extremely unlikely as it was situated on Good's normal mission circuit, and formed part of the land claims of his Indian parishioners.<sup>98</sup> Good had obviously been in close contact with his Bishop over the land issue for Hills protested British Columbia's Indian Land policy to Canada's Secretary of State Joseph Howe.<sup>99</sup>

Good had only minor success in assisting the Indians with their land grievances. Good encountered evidence of land problems throughout his district. The Indian people of

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<sup>96</sup> BCARS, Correspondence In, Letter Good to Musgrave, December 17, 1870.

<sup>97</sup> O'Reilly Diaries, February 24, 1871.

<sup>98</sup> The old Hudson's Bay Company Brigade Trail that Good used, followed Nicola Lake and passed through land identified as being occupied by Indians of Anglican adherence. See Good's map. "Report From the Rev. J.B. Good," Report of the Columbia Mission, 1871, London: Rivingtons, 1871, facing p.53.

<sup>99</sup> Robert E. Cail, Land, Man and the Law, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974, p.188.

both the Nicola Valley<sup>100</sup> and at Cache Creek<sup>101</sup> were very disgruntled over the land issue. They showed a determination to pursue their claims, but also to guard their words and actions with the utmost care so their cases would not be jeopardised. One Chief refused the gift of a cigar from Dr. I.W. Powell, the Indian Commissioner, in order that the claims to land, taken by the government and sold to settlers, would not be prejudiced.<sup>102</sup> The land grievances were also found in the Roman Catholic dominated Okanagan Valley.

Good's opinion of the land question was emphatic as he championed the Indian cause and decried the detrimental influence of the issue on the life of the mission:

The land question meets us at every turn, and so long as the natural lord of the soil feels that he has been despoiled of his just rights without compensation or redress, so long will he be discontented and disquieted, and see an enemy in every representative of the usurping race. We all know the story of the benighted traveller who, when at the point of starvation, cut off his dog's tail, boiled it for supper, and then threw the dog the bone. This is really an accurate though absurd illustration of the Indian policy of this

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<sup>100</sup> BCARS, (GR 0252), John Boyd to A. Bushby, August 17, 1871.

<sup>101</sup> Cail, Land, Man and the Law, p.200.

<sup>102</sup> "An Ample Apology," Mission Life, Vol.VI, part II, (New Series), 1875, p.354. Note, the title does not refer to the Indian land issue. The reference to Powell is found in a separate article.

country.<sup>103</sup>

Good interceded for the Indians at the highest governmental level, preparing a paper for the Governor General, the Earl of Dufferin. The two men had met in 1876 when the Earl visited the Lytton Mission as part of a vice regal tour of the west. Taking full advantage of the introduction, Good asked him to petition Cabinet for passage money to England. Good contended that with his Indian experience, he could effect a solution to the Indian land problem through the Colonial Office. The Governor-General merely asked Good to "prepare a paper on the Indian difficulties of this Province and the best mode of dealing with them." Good claimed that the Governor-General endorsed the paper and commissioned him to forward it to the Colonial Secretary in London "with his warmest commendations."<sup>104</sup> The Dufferin-Carnarvon correspondence mentions a "British Columbia Indian" despatch but does not allude to Good.<sup>105</sup> Good further claimed that his suggestions formed the basis of a Dominion-Provincial

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<sup>103</sup> J.B. Good, "Mission Gleanings from British Columbia," Mission Life, Vol.7, part 2, 1876, p.459.

<sup>104</sup> NAC, Department of Indian Affairs, Black Series, RG 10, Volume 3611, File 3755, Good to the Minister of the Interior, December 6, 1876.

<sup>105</sup> C.W. deKiewiet and F.H. Underhill, eds., Dufferin-Carnarvon Correspondence, 1874-1878, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1955, p.125.

agreement regarding the settlement of Indian problems in the Province.<sup>106</sup> Good did not obtain the passage money but he may have received some form of recognition.

In any case Good was keen to go to England. He requested leave to go to England by way of a fund raising trip in Eastern Canada. Other denominations were already funded from the east so it made good sense for the Church of England to do likewise.<sup>107</sup> Bishop Hills gave permission for a six month leave of absence but no funds for the trip. Good, full of faith, proceeded to finance his trip and raise funds for the mission by delivering mission sermons and giving lectures on Indians and British Columbia.<sup>108</sup> He solicited and obtained extensive moral support from the Bishops of Eastern Canada who "unanimously signed a hearty commendation of the Missions of British Columbia to the clergy and laity of their respective Dioceses."<sup>109</sup> One report lists approximately

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<sup>106</sup> NAC, Indian Affairs, Black Series, RG 10, Volume 3611, File 3755, Letter, Good to the Hon. Minister of the Interior, December 6, 1876.

<sup>107</sup> AADBC, Bishop Hills Correspondence, Box 3, File 3, p.190, Hills to Bullock, March 4, 1875.

<sup>108</sup> "Lecture on British Columbia," Daily Colonist, May 6, 1875.

<sup>109</sup> AADBC, "Mission Aid," Parish Magazine, April, 1875.

£400 raised in the east.<sup>110</sup> Most of the Canadian money was probably used to finance the voyage to England for there are no reports of funds forwarded back to Good's home diocese.

While in Ottawa, he asked the Department of the Interior for financial aid to construct teachers' dwellings at Lytton. The Department refused because of policy, but it promised to give sympathetic consideration to future requests for school funding, once an industrial school for the Indians had been established.<sup>111</sup>

In England Good basked in the limelight of success. In June 1875, he was a guest of honour at a church conference that drew the cream of the Anglican hierarchy. Presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the afternoon, the Bishop of London in the morning, and Earl Nelson in the evening, the delegates heard Good's paper on Native Ministry.<sup>112</sup> Here at last was the recognition that Good craved. It does not appear that large sums were raised; in fact, there is no report of how the paper was received. Considering class consciousness in English society, it is possible that Good's

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<sup>110</sup> "St. Paul's Mission, Lytton," Columbia Report, 1876, p.5.

<sup>111</sup> NAC, Indian Affairs, Black Series, RG 10, Volume 3611, File 3755, Letter, Indian Affairs to Good, October 13, 1875.

<sup>112</sup> "Missionary Conference," Parish Magazine, July, 1875, p.vii.

experiential credentials could not overcome his lack of social status.

While in England, Good returned to his roots in Wrawby. According to the Parish Magazine,

He was received by a large number of its inhabitants, and by many clergy, and by the village band and choir, who heartily welcomed him and conducted him to the church....On Sunday, the whole village came together to hear the account of his mission.<sup>113</sup>

Curiously, neither this article nor Good's autobiographical jottings mentioned the Reverend John West who was at the time listed as Rector of Wrawby.<sup>114</sup> The journey to England did not produce dramatic monetary results either in the increase of immediate funds for the mission or the promise of future support, however the S.P.G. reported that "he succeeded in stirring up much sympathy with his work both in England and in Canada."<sup>115</sup> As an added benefit, Good obtained a printing press from the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge that enabled him to publish his Dictionary, Grammar, and Services in the

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<sup>113</sup> "J.B.Good," Church Times, quoted in Parish Magazine, July, 1875, p.vii.

<sup>114</sup> The Clergy List for 1882, London: John Hall, 1882, p.439.

<sup>115</sup> Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the year 1875, p.105.

Nitlaka-pamuk language. Good arrived back in Victoria on the steamship Dakota on Sunday October 24, 1875.<sup>116</sup>

Almost immediately on his return, Good moved his family to Victoria. Medical facilities for his family at Lytton were inadequate. Illness and death had frequently visited the Goods, first taking his one month old daughter Laura, then his infant son Cyril, then Arthur, his eldest son, who had been attending school in Victoria since 1871, and who contracted a progressive, terminal disease of the hip bone,<sup>117</sup> and lastly Lillian Booth Good had died in pain of pleurisy at the age of five. Lillian had been John Good's favourite and though he had exercised all of his medical knowledge, he was not a physician. The little girl was buried on October 1, 1872 in the church cemetery, her grave visible from the windows of the parsonage. In grief he poured out his heart to his friend and Bishop.

She was, as your lordship knows, a child of rare beauty and of singularly attractive winning ways, and to me she was so precious that perhaps nothing could have been taken from me that would have been harder to surrender than this holy and blessed child...<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Hills, Diaries, October 24, 1875.

<sup>117</sup> H.P. Wright, "Appeal for an Afflicted Family," Mission Life, Vol. VIII, p. 437.

<sup>118</sup> "St. Paul's Mission, Lytton," Columbia Report, 1872, p.28.

While Good was away, in the natural associations of the Good family with their Indian friends, the Indian influence predominated over the white. The 1875 Report mentions Good's plan to move the family to Victoria "for a while where they might be free from the depressing influences of heathenism."<sup>119</sup> Then, as now, peer influence predominated over parental. The demands of the mission had intruded too far into the time needed for parenting, with the result that the children spent more time with their Indian friends than with their parents. To a child, the Indian lifestyle would present a considerable attraction over that of a staid mission home. One may surmise that this was the "depressing influences of heathenism" that Good reported.

Finally, Sarah had been companion, associate missionary, organist, and teacher with her husband, as well as raising children and performing all normal household tasks. During her husband's absence, Sarah had the sole responsibility for the welfare of the family and had been left in full charge of the Mission, no other cleric being available for the duty.<sup>120</sup> To make the pill even more bitter, she was not paid for the task. Sarah was not happy at Lytton. She was able to

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<sup>119</sup> "St. Paul's Mission, Lytton," Columbia Report, 1875, p.26.

<sup>120</sup> "St. Paul's Mission, Lytton," Columbia Report, 1874, p.4.

overcome the physical hardships and enjoy the small pleasure available to her, such as accompanying her husband on short horseback trips, sensibly riding astride like the Indian women, but the lack of facilities, such as schools, for her family were of great concern.

The rationale for relocating the family made practical sense. Good now faced the cost of maintaining separate homes for himself and for his family. He appears to have rented a government owned house in Victoria for his family for \$12 a month but beyond a series of letters in 1877 asking for remission of rent in exchange for maintenance of the house, little is known of the arrangement.<sup>121</sup> For accommodation in Lytton, he appears to have moved out of the Parsonage into rooms rented for \$10 a month. In typical Good fashion, he took the \$5 per month received from the rental of church property at Lillooet and applied it to the Lytton rent.<sup>122</sup>

The pressures and stress of mission work combined with Good's strong mindedness and his lack of tact further

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<sup>121</sup> BCARS, (GR 1440), Lands Correspondence, letter 1076/82, Good to W.S. Gore, Surveyor-General, August 23, 1882.

<sup>122</sup> VSTA, Questionnaire, Diocese of British Columbia, for St. Paul's, Lytton, answered by the Rev. J.B.Good, 1877.

antagonised the white population.<sup>123</sup> His Nanaimo experiences with the whites were repeating themselves. Peter O'Reilly gave an example of Good's lack of sensitivity in a 1870 diary entry.

Went to church with Tom and Mrs. Dewdney. Rev'd. Good officiated and performed the service in a most eccentric manner. In his sermon he alluded in a most pointed manner to his recent fracas with Mrs. McKay, and in so objectionable a way that I left the church.<sup>124</sup>

The details of the "fracas" are unknown; O'Reilly's displeasure is plain. O'Reilly disapproved of Good's permissive attitude to children within the church services. Archdeacon Wright reported that in one of Good's Services, "A little girl about three years of age escaped from her mother and walked composedly across the altar space; but no one took the least notice of the little maiden."<sup>125</sup> Similarly, O'Reilly observed how he was "greatly annoyed by the Reverend Good's children," during a Communion Service.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Bishop Hills had earlier recognised this problem in Good's character which appeared to stem from Good's love of the Indian people and his impatience with anything that stood in the way of their Christian improvement. Hills noted in his diary on May 2, 1874 "his [Good's] want of tact has made him enemies."

<sup>124</sup> O'Reilly Diaries, Sunday July 31, 1870.

<sup>125</sup> "Archdeacon Wright's Report," Columbia Report, 1877, p.32.

<sup>126</sup> O'Reilly Diaries, Sunday April 18, 1869.

O'Reilly left no doubt as to his feelings about Good, yet he continued to attend the Anglican Church. Nine years later in 1879 at Yale, O'Reilly again recorded "Church at 11. Reverend Good officiated - more eccentric if possible than ever."<sup>127</sup> and in 1880, "Went with Harry to church. Bishop ill and unable to appear. J.B.Good officiated to the disappointment of many."<sup>128</sup> The last two entries were made after Good's family had removed to Victoria. Loneliness, hardship, lack of financial support and far too much work were eroding the missionary's previous energetic spark, changing him into an ineffective demoralized shell.

The administration of the Anglican Church was also in need of overhaul. Still organized as one Diocese under one Bishop it presented on a larger scale similar administrative problems to that of Good's mission. Soon after his arrival, the overwhelming logistics of operating such a huge diocese had become apparent to Bishop Hills and he suggested subdividing the huge area into four dioceses: Vancouver, that is Vancouver Island; Columbia, the southern half of the colony; New Caledonia, the northern half of the colony; and Stickeen [sic] in the far north.<sup>129</sup> At that time, however,

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<sup>127</sup> O'Reilly Diaries, Sunday November 23, 1879.

<sup>128</sup> O'Reilly Diaries, Sunday July 11, 1880.

<sup>129</sup> Hills, Diaries, December 10, 1862.

nothing was done. Between 1862 and 1878, enormous changes had taken place; in fact, except for the topography, there was little that remained the same. Population increased and changed in keeping with the advance of civilization. Transportation moved from foot to carriage with the added promise of the railway. The church could not hope to administer such a large territory effectively from Victoria. By 1878 Hills' administrative problems were compounded by the poor health of himself and his wife. Hills was experiencing such serious turmoil in his "war" with Archdeacon Wright,<sup>130</sup> that in one executive meeting, his anger overcame him and he "left the chair and withdrew."<sup>131</sup> By 1878, the Synod discussed administration problems and recommended dividing the diocese into three, Vancouver Island, New Westminster, and Caledonia.<sup>132</sup> It authorized Bishop Hills to meet the Archbishop of Canterbury to propose

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<sup>130</sup> Peter O'Reilly noted in his diary after an Executive meeting, "The Bishop and Archdeacon Wright at War." O'Reilly Diaries, April 25, 1878. This is another story in itself. In an error of judgement, Hills had brought Wright out to the Colony as Archdeacon, paying him the total funds allotted for two Archdeacons. The incompatibility of the two men soon surfaced with the end result that Hills finally had to pay Wright a substantial sum to resign.

<sup>131</sup> O'Reilly Diaries, June 6, 1878.

<sup>132</sup> Lyndon Grove, Pacific Pilgrims, Vancouver: Fforbez, 1979, p.26.

the division.<sup>133</sup> Approval was given for the division as proposed with the Vancouver Island section retaining the original name of Columbia.<sup>134</sup> When Hills was in England, he participated in the consecration of the new Bishop of New Westminster, Bishop Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, in the Croyden Parish Church on All Saints Day in 1879. Although Hills had been associated with the selection committee for the new bishop, he seems to have known very little about the man. Hills is remarkably terse in his entries regarding Sillitoe, recording no other details of the man. Bishop and Mrs. Sillitoe arrived in Victoria on June 15, 1880, where they met Bishop Hills and Peter O'Reilly.<sup>135</sup> The Reverend John Booth Good's life would soon change for ever.

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<sup>133</sup> On June 10, 1878 Bishop and Mrs. Hills left Victoria for England. Mrs. Hills appears to have had a breakdown en route to San Francisco. Hills, Diaries, June 10, 1878.

<sup>134</sup> The present Diocese of Kootenay and of Cariboo would not be created as autonomous units until 1915 and 1925 respectively.

<sup>135</sup> Hills, Diaries, June 17, 1880.

## Chapter 5

## Rejection and Retreat: 1880-1882.

Separation from his family greatly contributed to Good's decline as an effective missionary. Good's waning energies had induced him to withdraw in 1874 from the Nicola Valley, when the Anglican Church could not raise money for another missionary to serve the Kamloops and Nicola areas,<sup>1</sup> the Methodist Church was able to take over the territory.<sup>2</sup> Good's abandonment of the Nicola valley territory meant abandoning the circuit, and therefore the extended mission. The arrival of an unsympathetic Bishop completed his slide into despair. His past weariness, frustration, and lack of material support, coupled with his incompatibility with Bishop Sillitoe, forced Good into a resignation that promised no help, no recognition, and no prospects. Hurting and defeated, yet proud and unwilling for the sake of his church to draw his new Bishop into controversy, Good eventually picked up his mission tent and stole away eventually to return to Nanaimo through the assistance of

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<sup>1</sup> "Wants." Report of the Columbia Mission, 1877, London: Rivingtons, 1877, p.37.

<sup>2</sup> Jas. Turner, "British Columbia," Mission Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada, Third Series, No. 12, April, 1877, p.201.

his old friend Bishop Hills.

When Sillitoe arrived, John Booth Good had been living a solitary life separated from his family for three years. His wife, in practice an associate missionary, had assisted him by playing the harmonium for church services and ceremonies, supervising the mission during his absences on the circuit, and doing her missionary work among the women. Sarah was the practical partner and it was undoubtedly her decision that moved the family to Victoria. Sarah attended to the necessities of life yet she shared her husband's sense of vocation and his Christian habits and principles. Good stood tall as a practising cleric in the mission field but to a very large degree he was standing on the shoulders of his wife. When the physical presence of his wife was removed, the pressures and frustrations of the previous years overwhelmed him and Good toppled towards collapse. Raised as an orphan, the only normal family life he had experienced had been with Sarah and the children. While he never lost his faith, to be an effective missionary, working in isolation from like minded associates and with woefully inadequate tools, he needed family life to retain his equilibrium and maintain an effective presence. His loneliness and remorse were unmistakable when he dictated historical material to Mrs. H.H. Bancroft in 1878, referring to "the happy few who possess a wife, the most coveted

possession a man can have in British Columbia."<sup>3</sup>

Adding to his problems, as he continued the mission struggle alone was an outbreak of measles among the Indians which he overcame with his elementary medical skills.<sup>4</sup> Yet the appearance of an influential medicine man impeded his work. Qualis was not of the Thompson tribe and had originally been converted to Christianity through the Roman Catholic Church. Reacting against that denomination, he declared himself to be in favour of the Church of England, probably because of its anti-Roman stance. It was soon very obvious that Qualis was equally against any Christian church, preferring to return to native superstitious beliefs. Qualis' area of influence included Hope, Yale, and Lytton. By 1878, he was so successful that over five hundred Indians from Lytton to Nicola and Lillooet assembled at Spuzzum to meet him. Using conjuring tricks to capture attention, Qualis would hold an empty medicine bottle over his head, pray to God, and the bottle would fill with medicine.<sup>5</sup> He claimed to be able to control the elements,

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<sup>3</sup> Bancroft Library. "'British Columbia' by John Booth Good, Victoria, 1878, Written by Mrs. H.H. Bancroft to Mr. Good's dictation at the Driard House, [Victoria] May, 1878." p.85.

<sup>4</sup> "Measles" Columbia Report, 1875, p.25.

<sup>5</sup> Letter George Ditcham to S.P.G. published in the Columbia Report, 1878, p.37.

promised to provide an abundant harvest of salmon and berries in return for allegiance, and threatened that all those who did not follow him would be turned into birds and beasts after death. As an assault on conventional society, he changed the day of rest from Sunday to Wednesday. Good could not completely negate Qualis' influence which lasted for about a year until Qualis died in 1879.<sup>6</sup>

Qualis' success implied a much shallower Christianity than that earlier perceived and challenged Good's effectiveness over the past thirteen years. Alone, Good, the only Anglican clergyman in the interior,<sup>7</sup> had to face this unpleasant fact; he could not discuss the issue with family, friends or associates.

Nevertheless, Good continued the work. Again his interest went beyond the immediate mission to the larger issues. He submitted suggestions for the next Lambeth Conference with regard to missions, including more than a hint for increased funding for his own mission. He confirmed his interest in education by making "zealous exertions to collect information and to bring the idea of Public Boarding Schools to the attention of the public," and by serving

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<sup>6</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Bishop George Hills to Secretary, March 15, 1879, p.218.

<sup>7</sup> "Extensive Mission District," Columbia Report, 1871, p.53.

briefly as Secretary-Treasurer of the Cache Creek School Board.<sup>8</sup>

Good also allowed secular demands on his time. Like other Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist clergy in remote areas, Good agreed in 1879 to assist the government in taking the census.<sup>9</sup> For Good, it would be a minor addition to his tasks as he travelled on his missionary work and it provided an honorarium. Spread over two years, the work actually took very little time although Sillitoe complained that he had "not been able to get hold of him [Good] for a talk since he accepted the census work."<sup>10</sup> Added to the census work were everyday secular demands such as appearing as a witness at the Assizes.<sup>11</sup>

Unlike Duncan of Metlakatla who tried to break down the tribal structure, Good built on it, using Spintlum and Sashiatan, the two major local chiefs, as his main contacts

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<sup>8</sup> "Mission Gleanings from British Columbia," Mission Life, Vol.7, part 2, 1876, p.461. British Columbia, "Public Schools Report," Sessional Papers, 1876, p.107.

<sup>9</sup> BCARS, (Add MSS 2735), Joseph William McKay Papers, Yale, B.C.

<sup>10</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Sillitoe to Tucker, July 11, 1881, p.325.

<sup>11</sup> BCARS, (GR 0252), British Columbia. Gold Commissioner, Lytton, Correspondence Outward, 1859-1863, p.197.

with the Indian people. Good designed a mission structure that closely followed the traditional tribal structure of the Thompson Indians. Major chiefs were recruited for catechist roles for two reasons: first to use their position to expand Christian potential, and second, by placing them in the van of the Christian organization, to enhance their position, respect, and authority, making them even more valuable to the mission. Similarly where possible, Good used minor leaders as watchmen with similar results as with the major chiefs.<sup>12</sup> It was a clever and effective application of Bishop Durieu's system using the traditional native hierarchy within the Roman Catholic Church. Good, however rejected the Roman Catholic practice of physical punishment by whipping those found guilty of serious offenses.<sup>13</sup> Good's punishment was even more severe, but psychological rather than physical, yet adhering to the principles of "wisdom, firmness and gentleness, so as to restore [the offenders]

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<sup>12</sup> As catechists and Christian leaders, the major chiefs retained their positions of importance within the normal Indian organizational hierarchy. The watchmen were local overseers, encouraging the people to Christian practices as well as reporting any infractions. They were identified by a white armband with a red cross and were given the task of raising the mission flag and ringing the bell announcing church services.

<sup>13</sup> Margaret Whitehead, ed., They Call Me Father: Memoirs of Father Nicolas Cocola, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988, p.16.

with love."<sup>14</sup> Offenders were banned from the church until they showed genuine sorrow and repentance for their sins and records of the punishments were kept in a special discipline section of the official mission register.<sup>15</sup> Banishments might extend to over a year.<sup>16</sup> The method worked extremely well, offenders often begged to be reinstated.

There was still another side to Good, the linguist. Besides acquiring the language of the coastal Indians while in Nanaimo, Good had mastered Chinook, the language of the fur trade, enabling him to converse with a wider range of Indian people.<sup>17</sup> Missionaries were usually interested in local languages for obvious reasons. The Reverend James Evans of the Methodist Church compiled a syllabary of the Dene tongue at Norway House and the respected language studies of Father Adrian Morice on the Carrier languages in

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<sup>14</sup> "Discipline," Columbia Report, 1869, p.26.

<sup>15</sup> AADC, Lytton, B.C. Lytton Mission Register, 1867-1945, p.170.

<sup>16</sup> "Archdeacon Wright's Report," Columbia Report, 1877, p.28.

<sup>17</sup> "Thompson River Indians," Columbia Report, 1867, p.62.

northern British Columbia are well known.<sup>18</sup> It is probable that Roman Catholic priests were the first to reduce the Thompson language to paper as early but undated syllabaric copies of Roman Catholic prayers and a First Catechism are still extant.<sup>19</sup>

Good's interest in languages was both practical and intellectual. Lacking formal records, we must assume that he commenced this programme very early in his contact with the Thompson Indians. After learning to speak the local tongue, the next logical step was to present church services in it. His demonstrated practical interest in languages was a continuation of his aptitude for theoretical language study at St. Augustine's, where, in his senior year, he won the Wyte-head Greek Test Prize.<sup>20</sup> The advantages of fluency in the language of the flock are obvious and Good applied his skills as he translated church services into the Ntlakapamuk, or Thompson language. Good produced an

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<sup>18</sup> A.G.Morice, Fifty Years in Western Canada. The Abridged Memoirs of Father A.G. Morice, O.M.I., Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1930, pp.87-92.

<sup>19</sup> BCARS, (NW970.85/L534r), (NW970.85/L534S), Prayers in Thompson or Ntlakapmah.[sic] Undated hand copied manuscript.

<sup>20</sup> J.B. Good, "Autobiographical Sketch" p.9, in "The Utmost Bounds of the West...."

abbreviated<sup>21</sup> Nitlakapamuk prayer book designed specifically for use at the Lytton Mission. The job was done in several stages, first the book of Morning and Evening Prayer, plus the Litany and Holy Communion, then the Rites of Baptism and Confirmation, and lastly the Offices of Matrimony and Burial.<sup>22</sup> Between the last two, he produced a grammar and dictionary for both the Thompson language and the universal Chinook language. The latter could have much wider application in the white-Indian interactive fields of commerce and government. Good's translation of the familiar Church of England hymns and Prayer Book services into the native tongue demonstrated his predilection for retaining the continuity of traditionalism in the native domain, a fact that was noted in Mission Life, and was in direct contradiction to accusations later levelled at him by Bishop

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<sup>21</sup> The word "abbreviated" does not mean shortened services. Good's book did not contain all services found in the regular Church of England Book of Common Prayer, but those that it did enclose, Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, the Litany, and Holy Communion, followed the parent volume almost exactly, (See Appendix 2). BCARS, (NW870.85/C568t), J.B.Good, The Morning and Evening Prayers and the Litany, Also Prayers and Thanksgivings, with Office for the Holy Communion, and Select Hymns. Translated into the Neklakapamuk Language for the use of the Indians of the St. Paul's Mission, Lytton, British Columbia, Victoria: St. Paul's Mission Press, 1878.

<sup>22</sup> See "Primary Sources - Printed" in the bibliography.

Sillitoe.<sup>23</sup>

To assist in printing his Grammar and Dictionary, Good needed money. Rising to his established reputation for soliciting funds, he wrote to Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, the Superintendent General for Indian Affairs, requesting a grant of \$100 towards publishing these language aids.<sup>24</sup> The Dominion Government agreed to give an advance of \$50 toward printing costs, with a further \$50 being forwarded upon receipt of twenty-five copies of the book.<sup>25</sup> Another pamphlet, containing the offices, in Nitlaka-pamuk, for marriage, visitation of the sick, and burial of the dead, was financed by the S.P.C.K. and was printed immediately after the Vocabulary.<sup>26</sup>

Always practical, Good reported that an abbreviated church service was used in the outlying areas of his mission but that eventually all would be brought to familiarization

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<sup>23</sup> "Visit to the Lytton Indian Mission," Mission Life, Vol. VIII, Part II, (New Series), 1877, p.534.

<sup>24</sup> NAC, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3699, File 16486, Good to Macdonald, October 3, 1879.

<sup>25</sup> NAC, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 3699, File 16,486, Good to Macdonald, January 29, 1880.

<sup>26</sup> J.B.Good, Offices for the Solemnization of Matrimony, the Visitation of the Sick, and the Burial of the Dead, Victoria: St.Paul's Mission Press, (S.P.C.K.), 1880; USPG, CLR 149, p.247, Good to Secretary, March 8, 1880.

and use of the full Service.<sup>27</sup> The simplification was imperative as the Indians were without his clerical leadership for the majority of the time. With a simplified office, the Indians could conduct services themselves, keep their interest in the new forms of worship and build their faith through practice. The simplified liturgy was temporary, a step towards using the full prayer book. Good was keeping to his philosophy of gradually educating the people and developing their churchmanship to the level of the whites. The system worked. From time to time Good received glowing reports of the Indians' practice of Christian Services under their own leadership in their own villages.

While Good had a talent for languages he also had help from his assistant Silas Nalee, an intelligent young man with "rare powers of understanding and memory."<sup>28</sup> Although he did not always acknowledge it, Good owed an enormous debt to Nalee:

He was the only one of all his people who could give us the classical form of his language when translating our selections from the Prayer Book, Holy Scripture, and popular hymns into the N'Tekapamuk tongue. From him I first got an insight into the genius of this language, into its

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<sup>27</sup> "Progress of the Lytton Christians," Columbia Report, 1875, p.24.

<sup>28</sup> "British Columbia," The Net, Vol. VI, December 1871, p.182.

idioms and mode of construction.<sup>29</sup>

The Dictionary and Vocabulary were published under Good's authorship but Nalee made a major contribution, travelling to Victoria and working with Good during the publishing process. Not only did he assist in translation, he was able to formulate the basic rules of grammar.

Good's trip to England had enlarged and refined his language programme. The donation of the printing press by the S.P.C.K. enabled him to publish his works and provide material in the native tongue for use in the overall mission programme. "We have been lately revising and stereotyping our translation of the Morning and Evening Song" wrote Good in 1875.<sup>30</sup> Since the adult Indians could not read and write, these publications were designed for the younger people from whom Good hoped to recruit a future army of catechists, teachers and clergy.

The task of translation cannot have been easy and the time available was small. The Liturgy in the Thompson, though supposedly almost ready to go to press in 1877,<sup>31</sup> was delayed nearly another year as Good, Silas Nalee, and

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<sup>29</sup> J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds," p.36.

<sup>30</sup> "Translations - Steadfastness - Measles," Columbia Report, 1875, p.24.

<sup>31</sup> "Visit to the Lytton Indian Mission," Mission Life, Vol.VIII, Part II (New Series), 1877, p.534.

Archdeacon Wright revised the translation.<sup>32</sup> The basic liturgy was printed in 1878, the Grammar, Dictionary and the Office Book for Marriages, Sick Visiting and Burials in 1880.

When the Dictionary was finally printed, the Colonist carried a favourable review that appreciated "The care, the skill, the patience, the labour [that] its production demanded would never have been bestowed from mercenary motives."<sup>33</sup> The Colonist was right; Good did not want money from the publication, he wanted recognition. During the final phases of the production, Good's ambitions increased. In the preface to the Dictionary and Grammar, he expressed the hope that it would be useful to the railway builders, who were then arriving in the area, the public at large, and future students of the origins of languages.<sup>34</sup>

Good ensured that the work would be well known as he sent courtesy copies to local newspapers. He fulfilled his obligation to the Department of Indian Affairs by forwarding twenty-five copies to the Indian Commissioner, Dr. I.W.

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<sup>32</sup> Hills, Diaries, January 10, 1878.

<sup>33</sup> "A Remarkable Work," Daily Colonist, March 9, 1880.

<sup>34</sup> J.B.Good, A Vocabulary and Outlines of Grammar of the Nittlakapamuk or Thompson Tongue, together with a Phonetic Chinook Dictionary, adapted for use in the Province of British Columbia, Victoria: St. Paul's Mission Press, 1880.

Powell. He also sent copies to the S.P.G. and to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Good had hoped his publications would bring the academic recognition and anticipated honours that he so desperately craved. In a letter to the S.P.G. Good asked after one of his old schoolmates, "If Lightfoot is home from the Cape, tell him I wish greatly to hear from him."<sup>35</sup> This was more than just a casual enquiry. Lightfoot, a missionary in South Africa, had been awarded a degree on the basis of his language work. Good wanted the same. When the degree was not forthcoming, Good demonstrated his determination by sending a copy of his Nitolakapamuk works to the S.P.G. with a follow up letter:

I have sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury a copy of what you will receive and as his Grace so kindly acknowledged the Liturgy addressed to him last year, I hope this more ambitious effort may elicit from his Grace, something more tangible. I confess I should be thankful if he should consider me worthy of receiving from him an honorary B.D. degree, since our college cannot grant a degree and the Archbishop has already conferred this honour on my old contemporary Lightfoot at the Cape, who, I fancy, has not done more in the way of translation than myself...I am sure that the Society would help me to obtain the good will of the Archbishop and I shall in the meantime patiently abide my time.<sup>36</sup>

The request was not granted but Good continued his pursuit

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<sup>35</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Letter, Good to Secretary, January 26, 1871, p.175.

<sup>36</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Good to Secretary, March 8, 1880, p.297.

of academic recognition until the evening of his life. Good's search for recognition was important but not predominant; it always took third place behind his calling and his family.

Good's desire to be reunited with his family intruded into his dedication to Indian Mission work. He conspired to transfer his centre of operations at Lytton to Yale, where was found "the only decent Parsonage House where a family can reside with some degree of comfort and economy."<sup>37</sup> Accommodation was better than at Lytton, prices were cheaper, Yale was much closer to Victoria through convenient transportation,<sup>38</sup> and the family would be closer to medical treatment in the event of serious illnesses. Although it might be argued that Good had so "improved" the Indians that his continual presence was no longer required, it made no practical sense to move the guiding light of the generally successful mission so far away. Good's own report that the Indian people had become industrious, law abiding, and healthy, by rejecting sloth, gambling, drink and

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<sup>37</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Good to Secretary, August 8, 1879, p.235.

<sup>38</sup> His eldest son Arthur had been attending school in Victoria since 1871.

prostitution,<sup>39</sup> was confirmed by secular observers such as Senator Clement Cornwall, who informed the Department of Indian Affairs that Good

has great influence with the Indians, keeps them in good order, and has done much to inculcate among them self respect, a due observance of law, an increase of industrious habits, and the fear of God.<sup>40</sup>

In spite of the fact that Good had generally succeeded in altering the Indian way of life to fit into white Christian principles, his recent difficult experiences with Qualis should have raised the flag of caution. More trained clergy were needed, not the removal of a solitary priest to the remote southern edge of the mission territory

It is not surprising that Sarah Good did not agree to join her husband at Yale. Arthur, the eldest son, was suffering severe complications from a hip injury which eventually caused his death. In his yearning for family reunification, Good failed to consider the children's schooling, possibly expecting to teach them himself. Sarah saw the practicality of the larger centre as a family home. The children could attend the Anglican schools free of charge and Sarah must have been concerned that Amy Evelyn,

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<sup>39</sup> Good to Montreal Gazette, published in Report of the Columbia Mission, 1878, London: Rivingtons, 1878, p.41.

<sup>40</sup> NAC, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3611, File 3755, Clement Cornwall to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 24, 1879.

now sixteen years old, should be trained socially as she approached marriageable age. Because Sarah remained in Victoria, Good proposed to share the Yale parsonage with a brother missionary. Again, Good's loneliness rises off the page as we read,

...so that on my return from the periodic tours I make through the district in the open part of the year, I may always find a congenial spirit and brother with whom one can take counsel, for this isolation and sole responsibility is very trying as the years roll on.<sup>41</sup>

The passage also implies that Good no longer travelled in winter.

Good was able to capitalize on the S.P.G.'s erroneous belief that Yale continued, as had been Hill's original observation in 1860, to be an important commercial and transportation centre. The Society insisted that, as they were funding Yale, the station had to be manned. Good's move from Lytton to Yale fulfilled this obligation; the Diocesan Synod Executive Committee disagreed:

Without expressing any opinion as to the desirability of this change of residence, the Committee are distinctly of the opinion that the Society mistakes the importance of Yale - it being a mere hamlet with a mixed population of some forty people, of whom not more than twelve could under the most favourable circumstances be induced to attend church services.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Good to Tucker, December 12, 1879.

<sup>42</sup> AADBC, Minute Book of the Executive Committee for years 1876-1890, Thursday July 31, 1879, p.104.

Good moved to Yale in the summer of 1879, with the permission of the S.P.G. The move cut Good's stipend from £375 to £300 per annum,<sup>43</sup> but his expenses were less.

Moving into his new residence, Good eagerly anticipated the imminent arrival of his long awaited bishop. Good hoped "to give a hearty welcome to my Diocesan of whom I have already formed the highest opinion." <sup>44</sup> Good no doubt hoped a new bishop might be able to obtain extra funds from the S.P.G.

Bishop Sillitoe and his wife Violet, who arrived in Victoria by the Idaho on Tuesday June 15, 1880, left for New Westminster three days later.<sup>45</sup> Sillitoe mentioned the "warm welcome" given him by Good at Yale, but the convivial atmosphere was very brief. Sillitoe had misread, or had been misinformed about the realities of an Indian Mission. He came with a high expectation for a polished Indian Church; instead he found a thriving but much more basic organization, led by an exhausted missionary.

Bishop Acton Windeyer Sillitoe has been rightly praised

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<sup>43</sup> AADBC, Executive Committee, Minutes, Minute book of the Executive Committee for the years 1876-1890, Letter to the S.P.G., July 24, 1879, p.99.

<sup>44</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Good to Secretary, March 8, 1880, p.247.

<sup>45</sup> Hills, Diaries, June 15, 1880.

as a hardworking Bishop who gave his life for the work of his Diocese, but his background seemed inappropriate to the western frontier. Well born and well educated, he was very much at home among the cream of European society he had met in his position as chaplain to Princess Alice at Darmstadt. There are no records of Sillitoe expressing any desire to leave the shelter of the court for the rigours of the frontier, but his early life in Australia may have influenced the decision to appoint him to Western Canada. In retrospect, the historians Lyndon Grove and Herbert Gowen have suggested that the choice of Sillitoe may have been a mistake. Grove suggested that English court influence tipped the scales in Sillitoe's promotion and without it "perhaps he would have remained in the diplomatic circles of Darmstadt and Geneva, sipping cordials and attending musicales."<sup>46</sup> Herbert Gowen thought, "The offer of the Bishopric of New Westminster seemed to upset all [Sillitoe's] plans, and to make a radical change in the whole outlook of his life,"<sup>47</sup> Sillitoe was certainly a driving force, and, as his biographers hint, more than a

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<sup>46</sup> Lyndon Grove, Pacific Pilgrims, Vancouver: Fforbez, 1979, p.28, 61.

<sup>47</sup> H.H. Gowen, Church Work in British Columbia: Being a Memoir of the Episcopate of Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, D.D., D.C.L., First Bishop of New Westminster, London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1899, p.8.

little impatient and at times tactless. Yet the Reverends Henry Edwards and Richard Small, who were appointed to Lytton two years after Good resigned, had nothing but praise for Sillitoe.

In retirement Good recalled Sillitoe's lack of common sense. Completing a trip to the interior, Sillitoe, after receiving preferential clerical rates for accommodation, published his expenditures in the press. The minor expenses contrasted sharply with the rates paid by government officials, raising the ire of the Lieutenant Governor, who felt he would now be accused of dishonesty, and advertising previously hidden clerical benefits. On his next journey, Sillitoe was charged the full rate, about five times the token sum previously asked.<sup>48</sup> Increased travelling expenses were not Good's immediate concern. For Good, struggling to cope after many years of hardship and loneliness, the advent of Bishop Sillitoe was very bad news indeed. The feeling, unfortunately, was mutual.

In need of a confidant, Sillitoe found a like mind in the Assistant Land Commissioner and staunch Anglican churchman, Peter O'Reilly. In July, 1880, at Yale O'Reilly recorded that he had "Paid the Bishop a long visit and heard

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<sup>48</sup> J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds," p.54.

of his grievances [undecipherable] J.B.G.." <sup>49</sup> O'Reilly had previously recorded in his diaries his personal dissatisfaction with Good and it appears that in the local magistrate, Bishop Sillitoe had found a kindred spirit.

Sillitoe had heard glowing reports of Good's work and "was prepared to sit at his feet as a disciple in regard to purely missionary work."<sup>50</sup> Having no frontier experience, he read the mission reports as factual, but unaware of the gloss applied to published missionary accomplishments, was unable to put them into context. Sillitoe's disappointment with Good must have been enormous. With lower expectations, Sillitoe, like Archdeacon Wright three years before, would have feared "that the work of the Rev. J.B. Good had been over-estimated" and been pleasantly surprised when he saw the reality.<sup>51</sup> To be fair to Bishop Sillitoe, he had no advance warning indicating Good's exhaustion and near collapse. Sillitoe's illusions were shattered.

Sillitoe's disappointment was compounded by his High Church inclinations that were the antitheses of Good's Low Churchmanship. Good had recognised the source of dissension

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<sup>49</sup> O'Reilly Diaries, July 23, 1880.

<sup>50</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Bishop N.W. to Secretary, August 16, 1880, p.274.

<sup>51</sup> H.P. Wright, "Visit to the Lytton Indian Mission," Mission Life, Vol.VIII, Part II, (New Series), 1877, p.530.

as he referred to Sillitoe's "Ritualistic and advanced so-called Catholic principles" <sup>52</sup> which conflicted with Good's experiential practicality in abbreviating the Anglican Services to make them easier for the Indians to learn, understand, and use among themselves in the outlying regions.<sup>53</sup> Yet, the intensity of the negative response was unprecedented. Sillitoe wrote:

I was so shocked at the farcial character of his Indian Services that I could not contain myself and left the church in anger.<sup>54</sup> ...Mr. Good has stood sadly in need of a controlling hand... the accounts of his work have been unblushingly overstated...I felt it like an insult to one's ordinary discernment to have the present state of things in Yale offered to one as the result of six years labour...His ministrations have been altogether unacceptable to the white people...the offertory was applied to washing bills.

Sillitoe, in his only evidence of possible understanding, concluded,

I think that his isolation and independence, added perhaps, to the burden of his domestic embarrassments, have induced a condition of lethargy of which he is himself unconscious.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> USPG, Letterbook, Good to Secretary, November 16, 1882, p.366.

<sup>53</sup> "Progress of the Lytton Christians," Columbia Report, 1875, p.24.

<sup>54</sup> This comment lacks credibility in the light of the accuracy of Good's translations of the Book of Common Prayer into NITLAKAPAMUK. See Appendix 2 for parallels.

<sup>55</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Bishop N.W. to Secretary, August 16, 1880, p.274.

The interpretation of "domestic embarrassments" is probably a reference to Good's lack of financial acumen which adversely influenced Sillitoe's evaluation of Good's work.

Sillitoe acknowledged the lack of "corroborative testimony" and purported a reluctance to drag others into the issue but his meeting with O'Reilly, who was antagonistic to Good, and his later implicit approval of a damning letter written by the Reverend Darrell Holled Webb Horlock, Good's successor at Yale, do not match these words.<sup>56</sup> Horlock's letter matched Sillitoe's mood:

the most terrible blow of all to the work of God in this diocese has been the conduct of your late missionary Mr. J.B.Good who I am indeed thankful to say has left it I trust forever...His habits of intemperance, his utter disregard for the laws of truth and honesty and his habits of constantly intruding on hospitality have, I truly believe, done more harm to the Church in this Province than ten years of untiring zeal on behalf of the clergy of the whole diocese can retrieve.<sup>57</sup>

Horlock accused Good of celebrating Holy Communion after being seen emerging drunk, from a saloon, carousing on whiskey at a teamsters' camp from which he was summarily ejected, being placed on a horse with his face to the

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<sup>56</sup> Horlock, a well educated priest with a Masters Degree from Oxford was newly arrived from England. He stayed for about five years, returning in 1887 to a preferment at Milton-under Wychwood. Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1896, London: Horace Cox, 1896, p.668.

<sup>57</sup> USPG, Horlock to Secretary, Christmas 1882.

tail,<sup>58</sup> baptising the bastard child of a mixed liaison then drinking with the father for two days before being taken away with delirium tremens, putting hundreds of dollars given for church work into his own pocket, charging for baptisms, borrowing a horse, selling it, pocketing the money and, in his exit from the Diocese, writing a flattering address purported to be from his parishioners, and soliciting from door to door for money for a going away gift. While these allegations against Good were coloured, they carried a core of truth, the tragic results of Good's breakdown or of misunderstanding.<sup>59</sup> The letter contained further confidential information which was not copied into the letter-book, being represented by a series of stars. The maliciousness of this attack becomes obvious when it is observed that the letter was written after Good had

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<sup>58</sup> This is a very interesting point as it is identical to the story told by Good in "Utmost Bounds of the West" when he admits to being at a roisterous party at which he observed such events happening to others. If Good had been the subject of the event, it is highly unlikely that he would have recorded it in his autobiography, as the discrepancy would have been noticed and remembered.

<sup>59</sup> An example of misunderstanding is found in the controversy surrounding the baptismal certificates. Identical accusations were laid against Good later in Nanaimo. The incident prompted a series of letters claiming that Good was erroneously charging for the certificates, but Bishop Hills confirmed that Good was acting within the Canons of the Church of England with relation to this practice. "Inquirer to Rector," Nanaimo Free Press, December 28, 1887.

resigned, left the Diocese, been re-united with his family, and was already showing recovering his enthusiasm for clerical work in his old parish in Nanaimo.

Was Good really that great a failure? By contemporary standards he achieved magnificent results which were recognized and appreciated by his previous Bishop as well as by representatives of the secular administration, but his lack of tact, his inability to get along with certain segments of the white population, and his financial problems, meant Good had made enemies who were all too ready to voice their complaints on a new and sympathetic ear. The reports that Sillitoe sent back to England were probably accurate, if biased. In 1880, Good had been living in the loneliness of isolation without the moral support of his family for four years; he had been doing the work of an army of clergy, working seven days a week and was constantly at the beck and call of the Indian people; he had endured privation in his living conditions; he had encountered the active opposition of a few very effective fanatical Indians; he had overcome the unrelenting negative effects of the unchristian white modes of living on the frontier; his efforts to make the Indians into what the whites should have been were severely impeded by inadequate funds, supplies, and manpower. Added to this were the personal family tragedies, the invalidism of his eldest son Arthur, and the deaths of several of his children, Laura (1865), Cyril

(1869), and Lillian (1873). It was far too great a burden for any one man. Hills knew it, and later, Sillitoe would echo it but would not change his evaluation of Good.

If we are to believe Sillitoe and Horlock, there would appear to be ample evidence for removing Good from his post. The Bishop chose not to do this. Instead he metaphorically excised the rottenness with a surgeon's knife, an exercise which he claimed would hurt "the operator as much as the patient."<sup>60</sup> Within two months Sillitoe, removed the white population from Good's responsibility, instructing him to concentrate upon the Indian people. He moved Good back to Lytton,<sup>61</sup> ostensibly because it was physically closer to the mission territory, which was a valid rationale, but in reality, Sillitoe intended to exile him. Good still hoped his family would rejoin him. If ways could be found to provide accommodation and medical and educational services, Good might have returned to the mission work, but the lack of those services and Sarah's reluctance to return precluded that possibility. Good, after obviously talking it over with his wife, wrote from Victoria.

We have no house there suitable for such a family as mine. To build one would cost over £400 and to remain there after it was completed would involve

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<sup>60</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Bishop N.W. to Secretary, August 16, 1880, p.274.

<sup>61</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Bishop New Westminster to Secretary, August 16, 1880, p.273.

£100 expenditure more whilst throwing us back into a good deal of our former miseries out of which we escaped at such a cost five years ago.<sup>62</sup>

While Good's family remained in Victoria, he saw them rarely. He received news of the death of his eldest son Arthur by mail and was unable to attend the funeral. Four months later, on September 6, 1881, the Colonist recorded the death of Good's seven month old daughter Beatrix.<sup>63</sup> The loss of two children in four months and the continued separation from family, was a very heavy burden.

In 1881 there were more disasters. In July, Silas Nalee lost all of his belongings when his tent burned down<sup>64</sup> and Good nearly lost his life in a spectacular fire on board the Elizabeth J. Irving at Hope on September 19, 1881. The new ship was approaching Hope when the opening of doors preparatory to landing admitted oxygen to a smouldering cargo of hay. The ship virtually exploded; Good had to jump for his life, losing all of his possessions including his clerical outfit and his original license from Bishop

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<sup>62</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Good to Secretary, January 24, 1881, p.285.

<sup>63</sup> AADBC, Christ Church Cathedral, Register of Burials, Beatrix Mary Helen Dundas Good, September 8, 1881; Arthur Roland Good, May 14, 1881.

<sup>64</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Sillitoe to Tucker, July 11, 1881, p.325.

Hills.<sup>65</sup>

Even though his trips to Victoria were infrequent, they detracted from his time in the mission field. Sillitoe virtually accused him of abandoning his work, reporting that in 1882 Good had held only two Indian services on five consecutive Sundays.<sup>66</sup> Sillitoe, like Hills, had also received reports from unnamed sources accusing Good of excessive drinking. Although these accusations were unsubstantiated, Sillitoe seems to have believed them and regarded what he described as "the continual and universal complaints' about Good as "harassing" and "humiliating."<sup>67</sup>

Sillitoe was particularly upset by Good's many small debts. Good solicited funds from many people in England, Scotland, and Canada, and Sillitoe was made very uncomfortable by enquiries asking if he endorsed the solicitation. Sillitoe had no sympathy for a chronic borrower, even though after spending \$4,253 of his own money on the Diocese, the Bishop was personally overdrawn at his

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<sup>65</sup> Good wrote to the Colonist giving a graphic description of the disaster with suggestions for the prevention of similar events. "The Burning of the E.J. Irving," Colonist, October 2, 1881, p.3.

<sup>66</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Sillitoe to Secretary, July 14, 1882, p.355.

<sup>67</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Sillitoe to Secretary, July 11, 1882, p.351.

bank to the sum of \$3,234.<sup>68</sup>

Moreover, Sillitoe found Silas Nalee inadequate for the job, and instructed Good to bring him up to standard before sending him out again to do the church's work.<sup>69</sup> Sillitoe's main complaint was that because Nalee did not understand English well enough to study theology for himself, he "was a catechist in name only."<sup>70</sup> To Sillitoe, a Christian vocation was inadequate, native clergy must be fluent in English. Nalee's hope of ordination faded.

In the Spring of 1882, Sillitoe transferred Good to Spences Bridge, an illogical move given the need to expend scarce resources for a house.<sup>71</sup> Good's family remained in Victoria and he suffered further loneliness from the removal of the comfort of the white ministry which he needed for his "own spiritual comfort and exercise of ministerial gifts."<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> J. Friend Day, Our Church in British Columbia, Toronto: Church of England in Canada, 1933, p.13.

<sup>69</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Sillitoe to Secretary, January 4, 1882, p.337.

<sup>70</sup> H.H.Gowen, Church Work in British Columbia, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899, p.115.

<sup>71</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Sillitoe to Secretary, January 4, 1882, p.337.

<sup>72</sup> USPG, Letterbook, Good to Secretary, November 16, 1882, p.367.

He realised that he could not continue under Sillitoe. Finally, in July 1882, the pressure of his metropolitan forced Good to write his letter of resignation to the Society that he had served since 1857. Good expressed the hope that "those so sent [to replace him] will be able to maintain a more cordial and satisfactory relationship with their Diocesan than it has been mine to enjoy."<sup>73</sup> Unlike William Duncan, who openly fought against his bishop, Good remained publicly passive to the end although he privately complained that his resignation had been "forced from him by injustice." In his autobiography he commented only that:

What led me to surrender my Superintendency of the Lytton Mission and to take up again at Bishop Hills' request my former charge at Nanaimo, the scene of my earliest labours, being only of private interest, it would not be profitable to the public at large to discuss in these concluding pages.<sup>74</sup>

Good could not lightly resign; he still had a family to support. England was not a viable option; there he would have no stature, having neither the formal university education nor the aristocratic family background needed for the better preferments. Moreover the S.P.G. rejected an initial request for passage home on the grounds that there was no precedent for paying the return passage of a

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<sup>73</sup> USPG, CLR 140, Good to Secretary, July 4, 1882, p.348.

<sup>74</sup> J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds...", p.55.

missionary who voluntarily resigned.<sup>75</sup> A final rebuff came in 1883 when the Society rejected Good's request to have his name included in the Society's annual report on the excuse that he was now in a Diocese that was not connected with the Society.<sup>76</sup> In any case Good preferred to remain in North America where, though discredited, he had seniority and was recognized as a leader in the mission field and the author of published works. Good's other options included moving to the United States or another Canadian province.

In the end, Good chose to return to Nanaimo, where he had previously laid the foundation for the Indian work. This was not a straightforward transfer, first because the S.P.G. had withdrawn its support from the Diocese of Columbia in 1881, and second because Good had obviously been working behind the scenes. Early in 1881, he had suggested to the Society that he should be transferred to Nanaimo saying "an address is now being presented to the Bishop of Columbia...asking for my reappointment."<sup>77</sup> The use of the present tense implied that Good was aware of the request before it was presented to Hills, and may even have

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<sup>75</sup> USPG, CLS 107, Tucker to Good, October 16, 1882, and December 15, 1882.

<sup>76</sup> USPG, CLS 107, Tucker to Good, May 5, 1883, p.150.

<sup>77</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Good to Secretary, January 24, 1881, p.287.

instigated it. Sarah Good was also influential in the decision to request the rectorship of his old parish, for in the same letter Good revealed that Nanaimo was "the one place alone in the Colony where my wife would care in years to come to reside."<sup>78</sup>

It is reasonable to expect that if Good did open negotiations with the congregation of St. Paul's in Nanaimo, they would seriously consider him. While his previous tenure had not been without friction and controversy, he had worked conscientiously and successfully for the church and the community. Nanaimo had been plagued with a series of clerical problems. In 1878, the Reverend George Mason, Rector of Nanaimo, had been appointed Archdeacon of the Diocese, with headquarters at Victoria, and had been replaced by the Reverend Henry Swift Newton. In the St. Paul's parochial history, Good merely noted that Newton suddenly left for England at the end of October 1880,<sup>79</sup> omitting his unpopularity with the congregation due to the many changes, perceived as needless innovations, that he had made in the parish. In fact the Nanaimo Free Press reported that the Reverend H.S. Newton and his wife had "skipped" to

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<sup>78</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Good to Secretary, January 24, 1881.

<sup>79</sup> AADBC, St. Paul's, Nanaimo, Parochial Register.

San Francisco owing money.<sup>80</sup> Over the next two years St. Paul's was under the direction of, in chronological order, the Reverends J.R. Roberts, W.W. Malachi, and W. Coyes Clarke. Nanaimo was ready for some stability: Good was aware of the circumstances and was ready to step into the breach.

Initially, the Society rejected Good's bid for Nanaimo. In 1881, the Secretary wrote to Bishop Sillitoe with obvious relief that the Reverend C.H. Badgeley had been appointed to Nanaimo by the Bishop's Commissary, the Reverend F.B. Gribbell;<sup>81</sup> however, Bishop Hills intervened to assist his old friend to return to his original Pacific parish. Badgeley was reassigned to Esquimalt, leaving the way open for Good to return to his original Pacific parish.

Good resigned from the S.P.G. on July 24, 1882.<sup>82</sup> On July 26, Good's assistant for sixteen years, Silas Nalee, was found by police constable Hussey drunk and incapable behind the corral in Lytton.<sup>83</sup> The era was over, the book

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<sup>80</sup> "A Sudden Departure," Nanaimo Free Press, November 10, 1880.

<sup>81</sup> USPG, CLS 107, Tucker to Sillitoe, April 9, 1881, p.120.

<sup>82</sup> USPG, CLS 107, Tucker to Good, October 16, 1882, p.141.

<sup>83</sup> BCARS, (Add MSS 0425), Hussey, Stephen Frederick, Diary, July 26, 1882.

was closed. It would be another two years before a permanent missionary would be appointed to the Lytton Indian Mission. St. Paul's would never regain its place as one of the most prominent and successful of the church's overseas missions.

## Chapter 6

## From Mission to Parish: 1882-1889.

The last phase of John Booth Good's active clerical life was spent at Nanaimo, removed from the extreme frustrations of inadequate resources in the mission field, once more to work under his friend and Bishop, George Hills. On November 24, 1882, at the age of 49, Good landed from the steamer Alexander on a temporary appointment at Nanaimo, acting as locum tenens until the reappointment of Archdeacon Mason in the spring.<sup>1</sup> His old parishioners were happy to see him, especially since they had suffered the experience of rotating rectors during the last few years. Tired men such as the Reverend J. Reynard, whose health had been broken in the Cariboo, simply came to Nanaimo to die. The last rector, the Rev.W.H. Clarke, had recently resigned from the parish due to the dilapidated condition of the rectory and lack of support from the congregation.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately neither Good nor his wife were strangers to primitive living conditions. They knew the parish and the people and keenly desired the Nanaimo position. It is probable that Good and

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<sup>1</sup> "St. Paul's Church," Nanaimo Free Press, November 25, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Hills, Diaries, November 9, 1882.

Hills had already agreed on parish tenure. Good formally accepted the offer of a permanent appointment from Bishop Hills on January 16, 1883,<sup>3</sup> and by Easter, his family had joined him.<sup>4</sup> With his stipend fixed by Synodical contract at \$1220 per annum,<sup>5</sup> it looked as though Good and his family would again experience a normal life.

Good anticipated renewing his acquaintance with his first native parishioners, particularly Louis Augustine Good, the young Indian lad that he had semi-adopted twenty years before. Louis, now chief of the Nanaimos, was in a position of power and influence. The future looked promising. The Indian chapel of St. Augustine's was still standing and Good placed priority on its reopening for worship.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, he found that due to the lack of religious work among the Indians, services had not been held for the past ten years and the Indian people who were not apathetic had rejected Christian teaching completely. After

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<sup>3</sup> A.E. Hendy, A History of St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo, B.C., Nanaimo: St. Paul's, 1953. p.16.

<sup>4</sup> J.B. Good, "Parochial History of St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo." Holograph manuscript in St. Paul's Parochial Register. p.11.

<sup>5</sup> AADBC, St. Paul's Church Minute Book. Church Committee Minutes 1884-1895, p.72.

<sup>6</sup> AADBC, Synod Office General File. St. Paul's, Nanaimo, 1862-1953.

the first few weeks, Good abandoned the chapel. Another disappointment was the destruction of the Sunday School lending library, obviously one of his previous favourite projects. The Indians remaining true to the Christian religion had transferred their allegiance to his old competitor, the Methodist Church. Still hopeful he noted that "Chief Louis Augustine Good belongs to us." <sup>7</sup>

Chief Louis Augustine Good was a small man, but not a quiet man. In October, 1882 he had been cross-charged with Solomon, another Nanaimo Indian, for fighting and fined three dollars and costs.<sup>8</sup> The following February he was found guilty of the more serious offence of selling liquor to Indians.<sup>9</sup> This time he incurred a \$25.00 fine and \$4.00 costs. Good's disappointment must have been great but he never relinquished hope. In spite of charges that continued sporadically for another ten years, he eventually returned Louis Augustine Good to the fold, to active participation in the Church programmes,<sup>10</sup> to work as an interpreter for the

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<sup>7</sup> AADBC, Synod Office General Files. St. Paul's, Nanaimo. 1867-1891.

<sup>8</sup> Nanaimo Free Press, October 25, 1882.

<sup>9</sup> Nanaimo Free Press. February 28, 1883.

<sup>10</sup> "Opening of St. Philip's Church," Nanaimo Free Press, October 22, 1891.

Indian Commissioner,<sup>11</sup> and to be engaged as a government contractor.<sup>12</sup>

Interdenominational friction still impeded both the Anglican and the Methodist missions. The Methodists continually complained, with justification, of the government's preferential treatment of the Anglican Church throughout the province.<sup>13</sup> In an eighteen page memorial the British Columbia Conference of the Methodist Church documented grievances ranging from the Anglicans obtaining funding for a sawmill to the rejection of Methodists as interpreters.<sup>14</sup> A later, undated letter from the British Columbia Conference to the Federal Minister of the Interior, the Honourable Clifford Sifton, showed government education grants of only \$5,800 to the Methodist Church for eleven schools with 475 pupils, and of \$15,050 to the Anglicans for

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<sup>11</sup> British Columbia, Correspondence of the Cowichan Indian Agency, Louie Good to H. Lomas, June 20th, 1881. (See also BCARS F/5/C84).

<sup>12</sup> NAC, Indian Affairs. RG 10, Letter-book, A.W. Vowell to Louis Good, November 2, 1899.

<sup>13</sup> BCARS, (H/D/R57/G59), Letter, E. Robson to the Hon. Charles [sic] Dewdney, August 25, 1891.

<sup>14</sup> VSTUC, Memorial of the British Columbia Conference to the members of the Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church, May, 1888.

thirteen schools and 415 pupils.<sup>15</sup> The letter also noted a grant of \$29,000 to the Roman Catholic Church for seven schools and 337 pupils, but the focus of the Methodist grievance was on the Anglican Church. A letter to Charles Dewdney<sup>16</sup> in Ottawa contained undisguised innuendo, noting that on the night of an announcement of funding for an Anglican Indian School in Nanaimo, the Methodist Church on the Reserve had burned down.<sup>17</sup> The Methodist complaints were understandable, but realistically, the Methodists had had very little competition in Nanaimo Indian work since Good left in 1866, and even operated a day school on the Reserve. For the Methodists this may have been a mixed blessing because the Indian people were not reacting favourable to Christianity. In an 1883 report Good evaluated the Nanaimo area Indians as "fairly industrious and well to do: lack much in morality and prone to drink, gambling, and debauching...semi-civilized, more or less demoralized, and

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<sup>15</sup> VSTUC, United Church of Canada Archives, Draft letter, Special Committee of the British Columbia Conference of the Methodist Church to the Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, no date.

<sup>16</sup> This is an error; the person addressed was Edgar Dewdney.

<sup>17</sup> VSTUC, British Columbia Conference of the Methodist Church, Draft letter, Anon. to the Hon. Charles [sic] Dewdney, August 25, 1891.

very unsatisfactory." <sup>18</sup> Under the circumstances it is not surprising that Good became discouraged with Indian work and directed his energies predominantly to the white population.

Good retained his conviction of the need for education. As no High School existed at Nanaimo, and because Good had children of high school age, he opened two private schools in the traditional English style. Good conducted the boys' school in St. Paul's Schoolroom; his eldest daughter Amy taught the girls in the rectory.<sup>19</sup> The schools appear to have catered to elementary and high school levels; each school had an average of only ten students. The low attendance was due to two factors. In the primary grades, Nanaimo had a government operated common school that levied no fee. For the more advanced students there was interest in education for the girls but the boys went into the mines as soon as they reached working age. Because Good's school project was not blessed with popular success, Good offered in 1884 to rent the building to the government for school purposes at a rate of \$15 to \$20 per month, provided the space would be available on the weekend for use as a Sunday

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<sup>18</sup> AADBC, Synod Office General Files. St. Paul's Nanaimo, 1867-1891.

<sup>19</sup> AADBC, Synod Office General File, St. Paul's, Nanaimo, 1867-1891, Report 1882.

School.<sup>20</sup> Good did not operate his schools by design but a means of filling a void. When popular opinion called for a government high school, he fully supported the movement.

While neither the Nanaimo Church nor Good was in the desperate financial strictures that occurred in the Lytton Mission, the budget was very sparse. Three years earlier, in 1881, the S.P.G., in financial difficulties, deemed that the Diocese of Columbia should be self supporting and so, in spite of pleas by Bishop Hills, ceased all financial grants.<sup>21</sup> Bishop Hills temporarily continued financial aid to St. Paul's but lack of Diocesan resources forced him to inform the parish that from June 30, 1884, it was expected to be self supporting.<sup>22</sup> Fund-raising concerts, lectures, musicales, teas and picnics, which had occasionally been held before, came in a never ending stream. Sarah actively supported her husband and many of the concerts featured songs by John Booth and Sarah Good. As the children matured, they too performed, much to the enjoyment of all.

Soon, these parochial fund raisers expanded from the

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<sup>20</sup> BCARS, (GR 1445), British Columbia, Superintendent of Education, Correspondence in, 1872-1894, p. 173, Good to Superintendent, April 26, 1884.

<sup>21</sup> AADBC, Minute Book of the Executive Committee for years 1876-1890, September 22, 1891, p.131.

<sup>22</sup> AADBC, St. Paul's Church Minute Book. Church Committee Minutes, 1884-1895. Minutes for June 16, 1884.

narrow confines of the traditional church, into the wider community. On November 15, 1882 the Nanaimo Free Press announced a Grand Concert was to be held on the morrow with proceeds in aid of the "Funds of St. Paul's Episcopal Church." <sup>23</sup> Reserved seats cost one dollar and unreserved fifty cents. This was not cheap entertainment. In summertime other events such as raspberry teas were sometimes held on "The Green," a triangle of land now covered by the Harbour Mall shopping area. As so often happens, a pleasant community social event became tarnished by the unwelcome attendance of the rowdy element. By 1889, additional information had been added to the newspaper announcements. "No intoxicating liquor allowed on the ground...promoters reserve an absolute right to refuse admission at their discretion." <sup>24</sup> Winter brought the return of the Nova Scotia Christmas Tree Festival, as well as dances and whist tournaments. The tournaments were well attended and keenly contested. Mrs. Good was again prominent in these events, being joined on this occasion by her son Vincent, and the enthusiasm and popularity surrounding these contests was reported in the next day's paper:

It was after midnight when the final game was

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<sup>23</sup> "Grand Concert," Nanaimo Free Press, November 15, 1882.

<sup>24</sup> "Social Festival," Nanaimo Free Press, June 20, 1889.

started, in which Mrs. Canon Good and Mr. Lobb were opposed by Mrs. Jamieson and Mr. V. Good. Just before one o'clock a.m., loud clapping of hands announced that the tournament was over, the first mentioned couple being the winners.<sup>25</sup>

The entertainment served the triple function of fund-raising, social entertainment, and public relations, reaching beyond the parish to raise funds for specific community needs. A request by the Volunteer Fire Department for assistance in raising money for a new engine house<sup>26</sup> resulted in Good scheduling an additional performance of a parish concert specifically for that purpose.

For the parish, involvement with these events meant an increased awareness of parochial finances. Good was fortunate in having a competent church committee which included people like Samuel Robins, the Manager of the Vancouver Island Land and Coal Mining Company. These people brought professional financial management to the Church, lifting much of the fiscal responsibility from Good's shoulders. Misunderstandings between priest and congregation still occurred as Good had to assure the congregation that

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<sup>25</sup> "The Whist Tournament," Nanaimo Free Press, May 12, 1893.

<sup>26</sup> BCARS, (Add MSS 2955), Nanaimo Fire Department Records, 1887-1937, Minutes, January 9, 1888, p.13.

the Easter offering had not been given directly to him.<sup>27</sup>

Good's denominational discrimination was also tempered by time. He served as Secretary of the Nanaimo Ministerial Association<sup>28</sup> and took part in ecumenical events, such as the opening service of a new Baptist Church. His remarks at the latter service gave dramatic evidence of his mellowing as he supported and welcomed another working Christian Church. He also participated in semi-religious events such as the laying of a corner stone for a new Masonic Hall. No longer was the young Anglican cleric ready to draw his verbal sword for battle, but rather the mature priest would use his peaceful ploughshare to encourage a greater Christian crop. Unfortunately the early animosity of the Methodists remained, but was tempered by Good's willingness to co-operate by such means as relinquishing the old mission building on the reserve for a Methodist school.

Good was very much appreciated for his manner with the laity, especially when conducting weddings and funerals. He was seen as a warm, sympathetic cleric and was widely, though not universally, loved. Good continued to surprise by

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<sup>27</sup> St. Paul's Church, Minute Book, Church Committee Minutes 1884-1895, April 25, 1892, p.75.

<sup>28</sup> Nanaimo Centennial Museum and Archives, Record Book of the Ministerial Association of Nanaimo, 1896-1922.

conducting the funeral of Ferdinand Fort in French.<sup>29</sup>

Good followed his family into community activities. One son, John H. Good had joined the Odd Fellows became an officer in the organization. Through his influence, his father was initiated into the Nanaimo Star Lodge of the Order on May 16, 1894.<sup>30</sup> In the 1890s, the Order operated a financially healthy mutual benefit society with assets of over \$20,000.<sup>31</sup> Good may have been inspired to join for these benefits, since he was apparently having difficulty in maintaining his English life insurance policy.<sup>32</sup> Membership would also bring companionship with his son in the greater community.

As shown by his fund raising activities, music still played a major part in Good's life. He emphasized the liturgical use of music in his services, making them attractive to the congregation within the traditional

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<sup>29</sup> "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press, August 4, 1897.

<sup>30</sup> "Fraternal Notes," Nanaimo Free Press, May 17, 1894.

<sup>31</sup> Lynne Elizabeth Bowen, "Friendly Societies in Nanaimo: The British Tradition of Self-help in a Canadian Coal Mining Community." Unpublished Extended Research Paper, University of Victoria, 1980, p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> AADBC, Minute Book of the Executive Committee for years 1876-1890, December 21, 1886, p.172.

parameters of Anglican worship.<sup>33</sup> Special festivals demanded special music, and when inclement weather restricted attendance at the harvest Thanksgiving in 1894, Good repeated the service the following Sunday advertising:

The church will retain its harvest attire, and should the day be fine, we are sure will attract a large audience. The music both morning and evening, is of a very high order, and exceedingly well rendered by the choir, who have very carefully practised their several parts.<sup>34</sup>

At the risk of being sceptical of his motive, it should be remembered that this was one of the largest services of the year, yielding one of the largest offerings.

The life of St. Paul's settled into a compliant routine governed by the rector and an elected church committee and punctuated by the annual meeting every Easter. Though becoming more flexible in church management, Good had not totally lost his talent for alienating people and his second Nanaimo term was shattered by a major schism.

The exact issues that caused the division of the parish are unknown but probably were founded in the perennial Anglican problem of High versus Low Church practices. Both types of churchmanship were found in Good's congregation and he was either unable or unwilling to satisfy both groups.

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<sup>33</sup> "Sacred Service of Song," Nanaimo Free Press, June 5, 1899.

<sup>34</sup> "Church Notices," Nanaimo Free Press, October 30, 1894.

Led by Dr. Praeger, J.S. Perkins, A. Planta and the Randalls, a group of St. Paul's parishioners voiced sufficient opposition to Good to encourage the Bishop to accede to their wishes to form the new parish.<sup>35</sup> Good was not without support. Samuel Robins had

extreme misgivings about the formation of a new Parish, principally... from distrust of the chief movers in the matter, and knowing that the movement has been much prompted by hostility to Mr. Good.<sup>36</sup>

Robins asked Bishop Hills to give Good "every consideration" and to assign him the larger portion of the divided Parish. When the breakaway congregation created St. Alban's, their High Church leanings became obvious in their holding "Pontifical Eucharists"<sup>37</sup> and hosting readings of Cardinal Newman's Dream of Gerontius. These practices were far removed from the those of the rector of St. Paul's.

On May 21, 1891 the parish was officially divided, with the northern boundary of the new parish of St. Alban the Martyr starting to the south where Albert Street touched the

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<sup>35</sup> AADBC, J.B.Good, "History of St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo." in St. Paul's Parochial Register.

<sup>36</sup> Hills, Diaries, April 29, 1891.

<sup>37</sup> "Pontifical Eucharistic Celebration," Nanaimo Free Press, June 16, 1893.

city boundary.<sup>38</sup> The Bishop appointed the Reverend Mr. G. Tovey to St. Albans. Tovey, who knew the circumstances, visited Good before accepting the posting. Good warmly welcomed him, suggesting that the friction emanated from animosity within the lay and not the clerical sector of the church.<sup>39</sup> Hills was worried about the division, noting that the members of the St. Alban's Committee "did not seem to be an influential set and...Mr Tovey will have an uphill work to do."<sup>40</sup> Tovey persevered for two years but, with the church \$9,000 in debt, he resigned and returned to England.<sup>41</sup> In his letter of resignation he clearly identified the problem, noting that the new parish was motivated by "ulterior and unworthy motives" and that "the promises of support were fallacious and not destined...to materialize."<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, Hills appointed a replacement, the Reverend G.W. Taylor, incumbent of St.

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<sup>38</sup> AADBC, Registrar's Records, No. 1. 1859-1947, p.272.

<sup>39</sup> Hills, Diaries, March 15, 1891.

<sup>40</sup> Hills, Diaries, June 2, 1891.

<sup>41</sup> AADBC, J.B. Good, "History of St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo," in St. Paul's Parochial Register.

<sup>42</sup> "Rev. G.H. Tovey Resigns." Nanaimo Free Press. March 28, 1894.

Barnabas in Victoria, who remained for two years.<sup>43</sup>

Even before Taylor resigned on May 29, 1896, the Bishop recognized the impracticality of two parishes in an area that realistically could only support one, and suggested investigating the amalgamation of St. Paul's and St. Alban's. In November, 1895 at St. Paul's, both the Church Committee and a general meeting of the parish rejected the proposal. The wounds were still deep; St. Paul's voted unanimously that "the proposed amalgamation is not in the best interests of the church."<sup>44</sup> As a gesture of reconciliation the St. Paul's parishioners advised:

the congregation of St. Alban's Parish [that if they found] it impossible to continue to carry on their Church and Parish work we shall welcome the members thereof at St. Paul's Church and extend to them the right hand of fellowship.

St. Alban's, however, wished to retain its independence.

Taylor's successor, the Reverend R.A. Bosanquet, remained in Nanaimo less than three years, resigning in 1899.<sup>45</sup> Following his resignation, there were rumours of the possible amalgamation but no action was taken. It was a trying time for both Good and his Bishop.

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<sup>43</sup> "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press. May 20, 1896.

<sup>44</sup> AADBC, St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo. Vestry Minutes, November 6, 1895 and November 11, 1895.

<sup>45</sup> "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press, February 24, 1899.

Before Bishop Hills returned to England in 1892, as a tangible gesture of appreciation he invited Good to join him, as his chaplain, on a visit to a large gathering of the Thompson Indian people at Hope. Hills wanted to see his old friends for the last time. Bishop Sillitoe, with great consideration, had invited Hills to the event, but Hills could not attend in clear conscience without his old friend and first permanent Anglican missionary to the Thompsons. Hills met Good at the wharf in Vancouver, and the two men had lunch at the Vancouver Hotel before taking the train to Yale.<sup>46</sup>

The return to Yale was an disturbing experience for Good as he walked through the deserted streets "once so full of life and excitement, but now empty, ruinous and silent." The mood in the evening changed with dinner and prize giving at All Hallows School.<sup>47</sup> The next morning the group moved by special railcar to Hope where the further events were scheduled. Tents had been erected at the Church grounds at Hope for accommodation and facilities. The gathering included tribes from the Lower Fraser as well as the Thompsons. Interpretation for the Thompson language was

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<sup>46</sup> Hills, Diaries, July 6, 1892.

<sup>47</sup> All references for this event are from: "The Yale and Hope Indian Gathering," Nanaimo Free Press, July 15, 1892.

supplied by Meshall of Lytton, an indication that Silas Nalee was no longer in the van as a prime clerical assistant. Good was affected by the sight of his Bishop renewing old acquaintances among his Indian friends, while he was, in turn, rewarded by being able to lead a service in the Nitalakapamuk tongue. The Reverend Richard Small of Lytton observed:

It was quite inspiring to hear these people take up the old hymns he had taught them at his leading, and a stirring sight to see them clustering around him in the enclosure round the church during the afternoon.<sup>48</sup>

It was one of Good's few moments of glory, though tempered with the nagging threat that with Hills' retirement in a few months, a new Bishop would be appointed. His experience of his last new Bishop would have made this a very disturbing thought.<sup>49</sup> The Fraser River Indian gathering was the last major public event of Good's clerical career.

Except for his Bishop, Good was the most senior Church of England priest in British Columbia, a fact of which he was very proud. While other staff with less seniority had been promoted to higher positions, Good had been passed over. Bishop Hills had shown much common sense in keeping

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<sup>48</sup> "New Westminster," Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London: S.P.G., 1892, p.138.

<sup>49</sup> Hills, Diaries, June 23, 1892.

Good in the job for which he was most fitted, mission work among the Indians, but now, in the twilight of his career, Hills wanted to give tangible recognition to his faithful priest. On September 15, 1892, Hills made Good an Honorary Canon of the Cathedral, a title that carried recognition but no benefits other than being an associate member of the Cathedral staff.<sup>50</sup> Considering Good's need for recognition, this was a very rewarding experience. With the offer of the Honorary Canonship, Hills especially commended Good's sixteen years of work on

the Mission to the Thompson, Frazer [sic] Indians who to the number of 2000 were, under God's Blessing, converted to Christianity through your loving and self denying loving labours, with manifest and permanent results of Social improvements, industry and Christian life.<sup>51</sup>

Good retained the original but, for posterity, copied the letter into the Nanaimo Parochial Register and into his autobiography written in California during retirement. In addition to the appointment as Canon, and as a measure of parochial appreciation, the Wardens of St. Paul's arranged a conversazione in honour of the appointment.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> AADBC, Registrar's Records No. 1, 1859-1947, p.316.

<sup>51</sup> Hills to Good, September 13, 1892, Included in J.B. Good, "The Utmost Bounds..."

<sup>52</sup> "Conversazione," Nanaimo Free Press, September 20, 1892.

Settled at Nanaimo, it was gratifying for the Goods to see the remaining children complete their education and start moving into the working world. They would mature in many different ways, causing both pride and heartache, but always there remained a genuine familial love.

Jack (J.H.) Good had entered the work force when the family returned to Nanaimo, starting as a telegraph messenger and rising through promotion to mail agent for the E & N Railway.<sup>53</sup> He then worked for his brother-in-law, but after Edward Whiffen left Nanaimo in 1891, Jack found employment as purser on the West Indian, a position that lasted for about a year.<sup>54</sup> In 1892, when he was twenty-two years old, he opened a furniture store in Nanaimo, expanding into the auctioneering business and acting as agent for many lines of goods such as sewing machines and bicycles. Jack Good served on the church committee, and was active in his own right in the Odd Fellows organization.

Percy Good, a weighman for the Vancouver Island Land and Coal Mining Company, joined his brother on the church committee and served as one of the St. Paul's delegates to the 1892 Synod. In 1891, Percy married Janet Blyth Webb,

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<sup>53</sup> "Appointed Mail Agent." Nanaimo Free Press, February 8, 1888.

<sup>54</sup> "Purser of the S.S. West Indian." Nanaimo Free Press, April 30, 1891.

daughter of a Nanaimo aldermen.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately she died of consumption in 1894. He did not re-marry until 1902.<sup>56</sup>

Vincent qualified for the High school in 1886, proving his ability in 1887 by coming third in the class.<sup>57</sup> He travelled to the World's Fair with friends in 1893. By 1899 Vincent was pay master for the New Vancouver Coal Company, a prestigious position. Vincent must have had a special relationship with his parents because upon his father's retirement Vincent resigned his position, and followed them to California. He never returned to Nanaimo.

Amy Evelyn G. Good, the eldest daughter, finished her schooling in Nanaimo. She was probably the Miss Good who filled an assistant teaching position at the Anglican Girls school in Victoria,<sup>58</sup> and lived just down the hill on Belleville Street.<sup>59</sup> The Nanaimo newspaper recorded her comings and goings by train to Victoria but very few other details. Her marriage in 1890, conducted by her father, was

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<sup>55</sup> "Good-Webb," Nanaimo Free Press, September 2, 1891.

<sup>56</sup> AADBC, St. Paul's Parish Records, 1860-1881.

<sup>57</sup> "High School Examinations," Nanaimo Free Press, June 15, 1887.

<sup>58</sup> Williams British Columbia Directory, Angela College, Miss Good, Assistant, English, p.90.

<sup>59</sup> Henderson's British Columbia Directory, 1890, p.515.

to Edward W. Whiffen, son of H.W.S. Whiffen, late Accountant-General of the British War Office.<sup>60</sup> Although they were not social climbers, the match would have pleased the Goods, as Edward, besides having a good background, was an up and coming member of the Nanaimo business community. He operated a prosperous real estate, auctioneering, insurance and loan business that in 1891 opened a branch office on Carrall Street in Vancouver.<sup>61</sup> Edward Whiffen was also Secretary of the Nanaimo Building Society. The new family's future looked bright. Less than three months later when the Whiffens disappeared from Nanaimo, \$5,500 was missing from the Society's funds.<sup>62</sup> Whiffen was discovered in Denver, Colorado, but though his associates urged him to return to Nanaimo, he simply dropped from sight. No further records of the Whiffens have been found. Whiffen's financial machinations had a heavy impact on the Good family as both Jack and Bertie Good, a son of whom little is known, worked for the firm.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> "Marriage," Nanaimo Free Press, September 2, 1890.

<sup>61</sup> "The City," Vancouver Daily News Advertiser, Nov. 20, 1891.

<sup>62</sup> "E.W. Whiffen," Nanaimo Free Press, January 25, 1892.

<sup>63</sup> Williams' British Columbia Directory, 1892, p.369.

Ernest Victor Good, baptised as Hubert Ernest Victor, was known as Bertie. He was listed as a clerk for the E.W. Whiffen Company in the 1892 Nanaimo City Directory<sup>64</sup> but there are no other Nanaimo records. After the collapse of Whiffen's business, Bertie gained employment with the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson, B.C., where he was evaluated as "Honest, Industrious, capable, very anxious to learn, gives satisfaction in every way. Total abstainer."<sup>65</sup> No further records have been found.

The youngest daughter, Ethel Theodora, also married at Nanaimo. Bishop Hills performed the ceremony in August 1894, which united the twenty-one year old Ethel to Frederick George Peto, also of Nanaimo.<sup>66</sup> The first son from this marriage was born less than eight months later.<sup>67</sup> Another child, a girl, was born on November 30, 1896. Fred Peto's accounting business prospered,<sup>68</sup> and in later years Mrs. Peto moved to Los Angeles, remaining there to care for her

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<sup>64</sup> Williams British Columbia Directory, 1892, p.369.

<sup>65</sup> Hudson's Bay Company Archives, D38/31; D/33/1,2; D38/56.

<sup>66</sup> "Peto-Good," Nanaimo Free Press, August 25, 1894.

<sup>67</sup> "Birth," Nanaimo Free Press, April 16, 1895.

<sup>68</sup> "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press, November 30, 1896; "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press, March 3, 1899.

mother after the death of her father.<sup>69</sup> Since city directories show Fred Peto remaining in Nanaimo, it is likely they separated.

The greatest family tragedy occurred in 1894 when Henry Castleden Good shot a policeman. In Seattle, at 1 a.m. on April 15, 1895, a drunken twenty-nine year old Harry Good mistook Police Officer J.W. Glasscock for a potential robber and fired four shots from a .33 calibre Hopkins and Allen double action revolver, two of the bullets wounding the officer.<sup>70</sup> Good was arraigned in court on a charge of attempted murder and Judge Glasgow set bail at \$5,000, an impossible sum for the Good family. In the manner of the day, the newspapers pre-judged Harry guilty. Three days later, John Booth Good was in Seattle searching for details of the crime and doing what little he could to assist his son.<sup>71</sup> Good retained legal counsel for Harry, arranged character references, and attempted to attenuate the negative influences of the newspapers by writing a letter to the editor pleading for a fair trial and asking the press

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<sup>69</sup> "Gallant Women Pioneer is Dead in Los Angeles," Daily Province, March 27, 1929.

<sup>70</sup> "He Shoots to Kill," Seattle Post Intelligencer, April 15, 1895.

<sup>71</sup> "Harry Good's Father in City," Seattle Post Intelligencer, April 19, 1895.

and the public not

to make the hard road of all transgressors any rougher than it is for my poor boy, for whom and over whom we continue to watch and pray, and every parent will understand with what feeling I subscribe myself, his distressed and anxious father.<sup>72</sup>

About the same time that Good was attempting to counteract the damaging editorializing in Seattle, the Colonist published a brief history of Harry Good's chequered career. A bright young man, he had been employed in Victoria by the firm of S.J. Pitts, wholesale grocers. Rising rapidly through the firm, he had become a collector, travelling the Island in the service of the company. From Nanaimo, with over \$700 of his employer's money, Harry Good and his female companion, a married woman, fled to Portland.<sup>73</sup> Pitts chased them to Portland, recovered about \$200, brought them home and gave Harry his old job back.<sup>74</sup> Harry Good did not remain very long in his old firm's employ for he opened a general store in Nanaimo in 1890.<sup>75</sup> The Nanaimo endeavour failed and

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<sup>72</sup> "The Case of Harry Good. His Sorrowing Father asks the Public to Suspend Judgement," Seattle Post Intelligencer, April 22, 1895.

<sup>73</sup> This information was found in a previous Colonist article: "Coming Home," Colonist, December 15, 1889.

<sup>74</sup> "The City," Victoria Daily Colonist, April 20, 1895.

<sup>75</sup> Advertisement, Nanaimo Free Press, February 1, 1890.

some sources accused the young Harry Good of consorting with undesirable elements and prostituting his wife.<sup>76</sup> Harry disappeared from Nanaimo and reappeared in the employ of the Seattle firm of Cooper and Levy, where he was highly regarded.

The trial dragged through several delays until July 2, 1895 when Harry C. Good was found guilty and sentenced to a fine of \$1,000 and costs, a relatively light punishment.<sup>77</sup> The character references obtained by his father had probably averted a harsher penalty. There are no records of who paid the fine or what happened to Harry Good after his release from prison. The whole incident brought John Booth Good close to collapse. Upon Dr. Davis' advice he retreated to California for recovery, leaving Nanaimo on December 26, 1895, not to return until April 29, 1896.<sup>78</sup> His wife remained in Nanaimo, possibly because of straitened financial circumstances.

Prior to his departure, church income had been so deficient that Good had not been paid. Before leaving for

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<sup>76</sup> "Good's Downward Career," Seattle Post Intelligencer, April 20, 1895. This article is taken practically verbatim from the Victoria Daily Colonist, April 20, 1895.

<sup>77</sup> "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press, July 2, 1895.

<sup>78</sup> AADBC, "History of St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo," St. Paul's Parochial Register, p.16.

California, and because of the tenuous finances of St. Paul's, he agreed to accept only half of his stipend so the church could retire its debt,<sup>79</sup> with the understanding that the full stipend would be re-instated upon the church's solvency. The half stipend would allow his wife to survive during his recuperation. It is unknown how he supported himself but, as it was often the practice to give the open offertory to a visiting cleric, he may have preached on his Indian Mission experiences. Public lectures on British Columbia and Indians could have added to his survival income.

After a successful convalescence, Good returned home in March, 1896 to resume parish duties. The Boys' Brigade formed in 1895 continued their drill and turnouts at civic events.<sup>80</sup> As with many similar boys' organizations, it was para-military in nature, with uniforms, drums, and rifles. The concept was to instill a sense of discipline in the youngsters, raising them in the tradition of Empire. Nanaimo, however, had a large uneducated working class whose children found the Boys' Brigade a prime target, abusing them on the street and bombarding the Institute building

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<sup>79</sup> "History of St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo," in St. Paul's Parochial Register, p.17.

<sup>80</sup> "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press, September 27, 1895.

with stones while it was drilling. At one time, the building was broken into, four rifles were stolen and the snare drum broken.<sup>81</sup>

While attending to the routine of parish life, Good retained his interest in language. At the end of 1896, Good was visited by one of the foremost anthropological experts on Indians of the Pacific Northwest, Franz Boas,<sup>82</sup> who wanted to draw on Good's expertise in the Salish language.<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately, Boas decided to visit Good on a Sunday, the busiest day of the week for a cleric. Good appears to have become a fussy old gentleman, completely taken up with his own interests to the exclusion of the importance of the study. Boas described the interview:

Mr. Good is not very cooperative; he claims to be busy but talks endlessly about his own work. He kept me for two hours yesterday afternoon showing me his Salish translation of the prayer book, although I asked him a few times to go with me to the Indians. He declared that he did not have time.

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<sup>81</sup> "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press, March 10, 1896.

<sup>82</sup> All references to this incident are from Ronald P. Rohner, ed., The Ethnography of Franz Boas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969, pp. 70-71.

<sup>83</sup> Here we can see the genesis of disagreement between Good and Boas. The term "Salish," according to Good, was a derogatory word meaning "knife people." Good mentioned this difference of opinion in his retirement correspondence. Boas cannot have made a good impression when he referred to Father Good, the Roman Catholic missionary.

Boas asked Good for notes on the grammar of the Nittlakapamuk language, which he insisted on calling Salish, but there is no record of Good forwarding them. The meeting was not a pleasant experience for either party.

Good and St. Paul's maintained an excellent relationship with the New Vancouver Coal Company whose manager Samuel Robins was a Church Warden. Robins, who took a prominent part in community events, did not confine assistance to his own church but maintained extensive personal and corporate philanthropic works. His company donated to all denominations and to secular organizations.

While St. Paul's was again on a reasonably successful and prosperous basis,<sup>84</sup> all was not well at the breakaway parish of St. Alban's. The Reverend R.A. Bosanquet had unexpectedly resigned at the beginning of 1899, agreeing to stay until June. He was persuaded to remain longer, for his official resignation is recorded as October 4, 1899.<sup>85</sup> The frequent change of rectors, together with the disastrous financial state of the parish, confirmed the futility of two small, adjacent Anglican parishes. Good must have put out retirement feelers, for the congregation was already investigating "financial arrangements to enable Canon Good

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<sup>84</sup> AADBC, St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo. Vestry Minutes, Annual Easter Meeting, May 16, 1899.

<sup>85</sup> AADBC, Registrar's Records No.1, 1859-1947 p. 388.

to retire, if he so desired."<sup>86</sup> On October 15, 1899 Good officially resigned the parish, subject to unstated conditions.<sup>87</sup> The need to replace the two Nanaimo rectors presented an opportunity for future amalgamation of the parishes, but the split originated from the dissension within the original congregation, the issue had to be approached with extreme sensitivity. Originally, according to Good,<sup>88</sup> it was hoped to amalgamate the two parishes on his retirement but this proposal was thwarted by the determination of the St. Alban's congregation to remain independent. The new plan was to keep the two parishes separate, at least for the moment, but to have them administered by one rector from St. Paul's with a curate posted to St. Alban's. On November 16, 1899, the Reverend Charles Edward Cooper was transferred from Wellington and Northfield and licensed to St. Paul's and St. Alban's,<sup>89</sup> with the Reverend D. Dunlop as the St. Alban's curate.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press, June 5, 1899.

<sup>87</sup> AADBC, Registrar's Records, No.1, 1859-1947, p.388.

<sup>88</sup> AADBC, "History of St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo," Parochial records, St. Paul's.

<sup>89</sup> AADBC, Registrar's Records, 1859-1947, p.388.

<sup>90</sup> "Pleasant Event," Nanaimo Free Press, November 15, 1899.

Good had resigned but lived in the St. Paul's rectory and remained active in the services of the church. An agreement had been made to pay him a retirement allowance of \$2,200, a significant sum of money. Neither the parish nor the Diocese had resources to cover such an outlay, so Good remained until the payment was made. One cannot blame Good for being cautious, for this money was all that he would have to sustain himself and his wife in retirement, there being as yet, no clerical pensions.

The problem brought to light an outstanding anomaly in the title of church property. To pay Good, the church had to raise money against its property in Nanaimo. Prior to obtaining a loan, the Diocese discovered that the Vancouver Island Land and Coal Mining Company had never officially transferred title to the church. A mortgage against the property was impossible without proof of ownership. Samuel Robins immediately arranged for the issuance of the appropriate documents but in the meantime Good waited. By November, all was settled. The deed was transferred to the church, enabling a mortgage to be raised against the property, thereby generating the required amount for the retirement allowance. It is ironic that the church that had so severely criticised Good for borrowing money to operate his mission would itself borrow to retire him. It is even more ironic when it is discovered that the person who loaned the money against the property, at 6 1/2% interest, was the

Hon. Peter O'Reilly.<sup>91</sup> The wheel had come full circle.

Good preached his last sermon "I will stand up in a new watchtower" on November 19, 1899, which "comforted and cheered" the congregation.<sup>92</sup> The congregation may have been comforted and cheered but for unknown reasons, the choir was sufficiently disenchanted to be absent.

In the "History of St. Paul's" recorded in the Parochial Register, we can read the entries starting in 1862 in a uniform style of handwriting, obviously written at one sitting. The entry for November 22, 1899 reads:

The above arrangement completed, the money paid, Reverend C.E. Cooper inducted by the Bishop as successor to Canon Good who leaves for a sojourn in California on the morrow.<sup>93</sup>

John Booth Good, living up to his reputation for the need for recognition, had written the entire history in the parish register the night before his departure.

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<sup>91</sup> AADBC, Executive Committee Minutes, November 16, 1899, p.181.

<sup>92</sup> Albert E. Hendy, St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo, B.C. A Brief History Since its Foundation, 1859-1952. Nanaimo: St. Paul's. 1952, p.21.

<sup>93</sup> AADBC, "History of St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo." St. Paul's Parochial register, p.18.

## Chapter 7

## Retirement and the Search for Recognition: 1899-1916.

On Wednesday November 23, 1899, the Reverend John and Mrs. Good caught the morning train to Victoria en route via Seattle and Tacoma to San Francisco, where they planned to spend the winter.<sup>1</sup> Although no longer living in the province, Good remained in touch with British Columbia through newspapers and correspondence, and offered his opinions on problems of Indian land claims. In retirement Good continued his active interest in history, ethnology, and theology.

Good was familiar with California and its agreeable climate. Before the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, it was on the main trade and communications route to the east, and still retained close ties with British Columbia. Good had recuperated there in 1896 after the trauma of his son's trial, and his adult family also visited the state for holiday and health reasons. In California, Good planned to pursue his language and ethnological interests with the Department of Ethnology of the University of California in Berkeley, in pursuit of the elusive academic recognition he so dearly desired. On a practical level, Good anticipated a

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<sup>1</sup> "Brief Mention," Nanaimo Free Press, November 23, 1890.

minor appointment under Bishop Johnson of the Los Angeles Diocese<sup>2</sup> that would bring in a little income while enabling him to devote his time to "learned pursuits."<sup>3</sup> Initially Good was appointed on January 1, 1900 as vicar to St. John's Mission, Bostonia, about fourteen miles inland from San Diego.<sup>4</sup> The parish was a rural one that, due to depressed economic conditions, gradually became poorer. Good remained only a short time<sup>5</sup> and there is no evidence of further ecclesiastical appointments. By July 31, 1901, Good was listed as a resident of Barnabas,<sup>6</sup> but that stay must have been brief as the San Diego City Directory included an address for the Goods at Coronado that same year.<sup>7</sup> In 1903

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<sup>2</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, Manuscript Vault, Good to Dr. J.W. Powell, n.d., 1900.

<sup>3</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, Manuscript Vault, Good to Hodges, Xmas Day, 1899.

<sup>4</sup> Archives of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Los Angeles, Journal of the 5th. Annual Convention of the Diocese of Los Angeles, 1900, p.8.

<sup>5</sup> Good was succeeded by the Reverend H.J. Camp in 1901. Archives of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Los Angeles, "A Short History of St. John's, Bostonia," 1940, typescript.

<sup>6</sup> "Good-Hirst," Nanaimo Free Press, July 31, 1901.

<sup>7</sup> San Diego Public Library, Coronado City Directory, 1901, p.280.

Good moved from Los Angeles to Pasadena,<sup>8</sup> where, except from trips to San Francisco, he remained for the rest of his life.

While in the British Columbia mission field, Good had established contact with the academic world by assisting a Professor of Anthropology, probably Professor Holmes from the University of California, to record at Lytton the Nitlakapamuk language on a new patent recording machine. In retirement, Good re-established contact with the University, continuing his intellectual interest in the language and the people. In drawing parallels between the Nitlakapamuk language and the Semitic languages, Good specifically noted how biblical names like Asenath and Eneas had been exactly reproduced in the Thompson tongue. He further proposed that the Hebrew "El" for God had been incorporated into the Thompson as "El Klekalth Kokepe," meaning the Supreme Deity.<sup>9</sup> His belief in the Semitic origin of the Indian people was not original. Good took this premise of semitic origin and applied to it data that he had acquired through the field study of Indian languages and legends.

Good the linguist was also Good the anthropologist as

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<sup>8</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, W.H. Holmes to J.N.B. Hewitt, October 16, 1903.

<sup>9</sup> Good's language and customs beliefs are found in "Utmost Bounds...", p.37.

his interest in the similarities of the NITLAKAPAMUK tongue prompted him to examine the customs and some myths of the people. Good applied the theory of Semitic origin to Indian burial customs, the concept of an afterlife, language, and folklore. It is significant that Good's ethnological studies were heavily biased towards Christianity. At pains to show the connection between the Indian people and the ancient Semitic people, Good used language, customs and some folk tales to support his theory. He was uninterested in a comprehensive study of the Indians and their culture, as he pointedly ignored what were probably the most important mythological characters of their spiritual lives, Raven, Coyote, the three brothers Hogfennel, Cannibal Owl and the Old Man. He no doubt viewed these creatures in an anti-Christian sense, but without their careful study, Good could make no claim to credible scholarship.<sup>10</sup>

Good had corresponded with the Smithsonian since at least 1888.<sup>11</sup> After arriving in San Francisco, he immediately forwarded, for the Institution's interest and evaluation, the only holograph copy of his "Black

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<sup>10</sup> Background material on Thompson myth and culture may be found in: Franz Boas, Race, Language and Culture, New York: Macmillan, 1940, pp.407-424.

<sup>11</sup> "I have not received for the last two years the Annual Report issued by J.W. Powell." Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Good to ?, November 1, 1900.

Manuscript," a revised liturgy of church offices in the Thompson tongue, and a copy of the Vocabulary and Grammar in both NITLAKAPAMUK and Chinook.<sup>12</sup>

During his interaction with the Institution, Good corrected the misuse of derogatory tribal names and in turn asked the Smithsonian to confirm British Columbia tribal names through the research done by Dr. Harlan I. Smith who had worked on Indian ethnology on the northwestern coast with the Jessup expeditions.<sup>13</sup> Good was aware of a contemporary phonetic key to native language pronunciation, and his immediate goal was to correct his Black Manuscript so his phonetic pronunciation symbols would conform to the accepted practice.<sup>14</sup> In the same letter he asked the Smithsonian to send an expert to assist him this work and hinted broadly that he wished the Institution to supply typewriting services for the transcription of the final manuscript. While Good believed the NITLAKAPAMUK language

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<sup>12</sup> The loan of the Black Manuscript caused Good much anxiety as the Institute mislaid it for three years. It was eventually returned on December 1, 1903, after it was found during an office clean-up. BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, Manuscript Vault, Good to Hodge, Xmas Day, 1899.

<sup>13</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, J.W. Powell to Good, January 20, 1900.

<sup>14</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, Good to Powell[?], February 14, 1900.

had "striking affinities to the old Babylonian and Semitic tongues,"<sup>15</sup> he was anxious for the Institution's opinion on language classification, whether the Nitlakapamuk language was Aryan, Semitic, or Sui Generis and unclassified. The Smithsonian was interested in acquiring the Black Manuscript and the Vocabulary and Grammar "if they could be obtained without great cost."<sup>16</sup> It also considered publishing the liturgy but first wished to have it evaluated by Dr. Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University.<sup>17</sup> Boas agreed it "was well worth while copying...[but not] of such enormous value as the author thinks."<sup>18</sup> The Nanaimo meeting in 1886 had made Boas familiar with the work and the author's opinion of its importance. The Smithsonian returned the manuscript to Good but offered to pay for a transcript "since such a work stands a better chance of preservation if

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<sup>15</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, Good to W,H, Holmes, October 4, 1903.

<sup>16</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, J.H.B. Hewitt to W.H. Holmes, September 28, 1903.

<sup>17</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, Note on file copy of Letter W.H.Holmes to Good, September 28, 1903.

<sup>18</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, Manuscript vault, Franz Boas to W,H, Holmes, November 2, 1903.

two copies exist rather than one." <sup>19</sup>

The reluctance of the Smithsonian to place high value on the Black Manuscript, or to supply the philological expertise to convert Good's pronunciation to the recognized phonetic key, led Good to seek assistance elsewhere. Shortly after the manuscript was returned, Good initiated contact with a group of eastern philologists who arrived in San Diego to study the local Indian tongues.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, the line of information ends there.

In response to a request from a person named Hearst for specimens of new translations of North American native tongues, Good asked Dr. Wheeler, President of the University of California, Berkeley,<sup>21</sup> for assistance to update his

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<sup>19</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, Manuscript Vault, W.H. Holmes to Good, December 1, 1903.

<sup>20</sup> BCARS, Smithsonian Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology, Good to ?, November 14, 1901.

<sup>21</sup> University of California Archives, University of California, Berkeley, Department of Anthropology, Records, Good to Wheeler, April 29, 1904.

phonetic pronunciation,<sup>22</sup> explaining that Professor A.L. Kroeber, Dean of the Ethnological Department, who had already converted some of the original material to the new method of phonetic pronunciation, thought the work of a "high order." Good further claimed that C. Hill-Tout, from the British Association of the Advancement of Science and Ethnology, shared his views on the classical qualities of the NITLAKAPAMUK language, but he criticised Hill-Tout for using derogatory Indian tribal names as proper descriptive nouns.<sup>23</sup> Good wrote as though he were the definitive voice of British Columbia Indian languages, giving no credit to others in the field.

Slightly later, Father Adrian Gabriel Morice, a Roman Catholic missionary, worked with the Carrier Indians, studying their languages and customs. Without denigrating Good's work, the publications of the two men belong in

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<sup>22</sup> It is unknown what system of phonetic nomenclature Good had originally used. The Reverend Richard Small, who later assumed the Indian work in Lytton, found a copy of Good's translated services but was unable to use it due to the unorthodox phonetics. BCARS, (Add MSS 1332), Stanley E. Higgs, G. Bramhall, ed., "That They May Have Life," Unpublished autobiography, 1987. Small often visited his cousin, the Reverend C. Cooper, of St. Alban's, and also his sister, both living in Nanaimo, but, for unknown reasons, he did not contact Good for assistance to use the book.

<sup>23</sup> Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 192, United States National Museum, 1877-1975, Permanent Administration Files, File # 7166, Good to Superintendent of Ethnology Department, Smithsonian Institution, May 13, 1904.

different worlds. Although the two languages are treated in similar ways, viewed side by side, Good's small published Grammar and Dictionary falls far short of Morice's authoritative two volume work. Similarly, whereas Good had difficulty earning recognition for ethnological studies, Morice's papers were published by the Canadian Institute. Morice also held memberships in international scientific societies.<sup>24</sup>

While Good's interest in Indian languages and myths was certainly academic, he did not let that interfere with his hope for payment for the work. He had offered to meet Kroeber and to read portions of his Black manuscript into a phonograph at the University Museum, a similar programme to that followed in Lytton in the early years. His financial resources must have been meagre as he requested compensation including "expense of carfare etc." <sup>25</sup> Kroeber did not bother to forward the request to the University President

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<sup>24</sup> A.G.Morice, "The Uses and Abuses of Philology," Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Vol.VI, Parts 1 & 2, Nos. 11 & 12, Semi-Centennial Memorial Volume, 1849-1899, Toronto: Murray Printing, 1899, p.98.

<sup>25</sup> University of California Archives, University of California, Berkeley, Records, Good to Kroeber, May 28, 1904.

for approval, as Good had suggested.<sup>26</sup> Interestingly, Good wrote to Kroeber over a period of weeks from the Occidental Hotel in San Francisco, at a time when his residence was in Pasadena. It seemed incongruous to spend large sums on hotels and meals, then request compensation for the streetcar.

Good's interest in the Indians spread beyond language and myths as he had collected a few Indian artifacts during his missionary career. As early as 1886 his financial position prompted him to try to find a buyer for an Indian head dress. The Smithsonian expressed interest but was without funds for the purchase.<sup>27</sup> Good's continuing need for money prompted another letter to the Smithsonian in 1901 offering a Hydah [sic] Totem pedestal for \$25.00.<sup>28</sup> As an aside, Good identified these small totems as souvenirs bought by American tourists travelling the steamships running along the Alaska Coast. The many letters concerning this sale the ended when Good finally agreed to sell the

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<sup>26</sup> University of California Archives, University of California, Berkeley, Department of Anthropology, Records, Kroeber to Good, June 2, 1904.

<sup>27</sup> Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 33, Office of the Secretary, 1865-1891, Outgoing Correspondence, Spences F. Baird to Good, April 18, 1886.

<sup>28</sup> Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 305, Registrar, 1834-1958, with accretions to 1876, File #38217, Good to Secretary, April 13, 1901.

totem for the princely sum of \$10.00 <sup>29</sup> plus the cost of mailing.<sup>30</sup> The totem had been given to Good by Ernest (Bertie), his son who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson.

Good retained an interest in British Columbia and in the welfare of the native people. Always supportive of the Indians' position regarding their reserves, he regarded their claim to native title as "mischievous and ill advised to the highest degree."<sup>31</sup> Good had been made aware of the continuing dissent over land claims by E.O.S. Scholefield, the Provincial Librarian and Archivist who attended a Public Librarians' Conference in Pasadena. In a letter to Premier Richard McBride, Good outlined his understanding of the Indian land question and process chronologically from Sir James Douglas and his treaties to the removal of much of the Indian land under Trutch. Good concluded with a record of his efforts on behalf of the Indians, to clarify for Lord Dufferin in Ottawa the Indian grievances, and to deliver a

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<sup>29</sup> Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 305, Registrar, 1834-1958, with accretions to 1976, Good to R. Rathburn, June 4, 1901.

<sup>30</sup> The artifact was received at the United States National Museum and assigned, on June 12, 1901, the Accession Number 38217. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 305, Registrar, 1834-1958, with accretions to 1976, File #32817, Catalogue card 211494.

<sup>31</sup> BCARS, (F/5/G59), Good to McBride, October 3, 1911.

dispatch on the issue to the Foreign Office in London.<sup>32</sup>

Whether or not Good's submission had any influence on these issues is unknown.

Scholefield's main interest in Good was not the Indian question but the early history of the province. They had already corresponded as part of Scholefield's programme to collect British Columbia pioneer history. While in Pasadena, Scholefield interviewed Good to determine if he had any documents or other information of significant historical value. For Good, who for so long had tried to preserve his name, his scholarship, and his achievements, it was a golden opportunity for the long sought recognition.

Writing to Scholefield, Good gave a thumbnail sketch of his career and referred to his manuscript "Forty Year Pioneer Notes of Mission Labour" which was then at St. Augustine's in England in the hope of publication.<sup>33</sup> Good willingly retrieved the manuscript and forwarded it to Scholefield. Re-titled "The Utmost Bounds in the West," it now forms part of the British Columbia Archives and Records Service historical collections. More of Good's impressions of early British Columbia had been transcribed by Mrs. H. Bancroft in Victoria in 1878. This earlier manuscript

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<sup>32</sup> BCARS, (F/5/G59), Good to McBride, October 3, 1911.

<sup>33</sup> BCARS, (GR 1738), Good to Scholefield, March 15, 1911.

reflects a vibrancy that is lacking in the newer document. More than one hundred pages of dictation recalled early settlers, the smallpox epidemics, social life, gold fever, and the coming of the Wagon Road, telegraph, steam traction engines, camels, in fact a personal view of the developing province. The only known copy of this document is held by the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California.<sup>34</sup>

The correspondence on British Columbia history included the last known letters of J.B.Good. In 1911 the seventy-seven year old Good wrote succinctly with an obvious command of subject, showing little sign of senility. He seems to have led a reasonably healthy life almost to the end, being under medical care for only ten days before his death. On March 4, 1916, John Booth Good died in Pasadena, California, of acute endocarditis. His physician, Dr. James Burton, attributed his passing to "exhaustion and old age."<sup>35</sup> Good was buried in Mount View cemetery on March 7, 1916. Sarah Good remained in Pasadena for another two years<sup>36</sup> before

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<sup>34</sup> University of California, Berkeley, British Columbia, by John Booth Good, Victoria, 1878, written by Mrs. H.H. Bancroft to Mr. Good's dictation at the Driard House, May, 1878.

<sup>35</sup> City of Pasadena, Copy of Death Certificate #110, dated March 7, 1916.

<sup>36</sup> Pasadena Historical Society, City Directory, 1917-1918.

moving to Los Angeles where she lived with her daughter Mrs. E.T. Peto, until her death in 1926.<sup>37</sup>

The Reverend Canon John Booth Good, Victorian missionary and sometime scholar was a mixture of conformist and individualist, indeed the holograph notes in his Revised Standard version of the Bible, presented to him by Edward Hildreth at Christmas 1902, emphasize the latter.<sup>38</sup> On the flyleaf he quoted Tennyson's creed.

There's something that watches over us and our individuality endures. That's my faith and that's all my faith.

Good preserved his individuality in all aspects of his professional career, whether repeating a service because of inclement weather, or advising a chief to keep both his wives.<sup>39</sup> It was this individuality that enabled him to adapt to the many changing circumstances in his life.

While Good's individuality predominated, some minor patterns in his life would have been, in retrospect, predictable. R.W. Dunning, who conducted sociological

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<sup>37</sup> "Gallant Woman Pioneer is Dead in Los Angeles," Daily Province, March 27, 1929.

<sup>38</sup> Nanaimo Centennial Archives, R.S.V. Bible belonging to the Reverend Canon J.B. Good.

<sup>39</sup> BCARS, (E/E/H84), Howse, Albert Elgin, Notes on conversations with Albert Elgin Howse, at his home in Princeton, July 11, 13, 15, and 16, 1930, typescript.

studies on the white/native relationships in the north of Canada, addressed changing values caused by contact.<sup>40</sup>

Dunning proposed the few white people in the native communities were in a power struggle with each other for dominance over the ethnic population. The same statement may be applied to Good. However, Dunning clearly identified a selfish element as a base for that struggle and a noticeable lowering of social standards among the whites. Good may be accused of being selfish by wanting to exclude all other denominations and all other detrimental elements from "his" native people, but Dunning's parameter of personal gain cannot be applied to Good. Similarly, Good looked for ultimate recognition among the white community, not in the native people. Good appears to have retained most of his Victorian values throughout his long missionary career.

The Victorian motivation to mission opened for Good an opportunity for respect, recognition, and position that would have been unattainable in England. His fortunes as an orphan were ameliorated by his fortuitous acquaintance with his mentor, the Reverend John Roland West. Lack of close family in England helped develop his early conviction that emigration to the new country would be permanent. His one

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<sup>40</sup> R.W. Dunning, "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada," Human Organization, Vol.18, No.3, (Fall 1959), pp. 117-122.

request to return to England upon resignation from the S.P.G., was an act of desperation, due to his absolute need to provide for his family at a time when he had few prospects. Throughout his career from a bright young curate through the exhausted missionary to the mellow old priest, he displayed many of the attributes and weaknesses of humanity.

The functional need for recognition, seeking acknowledgement in every field was an integral part of his character. At the beginning of his career in Nova Scotia, his letters to the Church Times satisfied this yearning. The incident of the Christmas tree in Pugwash put him in the spotlight as he shared a parish success. Reports published in mission magazines confirmed this need as did the search for recognition in his studies of Indian language and custom.

What did Good contribute to the Church of England in British Columbia? The most basic benefit was land. Although the state did not directly support the church with land or financial aid, Good, like other missionaries, exploited the loophole of land acquisition by personal pre-emption. The first land he acquired at Comox is still held by the Anglican Church, but land pre-empted at Lytton reverted to the Crown through error or omission on the part of Bishop Sillitoe. Further, Good was able to obtain Petite's Lytton land through the purchase of rights, another form of

government land management that was available to all private settlers. It is noteworthy, and in keeping with Good's character and motivations, that he transferred all land to his church whereas he could have kept it himself and sold it at an enormous profit. Never during his multitudinous financial trials did he mention this possibility.

Benchmarks for the measurement of mission results change with passing years. Short term results were measured in terms of success against commonly held white Christian expectations; because of changing societal values, long term results must be measured by societal impact. By Victorian standards Good's mission work was an outstanding example of success. Problems of long term evaluation arise when the benchmarks change and the measurement parameters widen with present day questions on Indian land claims and loss of Indian traditions. Good's success or impact may have far different evaluations in today's white and Indian communities. As a Christian missionary there can be no question that Good was extremely successful. The conversion of thousands of Indians to Christianity through a long, thorough, and demanding programme supports this contention. From an Anglican point of view, Good's legacy continues in the separation between the Indian Church of St. Paul's in Lytton and the white church of St. Barnabas. Good so well taught the Indians to distrust the whites that to this day, despite sharing the Parish Hall, the two congregations

remain separate. The loyalty of the Nali family until the death of the last member underlines the depth of commitment that Good was given by Indian people. In the early years of the mission, Good's presence was a protective buffer between the Indians and the frontier whites, while the European skills taught in the mission enabled an easier transitional relationship between the Indians and the white society. All of these judgements are, of course, conditional on one's opinion of whether such acculturation and assimilation was really desirable.

While Good emphasized his mission to the Indians, he recognized his obligation to the white congregations. Good's antagonism to the whites resulted from his unfulfilled expectations of the white colonists, who, he hoped, would support his mission to the Indians by their good example. Good's parental patience with the Indian community did not extend to brotherly relations with the whites.

In Nanaimo Good's lack of patience with the whites was endemic. There were hints of congregational dissatisfaction in Good's first tenure at Nanaimo and undisguised antagonism during his second, but while Good has been accused of tactlessness, Nanaimo had a reputation as a very difficult place in which to work. Others, such as the Reverend G. Mason, had experienced similar problems.<sup>41</sup> There were more

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<sup>41</sup> "Nanaimo," Report From the Columbia Mission, 1876, London: Rivingtons, 1876, p.38.

problems than just the mutual antagonism between Good and some of his congregation for it was three years after his departure before the two parishes re-united. In retrospect, the parish separation was a blessing, removing Good's immediate antagonists and ensuring him less anxiety during the closing phase of his career.

The Good family remains something of an enigma, as no family letters survive. Yet, there must have been some communication between the California Goods and the Nanaimo families. The R.S.V. Bible presented to Good in California is today found in the Nanaimo Centennial Museum and Archives. Unfortunately, the provenance of the gift is unknown and the details of its passage to Nanaimo remain a mystery. Vincent Good accompanied, or shortly thereafter joined his parents in California. It was Vincent that supplied the information entered on J.B.Good's death certificate. Ethel (Mrs.Peto) moved to Los Angeles, probably in 1919, to look after her mother. Her husband remained in Nanaimo. Nothing further was ever recorded of the Whiffens who had skipped owing money; Harry who shot the policeman; or of Bertie, the son from Fort Simpson.

Good's family problems underline the human cost of missionary service. Like many other parents before and since, he was unable to guide, inspire and motivate all of his children in the most beneficial direction. A cleric is

often expected to lead a perfect life and raise a perfect family. Good's family life reflected reality rather than ideal, emphasizing Good as a very real and human person.

John Booth Good was more than a clergyman or missionary. He was part of the very young and imperfect settlement. He saw the coming of the railroad, the connecting of the telegraph and all the other rapid changes that were part of the growth of enterprise and Empire. Rescued from the relative oblivion of an orphan's life, he seized the opportunities offered, ordering them to serve the calling that he found within the church. His unstable childhood may have given him the talent of adaptability that was so necessary in Victorian colonial life, yet the firm Christian faith that he first absorbed from his parents gave him the continuity and strength that he needed throughout his many trials.

Good's clash with Bishop Sillitoe is incomplete in its documentation. The antagonism between the two men is unmistakable but the reasons for the furore are only partially explained. There must have been other unrecorded incidents that caused the friction to become so intense. The impression is that Sillitoe hated Good so much that he was unable to credit him with any good works. Almost as soon as he received Good's resignation, Sillitoe wrote to the S.P.G. expressing his opinion of "the mere absurdity to send one

man alone on such a mission." <sup>42</sup> Good had been calling for more men for years. Sillitoe suggested a centre with schools and industrial training, new buildings, and better communication with distant villages; Good had suggested these from the beginning. The Bishop adopted Good's philosophy towards the Indians, wanting to "raise them socially and physically in mind and body, while we impart to them the way of salvation." Sillitoe's evaluation and objectives were almost identical to Good's, yet he gave the ex-missionary no credit whatsoever. Such an attitude must have resulted from anger more extreme than that generated by differences in churchmanship or incompetence in handling funds. Except for one letter to the S.P.G., Good remained remarkably silent on the subject. He believed that his money problems had been used as an excuse to force his resignation and was realistic enough to understand that "the weakest must go to the wall."<sup>43</sup>

In spite of having few resources, stressful conditions, no trained assistants, an enormous mission area, a poor example set by many of the white settlers, and personal and family problems, Good achieved remarkable if imperfect results. Good was a missionary, a man of God,

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<sup>42</sup> USPG, CLR 149, Sillitoe to Secretary, August 10, 1882.

<sup>43</sup> USPG. Good to Secretary, November 16, 1882.

working within the imperfections of humanity. His love of his Indian charges was counterbalanced by his impatience with his white parishioners. His drive to mission was marred by his pecuniary impracticality. His devotion to service opposed by his drive for fame.

Good's approach to Indian was typically Anglican, yet in some ways unique. He subscribed to the Church of England's "family of man" concept yet his mission relied heavily on his own personal relationships with his Indian people. His approach to Indian development differed from the paternalism of Thomas Crosby of the Methodist Church, or the Christian savage direction of Father Morice.<sup>44</sup> The Roman Catholic Church was not universal in this philosophy, having structured villages in the Squamish area where villagers wore uniforms unique to each settlement. Model villages were not confined to the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches; Crosby used this pattern at the coastal villages of China Hat and Bella Bella.<sup>45</sup> Care should be taken when attempting to draw comparisons between John Booth Good and other recognized players upon the mission stage. The Roman

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<sup>44</sup> David Mulhall, Will to Power: The Missionary Career of Father Morice, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986, p.36.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Crosby, Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship, Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914, pp. 186-187.

Catholic missionaries Fathers Morice and Coccola were beginning their labours at the time that Good was forced to withdraw from his Lytton mission. Thomas Crosby was headquartered at Nanaimo from 1863 to 1869, but little non-hagiographic material has been written about him during this period.<sup>46</sup> Clarence Bolt's paper on Crosby's later Port Simpson years presents a missionary with many similarities to William Duncan with emphasis on the missionary's need to control the Indians rather than develop a native church.<sup>47</sup>

Parallels and diversions may be drawn between Good's concept of a native Christian village and that of William Duncan of Metlakatla. The difference may be traced to the philosophies and theologies of the two men. While both men wanted to remove the Indians under their charge from the detrimental influences of the whites, they did it for different reasons. Duncan was much more paternalistic and isolationist than Good. Duncan's removal of his Indian people to an isolated area, accessible only by sea, supports this idea. His village design was reminiscent of row housing

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<sup>46</sup> Thomas Crosby's two books, Among the An-ko-me-nums of the Pacific Coast and Up and Down the North Pacific Coast, are written in a similar style to Good's "Utmost Bounds..." and therefore do not give a balanced picture of the man or his work.

<sup>47</sup> Clarence R. Bolt, "The Conversion of the Port Simpson Tsimshian: Indian Control or Missionary Manipulation," BC Studies, No. 57, (Spring 1983), pp. 38-56.

in a north England mill town. Theologically, Duncan clashed with his Church because of his desire to keep the Indians from full Anglican Communion, while Good hoped to create a complete and perfect Indian Church within the world-wide Anglican Church. Duncan wished to retain rigid control while Good's aim was to make the Indians so strong in a Christian sense, that not only would they repel the iniquities of the whites, but would stand as a shining example of Christianity towards the European settlers.

John Booth Good's writings have more than ecclesiastical interest, they enable the modern reader to see the emerging province and many of its collective experiences through the eyes of one of the participants. We may share the hardship and expense of the early days, experience the difficulties of raising a family, endure a rough stage coach ride on the Cariboo Road, see the remaining camels from the earlier transportation experiment, and endure sadness through death of family and the loneliness of separation.

With the emphasis on John Booth Good, the recording of his achievements, fallibilities, and accomplishments, one is struck with the nagging feeling that a major part of his life story is still to be told. John Booth Good was nothing without his wife. Interesting though the man is, how much more intriguing Sarah Ann must be. Margaret Whitehead has written about Mrs. Thomas Crosby, a woman who endured

similar hardships to Sarah Good.<sup>48</sup> Whitehead too has observed the paucity of information on the women's role in the mission field. From the tiny glimpses that we get of Sarah Good we see a woman of independent mind, tough in adapting to the country, always practical, stepping outside of white societal convention by following the example of the Thompson Indian women and riding astride instead of side saddle, capable as family head during her husband's absence, through the years dedicated to assist her husband in the mission, outgoing and friendly, not allowing her husband's disagreements with others to interfere with her relationships, bold enough to share her different personal evaluations with the Bishop, yet a loving mother of twelve children. John Booth Good's story would have been considerably different without Sarah.

Perhaps the final word should rest with the Indian people that John Booth Good came to serve. The story was written in 1899 by H.H. Gowen. Its style is apocryphal rather than verbatim, reflecting the style of the contemporary mission publications, yet it suggests devotion that was undoubtedly given to Good by his Indian friends. When a young chief was accosted by a Roman Catholic priest who assured him that Protestantism would surely lead him to

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<sup>48</sup> Margaret Whitehead, "Women Were Made For Such Things: Women Missionaries in British Columbia 1850s-1940s," Atlantis, Vol.14, No.1, (Fall 1988), p.144.

Hell, he replied "if Mr. Good was leading him thitherward, he would go along and take his chances."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> H.H.Gowen, Church Work in British Columbia, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899, p.47.

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## Appendix 1.

## Good Family Chronology

John Booth Good, b. Sept. 28, 1833; m. Sarah Ann Watson  
Nov. 5, 1860; d. 1916.

Arthur Roland Good, b. Victoria, 1861; d. Victoria,  
May, 1881.

Amy Evelyn Gilbert Good, b. Nanaimo, Jan. 25, 1863;  
m. E.W. Whiffen, Aug. 31, 1890, Nanaimo. No further  
information.

Laura Emily Klein Good, b. Nanaimo, July 12, 1864;  
d. Nanaimo, March 2, 1865.

Henry (Harry) Castleden Good, b. Nanaimo, Nov. 12, 1865.  
No further information.

\*Percival Lytton Good, b. Dec. 11, 1866, Yale;  
m. (1) Janet Blyth Webb, Sept 2, 1891, d. Dec. 11,  
1894; (2) May Ellen Hirst, July 31, 1901;  
d. Qualicum, 1947.

Lillian Booth Good, b. Lytton 1868; d. Lytton,  
Oct. 1, 1872.

Cyril Woodsworth Good, b. June 11, 1869. Yale;  
d. Aug. 13, 1869, Yale.

\*John Onward Hope Good, b. Steamer "Onward", July 14,  
1870; m. Edith Matilda Burnett, Jan. 14, 1903,  
Nanaimo; d. Sept. 1929.

\*Vincent Watson Good, b. Lytton, Feb. 13, 1872.  
Accompanied his parents to California.

\*Ethel Theodora Good, b. Lytton, Sept. 5, 1873;  
m. Frederick George Peto, Nanaimo, Aug. 25, 1894.  
Living in Los Angeles, 1926.

Ernest Victor Good, b. Lytton, May 23, 1875; (Baptised  
Hubert Earnest Good,). No further information.

Beatrice Mary Helen Dundas Good, b. Feb 2, 1881;  
d. Victoria, Sept. 8, 1881.

\* Survived their parents.

## Appendix 2.

The Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.

Comparisons between Good's translation  
and  
the Book of Common Prayer.

<u>Good</u>	<u>Book of Common Prayer</u>
Rubricks as in Book of Common Prayer	
The Lord's Prayer	The Lord's Prayer
Prayer for purity	Collect for purity
The Ten Commandments	The Ten Commandments
	Abbreviated form of the Ten Commandments,
Prayer for the Queen	Prayer for the Church and the Queen
	Alternate prayer for the Queen
Collect for the day, Epistle and Gospel	Collect for the day, Epistle and Gospel
Nicaene Creed	Nicaene Creed
Notices given of Holy and Fasting Days and of the Holy Communion	Notices given, Holy days, Fasting days, the Communion, Banns of Marriage, Excommunications and other ecclesiastical notices.
Sermon	Sermon
The offertory sentences	The offertory sentences
Prayer for church militant	Prayer for church militant
Exhortation to Communion	Give warning of the celebration of the Holy Communion
	Alternate exhortation (2)
Exhortation	Exhortation

The confession	General confession
The absolution	The absolution
The invitation	Comfortable words (invitation)
Responses	Responses
Preface to the Sanctus	Proper prefaces (7)
Prayer of humble access	Prayer of humble access
Prayer of consecration	Prayer of consecration
The Communion	The Communion
The Lord's Prayer	The Lord's Prayer
The thanksgiving	Prayer of thanksgiving
Alternate thanksgiving	Alternate thanksgiving
Gloria in excelsis	Gloria
The blessing	The blessing
"Prevent us ..."	"Prevent us..."
	Alternate prayers (5)

Similar close parallels are found in the two morning and evening services.

VITA

Surname: Robin Given Names: Peter William

Place of Birth: Guernsey, C.I. Date of Birth: Nov. 6, 1935

Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Victoria 1979-1991

University of British Columbia 1952-1954

Degrees Awarded:

B.A. (Honours) University of Victoria 1987

Honours and Awards:

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History, 1985.

Publications:

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Title of Thesis. BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF THE WEST: The Life of John Booth Good, 1833-1916.

Author



Peter W. Robin.

Date

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