

EVANGELICALISM IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN
NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEWFOUNDLAND

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HEATHER ROSE RUSSELL



Evangelicalism in the Anglican Church in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland

by

Heather Rose Russell

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Abstract

Evangelicalism, a Protestant movement whose beginnings can be traced to eighteenth-century Great Britain, had also a vital presence in Newfoundland from 1819 to 1844. This thesis studies the three main Newfoundland-based Church of England Evangelicals, Aubrey George Spencer, Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge, and Robert Traill Spence Lowell. During this period, Newfoundland was not a diocese of its own, but part of the larger diocese of Nova Scotia until 1839 when Newfoundland and Bermuda became a separate diocese with Spencer as bishop.

The distinguishing hallmarks of Evangelicals, in comparison to other religious groups, have been defined by David W. Bebbington. The thesis, therefore, seeks to use Bebbington's characteristics to determine the Evangelicalism of Spencer, Bridge, and Lowell. Bebbington's four characteristics are: the urgent need to accept Christ as one's personal saviour and experience a change of life and heart (conversionism), tireless ministerial, educational, and benevolent activities, including an active opposition to Roman Catholics and other religious competitors (activism), a deep reverence for Scripture as the supreme religious and ethical norm (biblicism), and belief in Christ's death as the central salvific event to secure salvation (crucicentrism).

Chapter One begins by examining the state-of-the-question. This is followed by a brief explanation of each of Bebbington's characteristics, not only as Bebbington himself defines them globally for all Evangelicals, but also as each one affected the Newfoundland context.

Chapter Two examines Missionary Societies, an integral element of the conversion-oriented and educational activities of Evangelicals. While such societies as the Church Missionary Society and the American Home Missionary Society are briefly explored, a more detailed

examination is allotted to merchant Samuel Codner's Newfoundland School Society, not only because of Spencer's and Bridge's involvement, but also because the society represented Great Britain's first successful attempt to educate the poor children of Newfoundland.

Chapters Three through Five, which represent the main portion of the thesis, deal with Spencer, Bridge, and Lowell. Each chapter begins with a short biography, followed by an exploration of their work and thought, employing Bebbington's characteristics as a guide. Included in this examination are ecclesiastical, educational, and benevolent activities that encompass not only their missionary labours, church work, educational work, and societal involvement, but also their active opposition of Roman Catholics and Tractarians. Their thinking about conversion, the value of Scripture, and the issue of Christ's death are also included. Throughout, sermons, treatises, letters, novels, and other writings are used as sources. Each chapter concludes with a discussion to what extent these men were Evangelicals.

Chapter Six sums up the major findings. The conclusion of this thesis is that these men were all Evangelicals, but each one varied as to his religious or ethical emphases. Lowell, for example, did not explicitly promote conversionism and its doctrine of assurance, but was all the more virulently opposed to Catholicism. Also, Spencer and Lowell championed the Bible as a means of private devotion, whereas Bridge did not.

The demise of Church of England Evangelicalism in nineteenth-century Newfoundland began with Bishop Spencer's departure for Jamaica and his replacement by the Tractarian Bishop Feild. Hence, the religious climate in nineteenth-century Newfoundland shifted away from Evangelicalism, although it was never totally extinguished. Where applicable throughout the main body of the thesis, Feild's views are compared to those of Spencer, Bridge, and Lowell.

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Chapter One

1.1 State-of-the-Question

Evangelicalism, a global Protestant religious movement, had its roots not only in such Anglo-Saxon Post-Reformation developments as Puritanism, but also in the continental revitalization effort known as Pietism, and received impetus from two major world-wide religious awakenings. According to D.W. Bebbington, Evangelicalism is best characterized and distinguished from other religious movements by four major features or characteristics that persisted over the decades:¹ conversionism, the idea that human lives need to be altered during a decisive, and often radical, religious turn-about; activism, an emphasis on individual or collective action in response to human needs, which is also viewed as being in accordance with the benevolence exhibited in Jesus' own ministry;² biblicism, the view that religious thought and practice receives its central orientation from the Bible as God's authoritative word; and crucicentrism, the belief that, of all the religious and theological emphases, salvation through the cross of Christ plays a dominant role.

The present thesis will study the Evangelical movement in Newfoundland Anglicanism in the nineteenth century. Although the movement had considerable institutional and cultural influence and scope, its theology and ethos have been neglected in scholarship as far as Newfoundland is concerned. From the 1820s and 1830s on, three Church of England Evangelical clergymen served in what in 1839

¹According to D.W. Bebbington, Evangelicalism (spelled with an upper case E) describes the movement after 1730; evangelicalism (spelled with a lower case e) describes the religious movements that flourished prior to 1730. For more information, see D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 1. Since this thesis largely uses Bebbington's characteristics as a basis for comparison, the same capitalization patterns will be repeated throughout the thesis.

²D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1-3.

became the Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda: Aubrey George Spencer (b. 1795, d. 1872) served from 1819 to 1843, first as missionary and subsequently the first bishop of the diocese; Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge (b. 1807, d. 1856), a curate and rector of the St. John's Parish from 1832 to 1856; and Robert Traill Spence Lowell (b. 1816, d. 1891), a missionary to Bay Roberts from 1843 to 1847. After 1856, Anglican Evangelicalism in Newfoundland became supplanted by a high church emphasis in theology and church that was prominently associated with the Oxford Movement and promoted by Spencer's successor, Bishop Edward Feild, a Tractarian of considerable vitality.

The lives and work of Spencer, Bridge, and Lowell have never been studied in their own right as proponents of Evangelical religion. While Spencer and Lowell left Newfoundland in the 1840s, Bridge's case is somewhat different in that he represents the transition to a different theological orientation under Bishop Feild, whom he continued to serve as a missionary and archdeacon.

Although much of the published literature of British and Newfoundland Evangelicalism has been surveyed,³ emphasis is placed in this thesis on a thorough exploration of all relevant primary sources. Extant sources that permit a reconstruction of Spencer's work in Newfoundland and Bermuda consist of his correspondence with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), Minutes of S.P.G. meetings in London, and Spencer's printed sermons and addresses. This body of material has never been properly examined for the study of Spencer's theological and ecclesiastical profile as an Evangelical. Bridge's views can best be established on the basis of his printed sermons and addresses, as well as records of his public activities preserved in newspapers of the time. The work and thought of Lowell, the most literate of the three Newfoundland Evangelicals, can be found not only in his religious

³See the bibliography for the titles of the books by these authors.

mystery novel, *New Priest in Conception Bay*, but also in his anti-Catholic polemical treatises and poetry.

Although there exists a wide literature on Evangelicalism as a movement in Great Britain and North America, no systematic study of Newfoundland Evangelicalism has appeared to date. The theological and ethical views and ecclesiastical activities of Aubrey George Spencer, Thomas F.H. Bridge, and Robert Lowell, as expressed in both their published and unpublished works, sermons, and correspondence, deserve deeper scrutiny if the Evangelical movement in the Church of England in Newfoundland is to be better understood.

Much of the published secondary literature on these men treats them without due attention to primary sources. Thomas R. Millman and A.R. Kelley, in *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church*, merely note the context of Newfoundland's and Bermuda's place in the history of the Anglican Church of Canada and briefly outline Spencer's educational and missionary efforts in Bermuda and Newfoundland⁴ and identify him as a member of the "evangelical wing of the church."⁵ Henry C. Wilkinson, in *Bermuda From Sail to Steam*, provides a brief historical narrative of Spencer's work in Bermuda, notably his work⁶ and his educational efforts among the African⁷

⁴Thomas R. Millman and A.R. Kelley, *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), 87-95.

⁵Millman and Kelley, 96.

⁶Henry C. Wilkinson, *Bermuda From Sail to Steam*, 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 429.

⁷The term "Africans" will be used throughout the thesis to refer to the African-descended population of Bermuda, although twentieth-century authors used other terms which were in vogue at the time, such as "slaves" and "coloured peoples" as by Henry C. Wilkinson in *Bermuda From Sail to Steam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) and Walter Brownell Hayward in *Bermuda: Past*

population of Bermuda.⁸ Although Wilkinson does not use in any way the term “evangelical” to describe Spencer’s theological posture, his descriptive comments about Spencer’s commitments suggest that he considered him to have been an Evangelical.⁹ Other authors have focused on Spencer’s political and ecclesiastical involvement, such as Frederick Jones, in his article “The Early Opposition to Bishop Feild of Newfoundland,” and mention Spencer’s Evangelicalism mainly in contrast to Feild’s subsequent Tractarianism.¹⁰ Calvin Hollett, in his recent M.A. thesis on “Resistance to Bishop Edward Feild in Newfoundland, 1845-1857,” focuses on a specific local instance in which the mission of Harbour Buffett resisted Feild’s Tractarianism¹¹ from an Evangelical perspective.¹²

Phillip McCann has provided us with important insights into Newfoundland’s early educational history and its religious context. His several articles on aspects of early Newfoundland education point out that the Newfoundland School Society, with which Spencer was involved, represented an

and Present (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1923); and “Negroes” as by Terry Tucker in *Bermuda: Today and Yesterday, 1503-1973* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1975).

⁸Wilkinson, 469.

⁹Wilkinson, 472-473.

¹⁰Frederick Jones, “The Early Opposition to Bishop Feild of Newfoundland,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, 16/2 (June 1974): 35-37.

¹¹Calvin Hollett, “Resistance to Bishop Edward Feild in Newfoundland, 1845-1857: Harbour Buffett, A Case Study” (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2002), 135-160.

¹²Hollett, 1-31.

“Evangelical Missionary body,”¹³ founded by the Evangelical Samuel Codner¹⁴ and later was negatively affected by Feild’s Tractarian agenda.¹⁵

In his biographical article on Robert T.S. Lowell in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Hans Rollmann has drawn attention to the fact that Lowell’s work in Newfoundland has to be viewed as an expression of “Evangelical theology and piety.”¹⁶ Other secondary literature on Lowell discusses his contribution to American literature but does not explore significantly his theology, while that on Bridge is virtually nonexistent.¹⁷ There is thus a pressing need for a more thorough study of these three acknowledged but largely neglected representatives of Newfoundland Evangelicalism, notably within their Church of England institutional context and with an emphasis on theology, liturgy, and polity.

As indicated in the introductory comments to this thesis, David W. Bebbington defines Evangelicalism in terms of four characteristics: conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism. It is mainly by adopting this particular theological grid that this thesis will attempt to demonstrate the scope and nature of Spencer’s, Bridge’s, and Lowell’s work and thought. Bebbington validates his

¹³Phillip McCann, “The ‘No Popery’ Crusade and the Newfoundland School System, 1836-1843,” *S.C.H.E.C., Etudes d’Histoire Religieuse* 58(1991): 84.

¹⁴McCann, “No Popery,” 86. Also, Phillip McCann, “The Newfoundland School Society, 1823-55: Missionary Enterprise or Cultural Imperialism?”, 95-99, Unpublished Paper, Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador Archive at Memorial University of Newfoundland’s Religious Studies Department (hereafter R.N.L.A.), File 1-035-06.

¹⁵Phillip McCann, “The Politics of Denominational Education in the Nineteenth Century in Newfoundland,” in *The Vexed Question: Denominational Education in a Secular Age*, ed. William A. McKim (St. John’s: Breakwater Books, 1988), 40.

¹⁶Hans Rollmann, “Robert Traill Spence Lowell,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 12 (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 574.

¹⁷See Chapters 4 and 5.

characteristics of Evangelical religion in a British and American context that spans a period in which also Newfoundland Evangelicalism flourished and during which this British colony was served by British-trained clergy. The tensions that arose between Tractarians and Evangelicals in Newfoundland are comparable to those studied in David W. Bebbington's essay "Evangelicalism in Modern Britain and America: A Comparison" and Brian Dickey's article "Evangelical Anglicans Compared: Australia and Britain."¹⁸ Other relevant literature in view of their examination of anti-Catholicism, worship, music, and education, includes the works of Robert Krapohl and Charles H. Lippy.¹⁹ George M. Marsden's five identifying marks of Evangelical religion -- biblical authority, God's salvation, Christ's redemption, mission establishment, and a spiritually transformed life -- reinforce not only Bebbington's morphology but also confirm the features that the American Evangelicals in Newfoundland shared with the movement at large.²⁰ In addition, the monograph *Evangelicals in the Church of England: 1734-1984* by Kenneth Hylson-Smith proved useful for a study of Newfoundland Evangelicalism because it pays special attention not only to the educational agenda²¹ but also studies the polemical and apologetic

¹⁸David W. Bebbington, "Evangelicalism in Modern Britain and America: A Comparison," and Brian Dickey, "Evangelical Anglicans Compared: Australia and Britain," in *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States*, ed. George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll (Montreal, Kingston, London, and Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 200-225.

¹⁹Robert H. Krapohl and Charles H. Lippy, *The Evangelicals: A Historical, Thematic, and Biographical Guide* (London and Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), 22; on their agreement with Bebbington, see *ibid.*, 10-11.

²⁰George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 4-5.

²¹Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England: 1734-1984* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd., 1988), 54, 149.

thrust of Evangelical activism against the Oxford Movement²² and anti-Catholicism.²³

1.2 Conversionism

Conversionism, the idea that sinful human lives are in need of transformation, was one of the main goals of Evangelical religion. Evangelical preachers who exhorted potential converts to repent of their sins and seek God's mercy were itinerants who by their roving lifestyle could reach many potential converts.²⁴ Conversion was effected not only through preaching sermons, although that was the most practical method, but also by praying with and for sinners that they might desire conversion.

For some, conversion was a gradual experience. Others experienced religious conversion as a sudden and dramatic change. The Church of England was the denomination that accepted the validity of gradual, as well as sudden, conversion.²⁵ Church of England Evangelicals encountered some difficulties, however, in reconciling sacramental and revivalistic change, an anomaly that according to Bebbington was never satisfactorily resolved.²⁶ Central to the controversy between these two types of conversion was the case of the Evangelical Church of England clergyman George C. Gorham who was denied a parish by his bishop because he refused to accept the traditional Anglican teaching that regeneration

²²Hylson-Smith, 111-121.

²³Hylson-Smith, 91-92.

²⁴Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, The British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 156-157.

²⁵Bebbington, 7-8.

²⁶Bebbington, 10.

occurs at baptism.²⁷

Also the Newfoundland Evangelicals in the Church of England wrestled with this question. Spencer, in the sermon “On the Consolations of Religion,” distinguished between the point of “abjur[ation of] all fleshly lusts” at baptism and the point of “reformation” later in life when one’s baptismal vows become “public, holy, and eternal obligations.”²⁸ Bridge attempted a reconciliation of the two poles by distinguishing between being “of the faith,” by which he meant sacramental membership through baptism and being “in the faith,” by which he meant the active individual who had undergone a conversion.²⁹ Irrespective of the theological tension, each new convert had experienced the drama of sin and salvation and made a life-changing decision by turning from previous sinful ways.

In order to win converts, Evangelicals used what in their polemic with Roman Catholicism they considered to be a less forceful method than their competitor. Rather than resort to the specter of retribution, hell, and damnation, they encouraged their followers to love God and accept Jesus as their personal saviour. In this way, converts were taught, through both the working of the Holy Spirit and their own free-will,³⁰ not to fear God, but to love him and be reconciled with him.³¹

Evangelical conversion was always Christ-centred, with an emphasis on altering both lifestyle

²⁷Bebbington, 9.

²⁸Spencer, “On the Consolations of Religion,” in *On Various Subjects*, ed. Aubrey George Spencer (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1827), 270-272.

²⁹Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge, *The Two Religions; or, The Question Settled, Which is the Oldest Church, the Anglican or the Romish? A Sermon Preached on 3 January 1841 at St. Thomas's, Dudley, England*. (London: Gilbert and Rivington, Printers, St. John's Square, 1841), 22.

³⁰Bebbington, 8.

³¹Bebbington, 5-10.

and attitude. Central to the process was the doctrine of assurance – all converts, simply by accepting Christ as their saviour, would be conscious of their changed lives and certain of reaching their goal of eternal life.³² Bebbington notes that the doctrine of assurance involved an experiential aspect, manifested in believers as a supernatural, yet joyous, certainty, which made them aware of their new change of heart and attitude. It also provided believers with the motivation to spread this good news in turn to others, who might also be converted.³³ While the doctrine of assurance is not absent, the three proponents of Evangelicalism in Newfoundland were less emphatic in naming it by that name, as they were in calling religious change “conversion.”

1.3 Activism

Activism involved, positively, evangelistic and charitable activities reflective of Jesus’ own ministry but also, negatively, opposition to religious groups whose beliefs were perceived as running counter to Evangelical convictions. Bebbington cites, among others, Henry Venn’s conversion of 900 people in a three-year period, and Spencer Thornton’s daily evening lectures, readings, and Bible classes as examples of such evangelistic drive,³⁴ while Richard Carwardine celebrates Evangelical activism in the person of Charles G. Finney, who led numerous massive revivals in New York State

³²Bebbington, 6.

³³Bebbington, 42-43.

³⁴Bebbington, 10-11.

during the late 1820s and early 1830s,³⁵ and in England and Wales in the 1850s.³⁶ Finney's Evangelical activism produced numerous converts who in turn converted others and increased significantly church attendance.³⁷ Intrinsically linked to Evangelical faith were charitable activities that rendered this faith authentic.³⁸

Evangelically-motivated activism distinguished itself from individual acts of kindness by requiring continual performance and sustained efforts, as can be observed in the organization and oversight of missionary societies, particularly in foreign countries. In nineteenth-century Newfoundland, Evangelically-motivated activities included Bishop Spencer's involvement with the Newfoundland School Society,³⁹ Bridge's work among the cholera victims,⁴⁰ and Lowell's appeal to famine-stricken Newfoundlanders after his return to the U.S.A.⁴¹ Such activities were validated as Evangelically-motivated not primarily by the physical and mental energy that the practitioners expended, but by their inseparable link to the spread of the gospel,⁴² whereby -- in the words of Bebbington -- action became

³⁵Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, Connecticut and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1978), 5.

³⁶Carwardine, 86.

³⁷Carwardine, 136.

³⁸Bebbington, 6.

³⁹Centre for Newfoundland Studies (hereafter C.N.S.), Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1840, 327.

⁴⁰*The Public Ledger*, 4 March 1856, 2.

⁴¹*The Times*, 8 and 12 January 1848, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-21 (page numbers missing as the newspaper article was clipped from the original and preserved in an archival folder).

⁴²McCann, "Society," 100, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

“the life of virtue and the world. . . the theatre of action.”⁴³

Evangelical activism often resulted in a missionary or itinerant lifestyle. If missionary societies were to be established in remote areas of the world, it was necessary for Evangelicals, unlike other religious, to remain in these locales for sustained periods of time, far away from the centres of learning and civilization.⁴⁴ Samuel Codner, for example, departed his native England to establish the Newfoundland School Society and remained there for several years afterwards in the mercantile business. Newfoundland, in 1823, was considered to be a destitute part of the world, where people had few or no opportunities for education and religion.⁴⁵

For many Evangelicals, it was thus insufficient to minister only to one's immediate flock. Itinerancy involved preaching many, often daily, sermons in various locales.⁴⁶ Through itinerant preaching, activism led in turn to new conversions. “Persons. . . after their own conversion,” Bebbington observed, “have commonly expressed an exceeding great desire for the conversion of others [through activism].”⁴⁷ Spreading the Gospel through preaching and education was one of the primary Evangelical motivations. Spencer's and Bridge's work with the Newfoundland School Society involved extensive travel throughout the diocese,⁴⁸ while Lowell's proclamation and anti-Catholic

⁴³Bebbington, 12.

⁴⁴Bebbington, 11-12.

⁴⁵McCann, “Society,” 96-97, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

⁴⁶Bebbington, 10-12.

⁴⁷Bebbington, 10.

⁴⁸McCann, “Society,” 100, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

polemic surfaced largely in his fictional literature and apologetic *Five Letters*.⁴⁹

Evangelicals also established religious societies, Sunday schools, and adult schools for the illiterate. Two British examples of such societies, the Established Church Society and the Christian Influence Society,⁵⁰ are matched in Newfoundland with the Newfoundland School Society, established by Samuel Codner. Because poor families could not afford to pay rent towards their church pews, nor even afford to pay a clergyman, Evangelicals in many places rallied to make pews for poor people rent-free,⁵¹ which became also an issue for Spencer in his sermon *The Church of God*.⁵² Through the encouragement of Thomas Chalmers, Evangelicals visited the sick in their homes and reported any major illnesses,⁵³ an activity also high on Bridge's list of priorities.

1.3.1 Anti-Catholicism and Anti-Tractarianism

Evangelically-motivated activism involved more than charitable works. This was particularly true in locales where there thrived religious groups who held to opposing and dissenting beliefs. Evangelicals rallied particularly strongly against Roman Catholicism and the Church of England's Oxford Movement, or Tractarianism, two religious groups who were not only large and influential, but

⁴⁹Robert T.S. Lowell, *Five Letters Occasioned by Published Assertions of a Roman Catholic Priest* (Newark, New Jersey: Daily Advertiser Office, 1853), iii-22.

⁵⁰Bebbington, 98, 123-124.

⁵¹Bebbington, 112.

⁵²Aubrey George Spencer, *The Church of God: A Sermon on Acts XX. 28., Preached in the Parish Church of St. John's, Newfoundland, on Good Friday, 1842, by Aubrey George, Lord Bishop of Newfoundland, St. John's* (St. John's: J.W. McCoubrey, 1842), 27.

⁵³Bebbington, 118.

whose beliefs and doctrines differed significantly from Evangelical thought, especially on biblical issues.

A number of factors led to anti-Catholicism at the time. In Great Britain, the anti-Catholic movement reached its peak about 1820, spurred on by conflicts between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, by political issues which centred around whether to allow Catholics to participate in government, and by an enormous influx of Irish immigrants to England and Wales during the potato famine. According to existing Anglo-Saxon stereotypes, the Irish were unmotivated, barbaric, low-class citizens.⁵⁴ In North America, the large influx of Catholic Irish immigrants around 1800 stirred up Evangelical fervour in return,⁵⁵ as did wars between England and France.⁵⁶ In Newfoundland, similar factors also appear to have influenced anti-Catholic thought.⁵⁷

Evangelicals worldwide accused Catholics of being members of a “soul-ruining,” “idolatrous,” and “superstitious” church.⁵⁸ Since many of these “idolatries” and “superstitions” could not be substantiated by the Bible, but were rooted in tradition, Evangelicals spoke out against them. Furthermore, according to Evangelical perceptions, Catholic doctrine did not permit its followers to experience Christ directly and personally,⁵⁹ leaving the Roman Catholic religion, in the minds of the Evangelicals, to be lifeless and remote. This, of course, was contrasted with Evangelical vitality and

⁵⁴Bebbington, 101-102.

⁵⁵Bebbington, 101-102.

⁵⁶Colin Brummitt Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), 222.

⁵⁷McCann, “Society,” 102-103, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

⁵⁸Noll et al, 179-180, 192.

⁵⁹Noll et al, 181.

soteriological immediacy. Often Evangelical preaching on anti-Catholic issues reached a new fervour but moved in already existing channels when referring to the Pope as the Antichrist,⁶⁰ an idea which had become popular with Luther in the Protestant Reformation but had roots beyond Luther in Wycliffe's English reforms.⁶¹

Evangelicals, therefore, did all in their power to curtail the spread of what they considered to be false spirituality. Many not only focused on the differences between Catholic and Evangelical beliefs in their sermons, but also distributed anti-Catholic tracts and organized home missions in an effort to promote the beliefs of their own churches.⁶²

The heart of the anti-Catholic issue was rooted in the Evangelicals' reverence for Scripture. Evangelicals particularly crossed swords with Roman Catholics on the issue of works without faith, the alleged abuse of the Bible as a vehicle to promote religious images, symbols, and icons, and for the relative lack of attention paid to scriptural study, devotion, and reflection. In many locales, such attitudes affected education. In Newfoundland, for example, conflicts erupted between Protestant and Catholic parents of school children regarding the use of the King James Version of the Bible as the textbook for schools.⁶³

The Catholic view of Christ's death and the role of such intermediaries as the Pope and the

⁶⁰Bebbington, 101-102.

⁶¹Martin Luther, *An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility*. Abuses to be Discussed in Councils: Part II." (Philadelphia: A.J. Holman Company, 1915), especially refers to the Pope as the Antichrist.

⁶²Noll et al, 181.

⁶³McCann, "Society," R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06, McCann, "Society," is a good example of an article that outlines the conflict between Protestants and Catholics in nineteenth-century Newfoundland.

saints met with Evangelical disapproval and was contrasted with the Protestant approach to Jesus in full assurance of faith, and the conviction of having received full and direct pardon and salvation through the cross.⁶⁴ To qualify Evangelicals' attitudes toward Catholic doctrine as bigoted would be simplistic. Rather, many differences were spurred by the fact that Catholic doctrine and belief, especially on biblical issues, represented an enigma for Evangelicals.⁶⁵

Another group whose theological views clashed significantly with Evangelical theology and ethos was the Oxford Movement. This movement, begun by John Keble in 1833,⁶⁶ originated as a protest against the state of the Church of England, which it felt was deteriorating both doctrinally and liturgically. Tractarians also reacted against the encroachment of the state in church matters and sought to preserve the authority of the church and its supernatural character. Some, such as the ascetic Hurrell Froude perceived the Protestant Reformation as "a limb badly set -- it must be broken again in order to be righted."⁶⁷ They believed that the Anglican Church's true origin was as a branch of the Roman Catholic Church during the reign of King Henry VIII. Oxford adherents sought, therefore, to return to what they perceived to be the church's Catholic roots and restore it as such.⁶⁸

The issues on which Tractarians and Evangelicals most vehemently disagreed centred around

⁶⁴Noll et al, 183.

⁶⁵Noll et al, 186.

⁶⁶R.W. Church, *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833-1845* (London: MacMillan and Co. Limited, 1909), 23.

⁶⁷Quoted in Frank M. Turner, *John Henry Newman: Challenge to Evangelical Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2002), 317.

⁶⁸W.S.F. Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 17-18.

the two broad categories of worship and doctrine. With regard to worship, Tractarians preferred a strong emphasis on the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist. Moreover, they preferred quiet and reverential worship, expressed utmost reverence for the Book of Common Prayer, and argued that cassocks and surplices were the only proper attire for ministers. Doctrinally, the rubrics and rules of the Church of England took precedence over experiential religion. Tractarians also believed that the Church of England stood in a great historical lineage to the Roman Catholic Church and the apostolic church, with spiritual authority being received through the laying on of hands.⁶⁹ In highlighting the Catholic character of their Christian church, Tractarians were often perceived by Evangelicals as crypto-Catholics and thus a source of suspicion and irritation.

Sacramental emphasis and piety had also consequences for church architecture, an issue which generated considerable conflict and discussion between Evangelicals and Tractarians in both Great Britain and Newfoundland. Both groups had differing architectural preferences and styles. Georgian architecture, the style that Evangelicals preferred, included plain glass windows and simple exteriors. Evangelicals argued that stained glass blocked out natural light.⁷⁰ While Evangelicals paid attention to furnishings from which the Bible was read and expounded, such as lecterns and pulpits, Tractarians, by contrast, preferred Gothic Revival architecture with its emphasis on high-vaulted pointed arches and ceilings, stained-glass windows, and sacramental fixtures such as high altars and fonts. They argued that

⁶⁹Pickering, 18-20.

⁷⁰Alec-Clifton Taylor, *English Parish Churches as Works of Art* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1974), 142.

Georgian churches were mere “worship shelters,”⁷¹ or “preaching boxes” with interiors resembling “a Venetian ballroom.”⁷²

In Newfoundland, where the formation of a new Anglican diocese in 1839 necessitated a new cathedral, church architecture became a major issue. When Feild, a Tractarian, arrived in Newfoundland in 1844 as successor to the Evangelical Spencer, he often met with disapproval by Evangelicals because his Tractarian principles were something new and not shared by Spencer’s Evangelical ethos.⁷³ Already Feild’s 1844 *Charge to the Clergy* expressed an obvious preference for sacramental church fixtures in the cathedral at St. John’s. Feild argued that “. . . placing the Pulpit and Desk immediately in front of the Communion-rails [is] an intrusion. . . never thought of, in any ancient Church [and represents] a preference and exaltation of preaching, not only above Prayers, but above Communion.” According to Feild, “. . . the Pulpit [should] no longer be allowed to obstruct the view of the Holy Table.”⁷⁴ Calvin Hollett documents the tensions aroused in Harbour Buffett over Feild’s insistence on the proper placement of candles upon the holy table and his alleged counsel to the Rev. William Kepple White, to refuse the sacraments to poor families who could not pay their church dues. Church dues were used by Feild to fund his Church Diocesan Society, in an apparent violation of

⁷¹Shane O’Dea, “Divergent Paths: The Development of Newfoundland Church Architecture” (Summary of a Lecture Delivered to the Newfoundland Historical Society on 23 September 1982 by Shane O’Dea, President of the Society), 1-2.

⁷²Clifton-Taylor, 28.

⁷³Jones, “Opposition,” 35-37.

⁷⁴Edward Feild, *Order and Uniformity in the Public Services of the Church, According to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland: The Substance of a Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Newfoundland, 1844* (St. John’s: J.W. McCoubrey, 1844), 10, in R.N.L.A., f. 1-026-06.

S.P.G. regulations, which stated that non-payment of church dues should not lead to refusal of such basic rights as the sacraments.⁷⁵ It also militated against the Evangelical principle of concern for the poor.

1.4 Biblicism

Evangelicals also stressed reverence for Scripture, which they considered to be God's inspired Word. In all of their activities and thought, Evangelicals depended heavily upon Scripture as their guiding light and authority. This posture, based on the premise that "all spiritual truth is [found in the Bible],"⁷⁶ was a shared Protestant emphasis that can be traced to the continental Reformation, for example, to Martin Luther's formal and material principles of *sola scriptura* and *sola fide et gratia*, salvation made possible only through God's Word and grace.⁷⁷ As recently as the nineteenth century, many of the biblical issues had this shared Reformation background.

Evangelicals thus had recourse to normatively viewed scriptural truths when opposing what they viewed as unacceptable doctrines advanced by Tractarians and Roman Catholics, based on ecclesiastical tradition.⁷⁸ In Newfoundland Evangelicalism, some of these objectionable beliefs, as listed by Spencer in *The Church of God*, include retention of the apocryphal books as canonical, the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church, the supremacy of the Pope, transubstantiation, denial of the

⁷⁵Hollett, 135-160.

⁷⁶Bebbington, 12.

⁷⁷Hans Hillerbrand, ed. *The Reformation: A Narrative History Related by Contemporary Observers and Participants* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1972) 21.

⁷⁸Bebbington, 101-102.

chalice to the laity, the adoration of the Virgin Mary and of images and relics, purgatory, the belief in seven sacraments, and an excessive emphasis on good works over and above faith.⁷⁹ Anti-Catholicism became a particularly contentious issue in Newfoundland. T.F.H. Bridge's *The Two Religions*,⁸⁰ and *Letter to Peter Winsor*,⁸¹ as well as Robert T.S. Lowell's *Five Letters*,⁸² were written with a decidedly polemical intention.

Related also to the biblical agenda was a renewed interest in the sacraments among Church of England Evangelicals. In their initial quest for individualism and personal experience in the early years of Evangelicalism, Anglican Evangelicals had relativized the church as an institution. In response to such institutional neglect, Anglican Evangelicals reaffirmed the sacraments, holy days, and the church calendar, because they feared that continued individualism would erode what they considered to be the church's true character and "corporate awareness," instituted at its beginning when it split from the Roman Catholic Church.⁸³ More importantly, the sacraments were instituted in Scripture by Christ himself. Already Spencer had sought a balance between the institution and the individual and asserted the importance of the sacraments in *The Church of God*. He regretted that many had been "led to . . . undervalue the efficacy of the sacraments which Christ hath commanded to be received."⁸⁴ According

⁷⁹Spencer, *Church*, 4-5.

⁸⁰Bridge, *Two Religions*, 1-28.

⁸¹Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge, *A Letter to Peter Winsor, Sen., Esq., (of Aquaforte) in Reply to His Reasons for Leaving the Church of His Fathers and of His Baptism* (St. John's: No Publisher, 1847), 1-18.

⁸²Lowell, *Five Letters*, 1-22.

⁸³Bebbington, 94-95.

⁸⁴Spencer, *Church*, 15.

to the Evangelicals, only two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, were biblically supported and therefore necessary for salvation. Bridge stated that "the two ordinances we administer as divinely-appointed Sacraments, we find in the Bible, were instituted as such by Christ himself. . . ." ⁸⁵

Evangelicals, particularly those of the post-1830 period, also placed much emphasis on the issue of biblical inspiration, especially of the apocryphal books. While Roman Catholics argued that the apocrypha was divinely inspired, Evangelicals argued that it represented "uninspired material. . . being mingled with inspired scripture." ⁸⁶ The apocrypha became a major bone of contention for Robert Lowell's polemical and anti-Catholic exchange, *Five Letters*. ⁸⁷

For Evangelicals, Scripture represented much more than a preaching vehicle, a collection of religious classics, or even a means of defense against dissenters and religious competitors. The Evangelicals, by coming to know Christ personally, also learned to use their Bibles for personal and private prayer. Devoted study and meditation upon biblical truths assisted Evangelicals greatly in disseminating the spiritual knowledge which would convert many to God. Hence, the Bible was the only source of all spiritual truth, ⁸⁸ second to no other. The concept of personal devotions became the focus of Spencer's sermons "On the Death of Absalom" and "Christianity Not Incompatible with Worldly Avocations," in which he stressed the importance of biblical knowledge for both parents and business

⁸⁵Bridge, *Two Religions*, 12-13.

⁸⁶Bebbington, 88-89.

⁸⁷Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter Three, 12; Letter Four, 16-17; and Letter Five, 18.

⁸⁸Bebbington, 12-14.

owners,⁸⁹ as did Bridge, in his sermon “The Duty of Christians Towards Their Fellow Immortals,” for his parishioners⁹⁰ as well as Lowell in the short story “A Raft That No Man Made.”⁹¹ Evangelicals also turned to scripture to support their casting suspicion upon recreational activities, novel reading, and theatrical performances which might detract from one’s religious duties.⁹² In 1848, Bridge spoke out against a ball to raise money for charity because the idea of raising money for charity was not biblically supported.

1.5 Crucicentrism

Crucicentrism is the belief that Christ’s death on the cross and subsequent resurrection and ascension into heaven are central to salvation. Through substitutionary atonement, Christ died in the place of sinners so that sin was washed away by the blood that Christ had shed. This doctrine became the hallmark of Evangelically-motivated crucicentrism. The belief in the cross of Christ expressed in all four gospels evolved into one of Evangelicalism’s major beliefs. “To make any theme other than the cross the fulcrum of a theological system,” states Bebbington, “was to take a step away from Evangelicalism.”⁹³ For Evangelicals, the cross assumed an importance that clearly overshadowed

⁸⁹Aubrey George Spencer, “On the Death of Absalom,” 274-281, and “Christianity Not Incompatible with Worldly Avocations,” 75-83, in *Subjects*.

⁹⁰Thomas F.H. Bridge, “The Duty of Christians Towards Their Fellow Immortals: A Sermon on Behalf of the Newfoundland and British North America School Society,” *Pulpit*, 38(1840): 445.

⁹¹Robert T.S. Lowell, “A Raft That No Man Made,” *Atlantic Monthly*, 9 (March 1962): 365-372.

⁹²Bebbington, 129-132.

⁹³Bebbington, 15.

Christ's nativity. "Christ was born in order to die" so that human beings may be sanctified through His blood.⁹⁴

The notion of redemption, however, became also an area of disagreement among various strains of Evangelicals. While early Evangelical Calvinists adhered to the notion of particular redemption, which stated that Christ died only for a predestined few, Methodists believed in general redemption, or the idea that Christ died for all humanity. Eventually, many Evangelicals adopted a middle ground which stated that while, in theory, Christ died for all, it was still incumbent upon the individual to voluntarily accept this free gift of divine grace.⁹⁵

The doctrine of the cross assumed also importance for the three Newfoundland Evangelicals as demonstrated by Spencer's funeral sermon to Rev. Trimingham,⁹⁶ Bridge's sermon at the opening of the church in Quidi Vidi,⁹⁷ as well as in Lowell's poetry⁹⁸ and appeal for Newfoundland famine relief.⁹⁹

Some of the issues important to Evangelicals took on different contours in Evangelical America and Canada, while others remained global preoccupations, such as the church and school

⁹⁴Bebbington, 15-16.

⁹⁵Bebbington, 16-17.

⁹⁶Aubrey George Spencer, *A Funeral Sermon to the Memory of the Late Rev. Joseph L. Trimingham* (Bermuda: Royal Gazette Office, 1832), 15-16.

⁹⁷Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge, *A Sermon Preached At the Opening of The Church at Quidi Vidi* (St. John's: J. McCoubrey, Printer, 1834), 17.

⁹⁸Robert Traill Spence Lowell, "The Days of Sin," in *The Poems of Robert Lowell*, ed. Robert T.S. Lowell (Boston: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1864), 23-25. Also, Lowell, "Burger's Lenore," *Fresh Hearts That Failed Three Thousand Years Ago with Other Things*, ed. Robert T.S. Lowell (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), 73.

⁹⁹Hans Rollmann, "A Biographical Chronology of R.T.S. Lowell," 4, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-03.

societies, and an emphasis on conversion, which can be found in Ireland,¹⁰⁰ Australia,¹⁰¹ Africa,¹⁰² and Canada,¹⁰³ as well as in Great Britain, the United States, and Newfoundland. Because of their universal appeal and instrumentality in conversions, missionary societies deserve exploration and treatment in a missionary situation such as Newfoundland at the outset.

¹⁰⁰Noll et al, 156-157.

¹⁰¹Noll et al, 225, 296.

¹⁰²Noll et al, 315-324.

¹⁰³Noll et al, 254.

Chapter Two

Societies

The establishment of missionary and school societies represented an integral part of nineteenth-century Evangelical attempts to convert individuals who had not yet embraced the Christian faith. Yet, a substantial portion of the philanthropy and zeal associated with the formation of these missionary societies were also aimed towards education. B. Kay Shuttleworth, for example, argued in his letter to Benjamin Hawes that a sound education was conducive to both literacy and morality. "Biblical instruction, . . . the evidences of Christianity,"¹⁰⁴ and "morals, reading, and writing,"¹⁰⁵ he wrote regarding schools in the West Indies, formed the core of the curriculum. The educators of the Newfoundland School Society, writes Phillip McCann, "combin[ed] the teaching of literacy with instruction in the Gospel,"¹⁰⁶ so that the Bible served the dual function of providing moral and religious paradigms and acting as a reader.¹⁰⁷ Biblical lessons and values informed a disciplinary method that instilled fear in pupils, who, according to McCann, were considered "corrupt and evil" products of their society, although also Tractarians like Feild knew how to use scare tactics to bolster church and

¹⁰⁴B. Kay Shuttleworth, "Letter to Benjamin Hawes, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 6 January 1847," in *Brief Practical Suggestions on The Mode of Organizing and Conducting Day-Schools of Industry, Model Farm Schools, and Normal Schools, as Part of a System of Education for the Coloured Races of the British Colonies* (London: W. Clowes, 1847), 8.

¹⁰⁵B. Kay Shuttleworth, "Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847," in *Suggestions*, 1.

¹⁰⁶McCann, "Society," 98, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

¹⁰⁷McCann, "Society," 99-100, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

Sunday school attendance in England.¹⁰⁸

The overriding goal of the missionaries involved with educational pursuits was that religion and education complement each other. Through a proper education, the illiterate would learn to read the Bible and develop a system of morals from it. Hence, the Evangelicals established societies that focused upon Sunday schools, day schools, and other church and school societies.¹⁰⁹

2.1 Missionary and School Societies Around the World

Evangelical missionary and school societies include the Church Missionary Society in Great Britain, the American Home Missionary Society, as well as the Board of National Popular Education and the Newfoundland School Society, whose chief mandate was the education of Newfoundland's poor.

The goals of the Church Missionary Society, one of Great Britain's most important Evangelical institutions,¹¹⁰ were to preach the Gospel, establish an eternal spiritual church of believers, and promote education. According to Eugene Stock, this threefold vision was fueled by the belief that missionary success was exclusively "the work of the Holy [Spirit]."¹¹¹

In order to carry out their dual mission of evangelization and education, members of the Church

¹⁰⁸McCann, "Society," 105, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06. Also, Frederick Jones, "The Making of a Colonial Bishop: Feild of Newfoundland," 5, R.N.L.A., f. 1-018-01.

¹⁰⁹Bebbington, 123-124.

¹¹⁰Eugene Stock, *The History of The Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men, And Its Work*, 1 (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), ix.

¹¹¹Stock, xiii-xiv.

Missionary Society strove to establish not only regular day schools, but also Sunday schools, teacher-training colleges, and seminaries, particularly in Africa and Asia where basic needs existed. The Society's goals varied, however, depending on local needs. In Kerala, India, for example, education of the clergy, and the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, appeared to be the central issues,¹¹² whereas in Kashmir, the focus shifted to religious instruction in the day schools.¹¹³ Newfoundland parallels the work of the Church Missionary Society as Bishop Spencer's establishment of a seminary for clergy training and the schools maintained by members of the Newfoundland School Society demonstrate.

A well-known Evangelical group in America was the American Home Missionary Society, organized to "assist congregations that [were] unable to support the Gospel ministry, and to send the Gospel to the destitute within the United States."¹¹⁴ It was established in 1826,¹¹⁵ during a time when America's population slowly increased, and as communities of settlers migrated westward. Because many of these frontier settlements were relatively new, the American Home Missionary Society relied on permanent, rather than itinerant, pastors, so that new converts did not become spiritually destitute should their pastor depart too soon after work in that mission was completed.¹¹⁶

The American Home Missionary Society also established day schools to educate both children

¹¹²Brian Holmes, ed., *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools: Case Studies from the British Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 131.

¹¹³Holmes, 157-158.

¹¹⁴Goodykoontz, 181.

¹¹⁵Goodykoontz, 173.

¹¹⁶Goodykoontz, 181, 407.

and adults,¹¹⁷ and built colleges to train teachers and clergy.¹¹⁸ The responsibility of education fell to the Board of National Popular Education, which was founded in 1847. This non-sectarian, pan-denominational group, an offshoot of the American Home Missionary Society, strove to provide educational opportunities for poor children and serve as a seminary whereby women could be trained to teach. These women were expected to follow a moral code, which exhibited the same “unexceptionable moral and religious character”¹¹⁹ that they expected of their pupils. The Board’s directors considered these women as qualified as any male missionary. In many cases, they were in fact required to take on the role of minister, Sunday School teacher, superintendent, and day school teacher.¹²⁰ These women, who considered Scripture to be “the basis of. . . [a] sound Christian education,”¹²¹ championed biblical values in all aspects of their teaching. The Board of National Popular Education had as its aim the promotion of sound educational principles that would eradicate sin and illiteracy. It was thus similar to the Newfoundland School Society. Eventually, financial and administrative issues caused its demise. The pupils and their families could not afford to pay the school dues.¹²²

Although members of the American Home Missionary Society were not strongly anti-Catholic, strains of anti-Catholicism nevertheless persisted throughout Evangelical America. According to

¹¹⁷Goodykoontz, 368.

¹¹⁸Goodykoontz, 376, 421.

¹¹⁹Goodykoontz, 371.

¹²⁰Goodykoontz, 371-372.

¹²¹Goodykoontz, 371.

¹²²Goodykoontz, 371-375.

Goodykoontz, opposition to Catholics was influenced more by rumours of European experience than by the tangible experiences with American Evangelicals.¹²³ Moreover, any anti-Catholicism that did exist was concentrated mainly in locales with significant Catholic populations, such as the larger eastern cities. Here, fear of Catholics increased due to waves of immigration from Ireland and Germany, which, in turn, led to an increasing number of Catholic Jesuit schools and churches.¹²⁴ Ray A. Billington indicates that during the 1820s the tendency of the American Bible Society to enforce exclusive use of the Authorized version of the Bible for all religious denominations prompted the Catholics to act defensively. In the mind of Catholic authorities, the King James translation represented a corrupt Bible produced by heterodox Christianity. Catholics also, in spite of their poverty, rejected free Bible tracts distributed by Protestants. Hence the Evangelicals argued, Catholics were attacking the Bible on principle rather than one specific translation.¹²⁵ This reinforced the Evangelical notion that Roman Catholic doctrine was anti-scriptural. Thus, in America as well as in Europe and Newfoundland, the Catholic presence prompted the American Evangelicals to be wary. Biblical issues, as will be noted in subsequent chapters, were the nucleus of anti-Catholic sentiment among Evangelicals worldwide,¹²⁶ and especially in Newfoundland.

The work of the American Home Missionary Society was, then, largely an attempt to

¹²³Goodykoontz, 234.

¹²⁴Goodykoontz, 31, 362.

¹²⁵Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Third Printing, 1964), 42-43.

¹²⁶Billington, 43.

christianize the settlers of the new western frontiers.¹²⁷ In this way, its goals were mainly conversionistic; however, the Board of National Popular Education looked after educational interests. Education acted as a method of attempting to eradicate sin.

The regions of the world that Evangelicals considered destitute and where they could easily observe the tangible results of their efforts were the British West Indies, an area that in the early 1800s did not enjoy the benefits of such organized institutions as churches and schools, and which was therefore considered underdeveloped by British and American standards. B. Kay Shuttleworth, who worked as a missionary in Bermuda, suggested that what he considered to be “Christian civilization”¹²⁸ was best carried out by combining three separate, yet interrelated, aspects of education: industrial schools with their curricula of manufacturing and home economics; model farms to encourage agricultural skills, and physical education through manual labour; and normal schools¹²⁹ to teach religion, morals, reading, writing, arithmetic, and hygiene. The British missionaries who ministered in these colonies were confident that all of these three facets would greatly help in the “complex development of all the faculties. . . . [and] mutually assist each other.”¹³⁰

Because the inhabitants of the West Indies lacked the British contemporary standards in education, missionaries ministering there attempted to “Christianize” the inhabitants by helping them

¹²⁷Goodykoontz, 426.

¹²⁸B. Kay Shuttleworth, “Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847,” in *Suggestions*, 1.

¹²⁹Although “normal schools” is the nineteenth-century nomenclature for teacher-training colleges, Shuttleworth uses this same terminology to refer to a grammar school for children in which subjects such as Mathematics, English Language, History, Art, and Music are taught. See B. Kay Shuttleworth, “Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847,” in *Suggestions*, 8.

¹³⁰B. Kay Shuttleworth, “Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847,” in *Suggestions*, 1.

master the English language, English grammar, composition,¹³¹ and thus promote “the mutual interests of the mother country,”¹³² The goal of nineteenth-century Evangelicals was to transplant to the colonies “Christian civilization,” the language and culture of England, which they deemed normative and superior.¹³³

The Evangelicals who ministered in the West Indies relied on religious instruction as their chief means of anglicizing and christianizing the aboriginal population. School masters were expected to use religious exercises as the core of the schools’ curricula. In line with the S.P.G.’s mandate, Shuttleworth recommended that teachers “begin and end each school day with prayer and teach all other subjects in conjunction with established religious principles.”¹³⁴ He also stipulated that teachers devote two to three hours of biblical instruction to each school day in order to communicate religious values, the English language, and practical life applications.¹³⁵ The Bible was, by and large, the only available printed material for pedagogical purposes.

¹³¹B. Kay Shuttleworth, “Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847,” in *Suggestions*, 8.

¹³²B. Kay Shuttleworth, “Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847,” in *Suggestions*, 2.

¹³³McCann mentions the British cultural hegemony in his article on the Newfoundland School Society and suggests that several historians have viewed the work of the Society as a work of “cultural imperialism.” That they insisted on only Church of England school masters, pushed the interests of the mother country, and insisted on the use of the King James version of the Bible cements McCann’s idea of “imperialism.” For more information see McCann, “Society,” 106-107, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06, and B. Kay Shuttleworth, “Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847,” in *Suggestions*, 2.

¹³⁴B. Kay Shuttleworth, “Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847,” in *Suggestions*, 2-3.

¹³⁵B. Kay Shuttleworth, “Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847,” in *Suggestions*, 5.

2.2 The Newfoundland School Society

In the early nineteenth century, British ecclesiastical authorities also considered Newfoundland to be a remote and primitive region that might benefit immensely from missionary work. One society in particular, which has received much attention, is the Newfoundland School Society,¹³⁶ founded by Newfoundland merchant Samuel Codner.¹³⁷ In her thesis on early schooling in Newfoundland, Gay J. Peddle White states that the timing of Codner's plan coincided with the transition in the salt cod trade from English-based merchants to Newfoundland-based ones. Because the merchants now lived in Newfoundland year-round, they were more aware than their predecessors had been of Newfoundland's social climate, one in which poverty, "ignorance," and illiteracy prevailed.¹³⁸ The Newfoundland School Society was partially modelled on the educational mandates of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. a century earlier. These societies strove, among others, to improve society through a religiously-oriented education.¹³⁹ Besides Codner, two other prominent Evangelicals, Aubrey George Spencer and Thomas F.H. Bridge, were active in the Newfoundland School Society, as will be detailed in Chapters Three and Four.

¹³⁶The Newfoundland School Society went through several changes of appellation throughout its 32-year history: The Newfoundland and British North America Society for Educating the Poor in 1829, The Church of England Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland and the Colonies in 1846, and the Colonial Church and School Society in 1851. For convenience, however, it will be referred to as the Newfoundland School Society throughout this thesis.

¹³⁷W. Gordon Handcock, "Samuel Codner," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 8 (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 165.

¹³⁸Gay J. Peddle White, "A History of S.P.G.-Supported Schools in Newfoundland: 1701-1827" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2001), 214.

¹³⁹Peddle White, 2, 20.

Codner's educational experiments began in 1821 in Petty Harbour, an outpost south of St. John's where his mercantile premises were located. Here, the merchant established both a Sunday school for children and a prayer group for adults. Although Codner intended these early activities to be purely for spiritual purposes and limited to the Sabbath, they nevertheless sowed the seed for the official establishment of the Newfoundland School Society in 1823.¹⁴⁰ Codner, satisfied with the success of the Petty Harbour endeavours, made every effort to repeat it throughout Newfoundland on a larger scale.

The Newfoundland School Society was among the first Evangelical institutions whose ultimate goal was free education in a British colony.¹⁴¹ According to Phillip McCann, it was "founded explicitly to safeguard the social order by the provision of literacy, sound moral principles, and evangelical religion for the children [of Newfoundland]."¹⁴²

2.2.1 Establishment and Early History

Codner's personal calling to mission work in Newfoundland began with a shipwreck at sea, during which he vowed to God that, if rescued, he would spread the gospel on a much larger scale than by simply distributing Bibles and religious tracts. As a merchant, he had observed first-hand that many

¹⁴⁰Harold Adam Seegmiller, "No Bought'en Tea: A History of The Colonial and Continental Church Society in Canada" (Unpublished Manuscript, Fort Simpson, N.W.T.), 6. Seegmiller does not indicate whether the purpose of his manuscript is to satisfy the requirements for a university degree. See also Handcock, "Codner," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 165-166.

¹⁴¹McCann, "Society," 95, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06. Also, Peddle-White, 215.

¹⁴²Philip McCann, "Class, Gender, and Religion in Newfoundland Education, 1836-1901" (Memorial University of Newfoundland, Unpublished Paper, No date), 13.

residents of Newfoundland were illiterate, impoverished, “immoral,” and uneducated. Codner decided to act to ameliorate what he considered to be a “lamentable deficiency” of educational opportunities.¹⁴³ He hoped that his efforts would greatly assist Newfoundland school children to live in a poverty-stricken society.

Frederick Jones, in his Ph. D. dissertation on Bishop Feild, indicates that the merchants possessed unquestioned authority to set the price of fish according to supply and demand. Furthermore, a ruling that merchants not “take on another’s former customers”¹⁴⁴ bound each fishing family to one particular merchant who exercised power and authority over them. Under this system, there existed great temptation among the lower socioeconomic classes towards such crimes as stealing or vandalizing mercantile premises. Codner hoped that a sound education would cure these societal ills.¹⁴⁵

During the foundational meeting at a London Coffee House in Ludgate Hill, on 23 June 1823, Codner organized a society for “the moral and religious instruction of the poor of Newfoundland [and more specifically] the establishment of schools in the Island, where special emphasis should be laid on Bible instruction, and the sending out from England of devout teachers, who would devote themselves entirely to the spiritual enlightenment of scholars and parents.”¹⁴⁶ Besides various government

¹⁴³C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, First Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1824, 13.

¹⁴⁴Frederick Jones, “Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland” (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1971), 63.

¹⁴⁵C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, First Annual Report of Newfoundland School Society, 1824, 10-11.

¹⁴⁶J.D. Mullins, *Our Beginnings: Being a Short Sketch of the History of the Colonial and Continental Church Society* (London: Newnham, Cowell, and Gripper, 1923), 6-9.

representatives, which included Member of Parliament and Chairman John Wells, and Francis Forbes, former Chief Justice of Newfoundland, Evangelical clergy and lay people were also present at the meeting.¹⁴⁷ Codner requested from the British Government grants of land for schools. He also asked for support that allowed teachers free passage to Newfoundland and permit the colonial government in Newfoundland to financially support the building of schools.¹⁴⁸

The 1823 Ludgate Hill meeting proved successful. By 1824, the British government granted the Newfoundland School Society 500 pounds for school construction and 100 pounds for a teacher's yearly salary. Thus began schooling in a region where, previously, large scale educational efforts had not existed or had failed. According to Wells, education was the key to understanding not only religious principles and practical skills, but also, and more importantly for Newfoundland, understanding of the machinations of politics, mercantile practices, societal laws, and social behaviour.¹⁴⁹ This knowledge, it was hoped, would go far towards educating Newfoundland's populace and modernizing her society. Thus, the Newfoundland School Society followed the mandate of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., members who had worked hard to eliminate "any discord within the economic or political sphere"¹⁵⁰ that might interfere with educational pursuits in Newfoundland. The root cause of this discord was poverty. Therefore, a sound education would alert poor Newfoundlanders to their societal plights and give them

¹⁴⁷T.R. Millman, "Life in Newfoundland, 1841-1859, and in Prince Edward Island, 1859-1884, as Described in the Journals of Robert W. Dyer," *Canadian Church Historical Society Journal*, 13-14 (1971-72): 30, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-04.

¹⁴⁸Handcock, "Codner," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 165-166.

¹⁴⁹McCann, "Society," 97, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

¹⁵⁰Peddle White, 20.

the tools with which to improve their stations in life.

In keeping with Evangelical ideas, Newfoundland School Society teachers taught their pupils to love God and their neighbours, general religious principles that bore no relation to any specific Church of England doctrine.¹⁵¹ Indeed, the Society aimed to educate all poor, regardless of religious affiliation. In this aim, the schools of the Newfoundland School Society deviated from S.P.G. schools, whose pupils were to be taught Church of England principles regardless of religious denomination.¹⁵² The Newfoundland School Society schools were originally designed to be non-denominational.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, teachers of both societies were required to be sound members of the Church of England.¹⁵⁴

Evangelical teachers of the Newfoundland School Society, observing that the children under their tutelage were products of a society in which Sabbath-breaking and other societal ills existed, often resorted to invoking fear to teach the lessons of the Bible.¹⁵⁵ One teacher, for example, taught a student that lying would lead to “everlasting woe.”¹⁵⁶ Discipline also included resorting to themes of hellfire and

¹⁵¹F.W. Rowe, *The History of Education in Newfoundland* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952), 41.

¹⁵²Peddle White, 31.

¹⁵³McCann points out that during the 1830s, denominational conflicts haunted Society efforts. More about this can be found in the article entitled “No Popery.”

¹⁵⁴McCann, “Society,” 99, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06 for Newfoundland School Society teacher requirements, and Peddle White, 30 for S.P.G. teacher requirements.

¹⁵⁵McCann, “Society,” 105, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

¹⁵⁶McCann, “Society,” 106, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

brimstone, as well as threats of divine retribution.¹⁵⁷ Disciplinary methods were therefore designed to make children “wise unto salvation [and deliver them via] spiritual grace.”¹⁵⁸ In this way, the Newfoundland School Society paralleled the S.P.G., whose orders for schoolmasters specified that they teach the pupils “[to] take especial care of their manners, both in their school and out of them; warning them seriously of those vices to which children are most liable; teaching them to abhor lying and falsehood, and to avoid all sorts of evil speaking; . . . and all this from a sense and fear of Almighty God.”¹⁵⁹

As in the West Indies, teachers employed the King James version of the Bible to teach the reading skills that would eradicate illiteracy. Often, however, usage of Scripture aroused the doubts of the Tractarians as to whether the Newfoundland School Society teachers were converting their pupils rather than educating them.¹⁶⁰ In particular, Reverend Baptist Noel, who preached a sermon at an annual Society meeting, argued that the Society’s style of education attempted to “convert the unconverted.”¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, biblically-oriented education had its advocates. Henry Winton, editor of *The Public Ledger*, an Evangelical member of the Congregational Church, championed a “No Bible - No Schools” policy in 1836.¹⁶² In so doing, he not only opposed Roman Catholics on the employment

¹⁵⁷C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, First Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1824, 10-11.

¹⁵⁸McCann, “Society,” 105-106, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

¹⁵⁹Peddle White, 32 (Rule #9 of Rules of Conduct for S.P.G. Schoolmasters).

¹⁶⁰McCann, “Society,” 99-101, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

¹⁶¹McCann, “Society,” 100, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

¹⁶²McCann, “No Popery,” 86.

of Scripture in schools, but also used education as a political lever against any Catholic who, encouraged by Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, tried to win a seat in the legislature. This culminated in a riot outside Winton's home as well as an assault near Carbonear, in which he had his ears severed by Roman Catholic attackers.¹⁶³ Winton's editorial opinion appears to have been based not entirely on the importance of a religious education, but also on opposition towards Catholics. Within a few years, British newspapers also supported his anti-Catholic sentiment.¹⁶⁴ The use of the Authorized Version of the Bible as a textbook would in due time become the focus of conflicts between Protestants and Catholics.

Religion as the core of the curriculum, however, did not mean the omission of other courses and practical skills of a non-religious nature. Girls, for example, learned domestic skills such as sewing and knitting. The curriculum for boys included such a maritime skill as net-making. During the first fifteen years of the Newfoundland School Society's operations, Codner added Sunday schools and adult schools to the range of educational opportunities.¹⁶⁵

In 1824, the members of the Newfoundland School Society reconvened to report on the Society's progress. Although the Society had been in operation for only one year, members realized that without continued financial support, the Society would be doomed. Newfoundland, being a British colonial establishment for the purpose of mercantile, marine, and military pursuits, was a "cause of

¹⁶³Patrick O'Flaherty, "Henry David Winton," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 8, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1990): 947-949.

¹⁶⁴McCann, "No Popery," 92.

¹⁶⁵McCann, "Society," 98, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

national prosperity” through the codfish trade.¹⁶⁶ The aspiration of the Society, then, was that Britain return the favour by financially supporting Newfoundland’s educational efforts. This, indeed, represented a complete turnabout from the suggestion made in 1823 that Britain allow the Newfoundland Government to support the Society. In response to the 1824 meeting, the S.P.G. sent three additional teachers. Despite a struggle for survival, Codner and the Society had been successful between 1823 and 1824 in building sixteen new schools.¹⁶⁷

2.2.2 Growth and School Developments

During the period 1823 to 1855, the Newfoundland School Society expanded its basic operations to include also a social services agency for clothing and food for the poor and a library service.¹⁶⁸ In 1825, the St. John’s school reported a beginning enrolment of 75 pupils, which in three months increased to 132. In 1825, in communities that had no schools, parents requested spelling books from visiting Society members¹⁶⁹ so that their children could learn on their own at home until such time that a local school could be established.

In the years between 1825 and 1830, the Newfoundland School Society opened day schools

¹⁶⁶C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, First Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1824, 5-7.

¹⁶⁷C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, First Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1824, 5-13.

¹⁶⁸Seegmiller, “Tea,” 31-37.

¹⁶⁹C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Second Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1825, 104-108.

at Quidi Vidi, Trinity, Harbour Grace, Carbonear, and Petty Harbour.¹⁷⁰ The following year, 1826, Society members also established a school at Bonavista.¹⁷¹ In 1829, Greenspond also had a school.¹⁷²

By 1830, the number of day schools had nearly doubled to 28 from sixteen in 1824. These did not include the eighteen Sunday schools and ten adult schools.¹⁷³ All schools were, however, located in communities between St. John's in the southeast and Twillingate in the northwest.¹⁷⁴ Geographically, the Society had thus progressed to only a portion of the entire colony, leaving the south and west coasts, Placentia Bay, and Labrador untouched. The reason for this was that there was a shortage of teachers and missionaries, a problem which Bishop Spencer would endeavour to solve during his episcopate. Codner continued his involvement with the Society in 1832 as a member of the board of Vice-Presidents.¹⁷⁵

In 1835, the Society boasted 39 schools, 32 Sunday schools, and sixteen adult schools. The number of day schools had increased to 52 by 1840, with an enrolment of 3,234 pupils.¹⁷⁶ These

¹⁷⁰C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Third Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1826, 167-190.

¹⁷¹C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Fourth Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1827, 221-244.

¹⁷²C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Sixth Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1829, 392-415.

¹⁷³McCann, "Society," 109 (Table), R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

¹⁷⁴C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Seventh Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1830, 499.

¹⁷⁵C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Ninth Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1832, 623.

¹⁷⁶McCann, "Society," 109 (Table), R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

figures indicate the apex of the Newfoundland School Society. A newspaper correspondence by a resident of Placentia Bay reported that the benevolent and educational work of the Newfoundland School Society had by 1840 advanced westward along Newfoundland's south coast: "It is difficult to express," the correspondent wrote, "how pleasing it is to witness [Harbour Buffet] school. . . when all the children meet together. . . to read the Word of God."¹⁷⁷

As the work of the Newfoundland School Society progressed, Newfoundland's literacy rate improved as well. Although statistics for the early years are lacking, historians Phillip McCann and David G. Alexander indicate that the literacy rate had increased from 35% in 1836 to 57% in 1857.¹⁷⁸ A regional breakdown shows that the highest literacy rates were on the Avalon Peninsula and in St. John's, where, in the same time period, the rate increased from 43% to 70%, a 27% increase. Statistics for the east coast and the south and west coasts show lower literacy rates, 40% to 57%, a 17% increase in the former, and 32% to 52%, a 20% increase, in the latter.¹⁷⁹ An explanation for the differential rates is provided by Thomas Millmann. Millman suggests that attendance in the outports was sporadic because adolescents, especially boys, left school to assist with the family income. Also, families often departed the outports each winter to live in the woods where a warmer climate and a plentiful supply of timber were available.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, the city could attract better qualified teachers

¹⁷⁷*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 5 May 1840, 2.

¹⁷⁸McCann, "Society," 105, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06. Also, David G. Alexander, *Atlantic Canada and Confederation: Essays in Canadian Political Economy* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 122-123 (Tables 4 and 5, based on Equation 7).

¹⁷⁹Alexander, 127 (Table 6).

¹⁸⁰Millman, "Life in Newfoundland," *C.C.H.S.J.*, 13-14(1971-72), 33.

than could the outports. City students, with better access to libraries and other amenities, had more convenient access to sounder learning opportunities.

Whatever the reasons for the increase in the literacy rate, the efforts of the Newfoundland School Society had nevertheless borne much fruit, which ecclesiastical authorities were quick to recognize. In 1841, the Dean of Trinity Parish lauded the Society's efforts, referring particularly to their efforts to improve the deplorable conditions on Newfoundland's southwest coast.¹⁸¹ Statistics for Sunday schools and adult schools for the years after 1840 are unfortunately missing,¹⁸² although this omission is more likely to reflect absence of statistics than lack of services. The improvement of literacy rates alone show that in the period 1840 to 1855, much learning had taken place.

The Newfoundland School Society had 44 schools in 1845, 34 in 1850, and 29 in 1855. It is evident that after 1845 some of the schools ceased to operate, largely due to insufficient funding and to Bishop Feild's interference. The annual reports of the Society show that although the Society had established schools in the entire island portion of Newfoundland between 1823 and 1855,¹⁸³ none were ever established in Labrador during this time period.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 22 January 1841, 3.

¹⁸²McCann, "Society," 109 (Table), R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

¹⁸³C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reels A-322, A-323, and A-324, Various Annual Reports of the Newfoundland School Society, 1823-1855. In particular, Reel A-323, 20th Annual Report, 505, indicates that there were schools on the southwest corner of the island and in St. George's Bay also.

¹⁸⁴Harold Adam Seegmiller, in "No Bought'en Tea," 34, indicates that the Society did not establish any schools in Labrador until 1899. McCann, in "The Newfoundland School Society, 1823-1855: Missionary Enterprise or Cultural Imperialism," 109 (Table), shows that Labrador had three schools in 1900. However, the Moravians, in the eighteenth century, established schools on the northern coast of Labrador. Their regular school operations for children had started as early as 1780 in Nain and Okak and achieved eventually a remarkable literacy in Inuktitut, the Inuit language. See Hans

The demise of the Society's operations, ironically, stemmed from the non-denominational nature of the schools. This was especially true in St. John's where, after 1844, Tractarian Bishop Edward Feild desired that Anglicans have their own separate school. In addition, the Methodists wanted a school separate from other Protestants.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, the main textbook itself proved to be divisive. Protestant parents and school boards insisted that teachers employ the King James version of the Bible, whereas Catholics took a carefree attitude towards any biblical instruction at all.¹⁸⁶ In addition, sectarianism also had a socioeconomic aspect. The St. John's-based merchants were mainly Protestant whereas most fishermen in this region were Roman Catholic.¹⁸⁷ Also, by the 1840s, the amount of funding received, while budgeted to the best of the government's ability, could no longer support both school buildings and teachers' salaries. Society members and school masters were therefore forced to implement fees that poor families, the original objects of the Society, could ill afford.¹⁸⁸ The system thus created its own problems and proved self-defeating. Funding had also been the reason for the demise of the American Home Missionary Society's schools on the American frontier. The result was that by 1856, Society membership had dwindled to two clergymen, 22 lay missionaries, 15 teachers, and 17 schools. As a result, members of the Society appealed to England to

Rollmann, "The First Moravian Schools in Labrador," *Them Days* 27/2 (Winter, 2002): 8-12, and Hans Rollmann, *Through Moravian Eyes: 250 Years of Art, Photographs, and Records* (St. John's, Special Celebrations Corporation: Department of Tourism, Culture, and Recreation, 2002), 67-74.

¹⁸⁵McCann, "Class, Gender, and Religion," 15.

¹⁸⁶McCann, "No Popery," 86.

¹⁸⁷Jones, "Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics. . . ," 63.

¹⁸⁸McCann, "Class, Gender, and Religion," 15-16.

“listen to the importunate cry of her expatriated children.”¹⁸⁹

2.2.2.1 Opposition From Bishop Edward Feild

Bishop Feild wanted Anglicans to be educated in a school separate from the other religious denominations. During the mid-1840s, the Newfoundland School Society merged with other British school societies to be renamed the Church of England Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland and the Colonies. By this time, as well, the work of the Society had spread beyond Newfoundland to South America, Africa, and Upper and Lower Canada.¹⁹⁰ Under the new regulations that accompanied the change in name, diocesan bishops were “given direct control over teachers and schools.”¹⁹¹ Meanwhile, Edward Feild arrived in Newfoundland as the new Church of England bishop. Feild not only asserted his ecclesiastical authority along Tractarian centralist lines, but also, under the Society’s revised regulations, championed separate schools for Anglicans. His tractarian ethos was greatly influenced during his theological training by the high churchman Dr. Charles Lloyd,¹⁹² and further developed while he was school inspector for the Anglican National Society in England,¹⁹³ where Feild’s belief that Anglicans should have separate schools originated. Here, he was further influenced by

Britain’s National Society, a nationalistic educational body that strove for homogenous denominational

¹⁸⁹C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-325, Annual Report of The Colonial Church and School Society, 1857, 69-77.

¹⁹⁰C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 17th and 24th Annual Reports of the Newfoundland School Society, 1840 and 1847, 125-130 in 1840 Report and 760-768 in 1847 Report.

¹⁹¹McCann, “Society,” 104, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

¹⁹²Jones, “Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics. . . ,” 14.

¹⁹³McCann, “Politics,” in McKim, *Vexed*, 40.

schools. Under such influences, it was inevitable that Feild would consider the idea of mixed schools to be “fallacious in principle and unsound in practice.”¹⁹⁴

By 1846, the Newfoundland School Society, irritated by Feild’s constant interference, yet financially-strapped with no other source of funding except the Church, “altered its rules to give [Feild] more influence.”¹⁹⁵ This decision would eventually prove detrimental to the Evangelical principles of the Newfoundland School Society. By 1849, the Society ceased its associations with Feild. If the Newfoundland School Society were to thrive, funding would have to come from an alternate source.

Much of the opposition stemmed from Feild’s Tractarian principles, which were antithetical to the Society’s Evangelical outlook. During his vice-presidency between 1846 and 1849, Feild ruled that English bishops act as the schools’ chief overseers.¹⁹⁶ Thus the Newfoundland School Society was ruled by British clergy rather than Newfoundland based ones, whom Feild considered to be insufficiently educated and lacking in experience. Feild’s predecessor, Spencer, in order to alleviate the shortage of clergy and missionaries, often sent partially-trained theological students to some of the missions. This practice may have fueled Feild’s opinion that the Society’s teachers lacked sufficient experience. Nevertheless, as the conflict intensified between Feild and the Society, issues of ecclesiastical policy, often disguised as doctrinal issues, also became bones of contention. One example of this involved Feild’s decision to refuse the sacraments to poor families who could not afford church dues, a move which greatly irritated Evangelicals. As mentioned in Chapter One, this rule had

¹⁹⁴Jones, “Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics. . .,” 115.

¹⁹⁵Jones, “Opposition,” 36-37.

¹⁹⁶McCann, “Society,” 104-105, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

particularly severe consequences in the Mission of Harbour Buffett.¹⁹⁷ Also, the Anglican laity in St. John's, who were decidedly Evangelical in their outlook, did not want the Tractarians to operate the new theological college monastery-style, nor did they approve of the fact that the worship and architecture of the new cathedral should reflect high-church preferences.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, Feild's insistence upon a separate school for Anglicans placed him under the suspicion of Winton, an influential Congregationalist newspaper publisher, who opposed the idea of separate Protestant schools.¹⁹⁹

In 1846, under the Society's new regulations, diocesan bishops were given control over teachers and schools. When Feild asserted his authority in this way to push for separate Anglican schools, opposition ensued. As a result, the Society was faced with declining finances. Therefore, it had no choice by 1851 but to reassert its Evangelical nature in the face of such opposition, and unite with the Colonial Church Society in Britain to become the Colonial Church and School Society. Such opposition and decreased funding contributed greatly towards the Society's eventual demise in 1856.²⁰⁰

2.2.2.2 Temperance

The Newfoundland School Society was established during a period when alcohol consumption was a major part of daily life not only in Newfoundland but also in Britain and America, causing Evangelicals to take up temperance causes. As an Evangelical Society, the Newfoundland School

¹⁹⁷Hollett, 135-160.

¹⁹⁸Jones, "Opposition," 36-38. Also, Spencer, *Church*, 4-5.

¹⁹⁹McCann, "Politics," in *Vexed*, McKim, 38-39.

²⁰⁰McCann, "Society," 104-105, R.N.L.A. File 1-035-06.

Society sought to instill in its pupils the need to practise temperance. Society members firmly believed that the moral values promoted by education would be defeated by continued and indiscriminate consumption of alcoholic beverages. Temperance thus represented an integral portion of the moral teachings of the Society, and no doubt also formed an important aspect of the adult school curriculum. Temperance, as Chapter Four will explore, was also high on T.F.H. Bridge's Evangelical agenda. There is evidence that Samuel Codner seconded the motion of Rev. Voers at a Society meeting, to speak out against alcohol consumption following an alcohol-related infant death.²⁰¹

2.2.2.3 Anti-Catholicism

Although the Newfoundland School Society provided moral and practical education for all poor children, including Roman Catholics, its members espoused an Evangelical ethos that was decidedly directed against many Catholic doctrines. Evangelicals believed that Roman Catholic doctrine lacked the necessary biblical basis. Although the minutes of Newfoundland School Society meetings do not provide us with any specific Evangelical creed, it is nevertheless evident that anti-Catholicism was high on the Society's agenda and considered part of their mandate. Rev. Henry Melvill, for example, stated in his anniversary sermon of 1837 that "The Roman Catholic Church puts the reformed to the blush. We separated from that church because of its corruptions [including] the spirit of Proselytism. . . [Popery] takes advantage of Protestant supineness; it even ventures to persecute. . . . a stand must be

²⁰¹C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, Minutes of Anniversary Meeting of Newfoundland School Society, 1838, 189.

made.”²⁰²

In 1850, Rev. Dyer, the incumbent of the church and schoolmaster at Greenspond, observed that whenever the Roman Catholic priest made his annual visit to the mission, he encouraged the Catholic children, who were being educated by the Newfoundland School Society, not to read their Bibles.²⁰³ Lowell, in *Five Letters*, elaborated on the alleged Catholic tendency to discourage Bible reading.²⁰⁴

The requirements that Society teachers be affiliated with the Church of England and that the King James Bible be the religious text were an indicator of not only anti-Catholicism, but also Church of England patronage. The latter of these is especially obvious in a regulation of the Newfoundland School Society which insists that, where possible, the “formularies of the Church of England” must be taught.²⁰⁵

Biblical issues were part of an anti-Catholic sentiment that Newfoundland shared with other Evangelicals in Great Britain and America, which was based on the assumption that Roman Catholicism was anti-scriptural. This attitude was aggravated by Britain’s Emancipation Act of 1829, which allowed Catholics new freedoms and rights.²⁰⁶ In Newfoundland, this ruling eventually culminated in a sizeable

²⁰²C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, Sermon of Reverend Henry Melvill, Fifteenth Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1838, 116.

²⁰³C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-324, 27th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1850, 74.

²⁰⁴Lowell, *Five*, Letter One, 7, and Letter Two, 9.

²⁰⁵C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-324, 26th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society (Law #2), 5.

²⁰⁶John Edward Fitzgerald, “Conflict and Culture in Irish-Newfoundland Roman Catholicism” (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), 86-89.

Catholic representation in the House of Assembly²⁰⁷. Another dominant figure in these conflicts was Bishop Fleming, a militant Ultramontane Catholic, whose arrival in Newfoundland in 1823 aroused the suspicion of the Evangelicals.²⁰⁸ Central to Fleming's militancy were a Daniel O'Connell-inspired Irish nationalism, which endeared him to his church, as well as his notoriety as a "political agitator," through which he encouraged his Catholics to seek ascendancy in public life and in government, a move which offended Winton and other Evangelicals whom Fleming considered heretics.²⁰⁹

Aubrey Spencer feared the catholicizing tendencies of the Tractarians and consequently accused them of attempting to revive those "obsolete habits," which in his judgment had "no foundation in Scripture and too near an alliance with those corruptions of the gospel which the fathers and martyrs of the reformation shed their blood to repudiate and condemn."²¹⁰ A dominant theological argument was that Roman Catholicism not only ignored scriptural norms and values, but also espoused "superstitious beliefs" and traditions that had no scriptural warrant. Conversely, T.F.H. Bridge stated it in his sermon *The Two Religions*, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation." Spencer expressed a similar point in *The Church of God*: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful [people], in which the pure Word of God is preached."²¹¹ Both Bridge and Spencer opposed the use of such Roman Catholic "novelties" as Latin prayers, icon worship, celibacy, transubstantiation, seven sacraments as necessary for salvation, supremacy of the Pope, and purgatory, practices and

²⁰⁷Fitzgerald, 149-51.

²⁰⁸McCann, "Society," 102-103, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

²⁰⁹Jones, "Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics. . . ," 46-57.

²¹⁰Spencer, *Church*, 16.

²¹¹Bridge, *Two Religions*, 13; and Spencer, *Church*, 8.

beliefs that the Protestant reformers strove to abolish.²¹²

2.2.3 Funding and Gratuities

Feild's aggressive Tractarianism was but one factor, albeit a major one, in the demise of the Newfoundland School Society. Lack of sufficient funding also proved detrimental to the Society's continued success. In its formative years, from 1823 to 1840, the Society was sufficiently funded and reached its height of 52 schools in 1840, despite the fact that the S.P.G. withdrew funding for educational endeavours even before the Society took root in Newfoundland in 1823.

Because Newfoundland was a British colony, much of the funding originated in the mother country. Codner himself, as a merchant, often travelled to England to collect, in towns connected with the Newfoundland fish trade, some of the proceeds from sales of salt cod.²¹³ His motive may have been that the personal collecting of funds would ensure that they were received by him without any risk of loss. Moreover, collecting the funds personally would encourage donors to contribute more than an impersonal written request would. McCann suggests that the British were willing to fund the Society not only because they had the financial means, but, more importantly, to establish power and patronage in one of their own colonies. It is this latter motive that McCann judges to be "cultural imperialism."²¹⁴ Lord Bathurst, Colonial Secretary and President of the Newfoundland School Society in its early years, prompted the British government to donate 500 pounds for schools and 100 pounds salary plus free

²¹²Bridge, *Two Religions*, 14-15; and Spencer, *Church*, 4-5.

²¹³Seegmiller, "Tea," 8.

²¹⁴McCann, "Society," 94, 99-104, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

passage for school teachers Benjamin Fleet and Mr. and Mrs. Jeynes.²¹⁵ Minutes of Society meetings also show a 200 pounds donation in 1829, along with an undisclosed substantial sum in 1830, for the building of schools.²¹⁶ The minutes also provide evidence of donations of 150 pounds each for any clergyman in a settlement with an already existing Society school and whose inhabitants were prepared to contribute an extra 50 pounds.²¹⁷ Records also indicate that, at least during Thomas Cochrane's tenure as colonial governor, the Newfoundland Government contributed, in 1830, with the aid of donations from merchants, planters, and other residents, the sum of 376 pounds.²¹⁸

Codner, himself, often acted as the driving force behind some of the monetary contributions. For example, in 1853, Codner wrote a letter to the editor of *The Public Ledger*, appealing to the residents of Newfoundland to raise money to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Society.²¹⁹ Codner's appeal may have indeed represented a last ditch effort to retain the few Society schools that remained.

2.2.4 Sermons Preached Towards Its Aid

Often, Evangelical clergy made appeals for Society support through clerical promotion of the

²¹⁵George Henry Bolt, *The Codner Centenary* (No Publisher, 1923[?]), 2. – Sources do not indicate the given names of the Jeynes's.

²¹⁶C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Eighth Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1831, 564.

²¹⁷C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, Minutes of 26 November 1839 Meeting of the Newfoundland School Society, 50.

²¹⁸C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Ninth Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1832, 629.

²¹⁹*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 9 December 1853, 2.

Society in England and through church sermons. Newspapers were, by and large, inaccessible, except to those in higher positions in society, such as politicians and members of the clergy. Even so, because of the rate of illiteracy, very few people would have been able to read them, especially prior to the 1840s, when the literacy rate was still less than 50%. Moreover, many smaller outports neither published, nor had access to, newspapers. Church services were therefore the easiest, most convenient, and most practical way by which a nineteenth-century clergyman could address the populace.

On 9 May 1825, Rev. Henry Budd preached a sermon in England that was directed to potential supporters of the Newfoundland School Society. Noting Newfoundland's economic and social climate, and realizing the novelty of the Society, Budd appealed to his congregation to support the Society, if not financially, then at least through fervent prayer.²²⁰

Rev. Charles Blackman, Rector of St. Thomas's Anglican Church, St. John's, in the late 1830s, preached a charity sermon in 1839, the message of which implored St. John's residents to come to the aid of suffering school children in Conception Bay. Blackman's sermon raised a total of thirteen pounds.²²¹

2.3 Conclusion

The goals, vision, and activities of the Newfoundland School Society can be compared with those of other worldwide educationally-oriented missionary societies. Biblically-oriented education was

²²⁰C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Sermon of Reverend Henry Budd in Second Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1825, 51-102.

²²¹*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 5 March 1839, 3.

the common thread linking all Evangelical missionary societies mentioned in this chapter. Analysis of the evidence, however, shows that the S.P.G. and the Board of National Popular Education were societies that most closely matched Codner's efforts. All of these societies, as well as others worldwide, used the Bible as the chief text of instruction. Moreover, their school teachers were expected to exhibit, in McCann's words, a "serious attitude to religion" and a "sound piety."²²²

Nevertheless, some differences are also apparent. While the S.P.G. schools sought to inculcate only Church of England principles and values, the Newfoundland School Society and the Board of National Popular Education were originally non-sectarian and catered to all poor children, regardless of religious persuasion. While anti-Catholicism was an issue in both Newfoundland and on the American frontier, it appears not to have been a major issue for S.P.G. schools, whose operations began in the century prior to massive Irish immigration and Catholic emancipation. As far as teacher qualification is concerned, the Board of National Popular Education, while willing to hire applicants of any religious persuasion, insisted that these applicants be female only.²²³ The Newfoundland School Society, while it strove to educate all poor children, hired only Anglican teachers of either gender. The S.P.G. was an Anglican society in all respects, and, like the Newfoundland School Society, hired school teachers of both genders. The benevolent work of Newfoundland merchant Samuel Codner was of significance culturally and socially. During the period 1823-1855, the Newfoundland School Society had established a solid footing for education, increasing the literacy rate of the colony, whose people prior to Codner's arrival had little or no opportunity to obtain an education. Because of the context in which

²²²McCann, "Society," 99, R.N.L.A., File 1-035-06.

²²³Holmes, 371.

the Society had to operate, however, they faced much opposition from both Tractarians and Roman Catholics, particularly on issues of textbook choices for schools. They were also challenged to answer the question of whether Anglicans ought to be schooled separately from Catholics and other Protestants. Sufficient funding was a factor in the demise of the Newfoundland School Society. Nevertheless, despite these problems, increasing literacy rates alone indicate that Codner planted a seed which had grown to bear much good fruit and which set the stage for future educational activities in the colony.

Chapter Three

Aubrey George Spencer

In addition to Samuel Codner who established the Newfoundland School Society, three ordained clergymen in the Church of England who ministered in Newfoundland during the first half of the nineteenth century exhibited a distinctly Evangelical ethos. Of the three, Aubrey George Spencer can be known best as far as sources are concerned. He served both as S.P.G. missionary and first bishop of Newfoundland and as Archdeacon in Bermuda. Prior to 1839, Newfoundland and Bermuda had formed part of the Diocese of Nova Scotia.

3.1 Biography

Although Aubrey Spencer's most acknowledged claim to fame is the fact that he was the first Church of England bishop of Newfoundland, he already had worked there for a short time as a missionary of the S.P.G. Spencer also served as Archdeacon of Bermuda (1825-1839) and Bishop of Jamaica (1843-1854). He was born on 12 February 1795 at Mayfair, London, England. Spencer studied for the priesthood at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, an institution that in the early nineteenth century was Evangelical in its outlook and theology. In particular, St. Edward's Hall had the reputation of promoting Evangelical views. Here, Vice-Principal Isaac Crouch zealously taught scriptural piety and the need for missionary labour.²²⁴ At Magdalen, Principal Dr. John MacBride, also an Evangelical, continued Crouch's legacy by founding the Oxford Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society in

²²⁴J.S. Reynolds, *The Evangelicals at Oxford, 1735-1871: A Record of an Unchronicled Movement* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publishers, 1953), 58-60.

1813.²²⁵ All of this occurred during Spencer's theological studies. Once his studies were completed, Spencer was ordained to the diaconate on 24 May 1818 at Norwich. Subsequently he served as deacon at Prittlewell, England, and was ordained a priest on 24 February 1819 at Middlesex. Once he was ordained to the priesthood, the S.P.G. sent Spencer to Newfoundland, where he served as missionary to Ferryland (1819-20) and Trinity (1820-22). He then left Newfoundland for a seventeen-year service in Bermuda, both as missionary and archdeacon.²²⁶

Until 1839, Newfoundland and Bermuda belonged to the colonial Diocese of Nova Scotia. When ecclesiastical authorities in Great Britain responded to the needs for an episcopal presence for the island, Newfoundland and Bermuda were separated from Nova Scotia in 1839. Spencer became the first bishop of the newly-formed Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda, and served in this capacity for four years prior to his eleven-year episcopate in Jamaica.²²⁷ Spencer died in 1872, aged 77 years.²²⁸

3.2 Activism

Spencer was active in the Diocese of Newfoundland from 1819-44. He ministered in Ferryland and Trinity, Newfoundland as missionary from 1819-22, was missionary and archdeacon of Bermuda from 1822-39, and served as Bishop of the newly formed Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda

²²⁵Reynolds, 84-86.

²²⁶O.R. Rowley, *The Anglican Episcopate of Canada and Newfoundland* (London and Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1928), 214-215.

²²⁷Rowley, 270.

²²⁸"Aubrey George Spencer, D.D., D.C.L.," *C.C.H.S.J.*, 10/3 (September 1968): 193.

from 1839-44, after which he departed for Jamaica. He was also involved with the Newfoundland School Society.

3.2.1 Missionary in Newfoundland, 1819-22

Spencer arrived in Newfoundland in 1819 as a short-lived S.P.G. missionary to Ferryland, followed by a two-year stay in Trinity, from where he departed for Bermuda for health reasons. In 1820, Colonial Governor Sir Charles Hamilton, having recognized Spencer's missionary efforts at Ferryland, encouraged him to seek promotion to a higher clerical position, possibly that of archdeacon. According to Prowse, Spencer decided that he was not yet suitably prepared for an ecclesiastical promotion and refused Hamilton's advice in favour of continuing for a few more years in the capacity of missionary.²²⁹ At the time, he had been ordained for only one year. Spencer disliked the Ferryland mission, prompted in part by such difficulties as the inability of the few and impoverished Anglicans there to pay a clergyman's stipend and provide a parsonage.²³⁰ He readily accepted a transfer to Trinity Bay after Rev. John Clinch became ill.²³¹

At Trinity Bay, Spencer erected at once a new church building in the village of Trinity, the seat of the mission. Although the court house was available for public worship, Spencer had reservations about sharing the same building with the local Methodists, not so much for doctrinal reasons as for

²²⁹D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896), 10-11.

²³⁰C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 10, Volume 32, Minutes of 15 December 1820 Meeting, 390-391.

²³¹C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 10, Volume 32, Minutes of 17 December 1819 Meeting, 172.

sacramental ones. While Methodist ministers would be satisfied with only a simple platform from which to read Scripture and preach sermons, Church of England clergymen required buildings with such sacramental fixtures as altars so that they could properly dispense the sacraments. Spencer's attitude regarding this issue was no doubt rooted in his studies at Magdalen, where the Evangelical MacBride had taught the sacramental nature of the Church of England.²³² Likewise, Bishop John Inglis, in his 1827 report about his ecclesiastical voyage throughout Newfoundland, suggested that the sharing of a common building by both Anglicans and Methodists was "a most injudicious plan, . . . too frequently pursued in Newfoundland."²³³ In his letter to the S.P.G. of 4 January 1821, Spencer reported that he had set aside funding for the new church from his own stipends in case other support would be unavailable or insufficient. The S.P.G. responded by sending not only 200 pounds, but also a number of Bibles, Testaments, prayer books, and catechisms.²³⁴ During the construction phase of the new church, Spencer boasted a congregation of 300, most of whom he considered to be living a pious and moral life. Inglis had suggested in his 1827 report that the residents of Trinity, in comparison with other outports, attended church regularly because of the indefatigable "zeal and manner" of the Reverend John Clinch, Spencer's predecessor.²³⁵ During his first year at Trinity, Spencer performed thirty

²³²Reynolds, 84-86.

²³³John Inglis, "Appendix: Letter from the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia," *S.P.G. Annual Report 1827* (London: S.P.G. & C. & J. Rivington, 1828), 66.

²³⁴C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 10, Volume 33, Minutes of 7 February 1821 Meeting, 17.

²³⁵Inglis, 74.

baptisms, sixteen marriages, and fifteen funerals.²³⁶

In addition to his basic ecclesiastical duties, Spencer also assumed the responsibility of educating the poor by establishing a day school and appointing Reverend Clinch and John Garland as its school masters. "The benefits," Spencer wrote in his 24 January 1821 letter to the S.P.G., "which promise to accrue from a Church of England school may not be felt immediately, but its effects must be solid, extensive, and durable."²³⁷ Spencer was thus aware of the importance of education in supplementing religious instruction through church worship.

In the same year, however, Spencer claimed that the rigours of the Newfoundland climate, with its prevalence of cold winters and rainy springs, had begun to adversely affect his physical health. He therefore requested the S.P.G. to transfer him to Bermuda, the southernmost and climatically favourable region of the diocese. In 1822, the S.P.G. granted Spencer's request. On 1 July 1822, he assumed ministerial responsibilities in his new mission in Bermuda.²³⁸ During his tenure there, he spent three years as a regular missionary before being promoted to archdeacon in 1825,²³⁹ a position he held for fourteen years before returning to Newfoundland as bishop of the newly-established Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda.

²³⁶C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 10, Volume 33, Minutes of 19 January 1821 Meeting, 1.

²³⁷P.A.N.L., 971.8G, S.P.G.F.P., 'C' Mss., MG 598/A192, Box 1A/20, Reel B-4-1, f. 2, 24 January 1821.

²³⁸C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 10, Volume 33, Minutes of 1 June 1822 Meeting, 309.

²³⁹Rowley, 215.

3.2.2 Missionary and Archdeacon in Bermuda, 1822-39

At the time of Spencer's arrival in 1822, Bermuda formed a very minute portion of the geographically vast Diocese of Nova Scotia, to which it and Newfoundland belonged. Bishop John Inglis was the first bishop to ever visit Bermuda. Bermuda had no resident bishop when Spencer arrived,²⁴⁰ a factor which, undoubtedly, led to Inglis's decision to promote Spencer to Archdeacon in 1825, so that Bermuda would enjoy the benefits of a full-time missionary/archdeacon with greater delegated authority than a regular clergyman.

During the years that he was in Bermuda, Spencer faced greater challenges than he had ever encountered in either England or Newfoundland. Most formidable of all was the employment by British superiors of Africans as slaves. Spencer arrived in Bermuda to discover not only mistreatment of African slaves by their plantation masters, but also the indifference of Church of England priest John Lough and Governor William Lumley towards their poverty and mistreatment.²⁴¹ Frequently, plantation owners burned their slaves as witches, a practice in Bermuda since the island was first settled in 1616.²⁴² Even in the period immediately following the emancipation of slaves in 1834, authorities in Bermuda continued to deny the Africans such basic rights as church membership and educational opportunities.²⁴³ Spencer decided, therefore, to do all in his power to ameliorate the plight of the

²⁴⁰Jack Cattell, *The Story of Holy Trinity Church, Hamilton Parish* (Bermuda: Island Press Ltd., 1975), 7-9.

²⁴¹Wilkinson, 429.

²⁴²Walter Brownell Hayward, *Bermuda: Past and Present* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1923), 30.

²⁴³Hayward, 67.

African population.

3.2.2.1 Ecclesiastical Activities

During his ministry at Bermuda, Aubrey Spencer served as S.P.G. missionary in Hamilton and Smith's Parishes from 1822 to 1825. Once he was promoted to Archdeacon, he served as rector of both Paget and Warwick Parishes.²⁴⁴

As an S.P.G. missionary, Spencer received, in addition to an annual salary of 100 pounds, an honorarium of 75 pounds.²⁴⁵ With this money he funded the costs of erecting new churches to either replace dilapidated buildings or to provide a church building where previously there was none. In the interim, Spencer used his church ship "The Hawk" as a meeting-house in parishes without a church building, exhorting the congregation to donate five shillings annually towards a General Church Fund,²⁴⁶ the proceeds of which were intended to pay for the erection of new churches. One of the Bermudan churches high on Spencer's roster of renovation was Holy Trinity, Hamilton Parish, of which he became rector early in his Bermudan ministry.

By the time Spencer was promoted to Archdeacon, most of the new churches were, if not fully completed, at least approved for renovation or construction. Spencer then focused his energies on providing trained clergy to minister in each of these churches, so that in all nine parishes, the residents of

²⁴⁴Cattell, 7.

²⁴⁵C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 10, Volume 33, Minutes of 15 November 1822 Meeting, 339-340.

²⁴⁶Charles Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, Vol. 1 (London: S.P.G. Society Office, 1901), 96-97.

Bermuda, regardless of race, would be encouraged to attend worship on a regular basis.²⁴⁷ In a matter of a few short years, six of the nine parishes had a fully completed church building, which is testimony to the fact that Bermuda's churches had received funding from the S.P.G. Spencer, on his next parochial visitation, performed Holy Eucharist in these churches.²⁴⁸ During this time, Bishop Inglis visited the island and confirmed 1,200 people.²⁴⁹ Church buildings and clergy alone, however, while necessary, were insufficient. Spencer also requested from the S.P.G. Bibles and prayer books for use in these churches.²⁵⁰

As Archdeacon, Spencer continued to work towards the completion of all of Bermuda's church buildings, most notably, Holy Trinity at Hamilton Parish. Prior to renovations, Holy Trinity was too small to sufficiently seat the African population of Hamilton. This problem was alleviated through renovations of Holy Trinity in 1835.²⁵¹ The S.P.G. also granted Spencer 150 pounds to enlarge the church at Sandys Parish.²⁵²

The administrative portion of Spencer's ministry reached a milestone in 1831 when, with the assistance of Bishop Inglis, he divided Bermuda into three deaneries, each comprising several

²⁴⁷Aubrey George Spencer, "Charge to the Clergy of Bermuda," in *Subjects*, 375-376, 383-384.

²⁴⁸Pascoe, 103-104.

²⁴⁹Pascoe, 104-105.

²⁵⁰C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 11, Volume 36, Minutes of 21 July 1826 Meeting, 353-354.

²⁵¹Cattell, 20-21.

²⁵²C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 16 December 1836 Meeting, 112.

parishes.²⁵³ Spencer also sought to ensure that each deanery obtain its own dean or archdeacon, so that the ministry in these nine parishes could be improved. He hoped that this would induce the African population to be converted to Christianity.

3.2.2.2 Educational Activities

Bishop Inglis, having recognized both the success of Spencer's previous educational efforts in Trinity Bay, and the fact that 2,000 African-descended children in Bermuda lacked the means for a proper education, entrusted Bermuda's educational matters to Spencer. Spencer, believing that education and religious conversion complemented each other, accepted Inglis's challenge and requested from the S.P.G. 400 pounds to begin with the construction of schools in Bermuda.²⁵⁴ Spencer's thoughts on religion and education can be compared with those of B. Kay Shuttleworth who, in his suggestions for the operation of West Indian schools, made it clear that religion was to be the backbone of the schools' curriculum.²⁵⁵ It is also grounded in the S.P.G. educational commitment, for the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. had insisted as early as the eighteenth century that religion be central to the curriculum of any school.²⁵⁶

Prior to Spencer's arrival in 1822, sound educational opportunities for Bermuda's children were practically non-existent. Other groups had, in the past, attempted to educate the children of

²⁵³Cattell, 6.

²⁵⁴Wilkinson, 467-468.

²⁵⁵B. Kay Shuttleworth, "Letter to Benjamin Hawes, 6 January 1847," in *Suggestions*, 1.

²⁵⁶Peddle White, 20.

Bermuda, albeit unsuccessfully. For example, the Quakers, whom the Church of England authorities in Great Britain considered to be dissenters, met with Church of England disapproval when they attempted to establish schools in the colony.²⁵⁷ Also, Bishop George Berkeley had attempted, unsuccessfully, the establishment of a college in the 1730s. Not until almost sixty years after Spencer's departure in 1839 did this plan become a reality.²⁵⁸ The most likely reasons for the retarded development of education appear to have been the racism of the local government, combined with lack of sufficient funds.

To ensure the success of his own attempts to educate Bermuda's children, Spencer drew on multiple sources for funding. In addition to relying on the S.P.G., he also requested monetary donations from its sister Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), and the Society for the Education and Conversion of Negroes. Spencer also set aside rental income from his glebe to pay for educational efforts. The S.P.G., however, represented the largest funding source and paid the salaries of teachers.

Spencer made considerable progress towards the education of Bermuda's children. In 1824, one year before his promotion to Archdeacon, Spencer not only received 100 pounds in support of two free schools, but also requested further funding to pay a school master's salary.²⁵⁹ By the following year, 1825, the S.P.G. complied, and, in addition, sent donations which were specifically intended to

²⁵⁷Hayward, 29.

²⁵⁸Terry Tucker, *Bermuda: Today and Yesterday, 1503-1973* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 90.

²⁵⁹C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 11, Volume 35, Minutes of 19 November 1824 Meeting, 88-89.

purchase clothing for the African-descended children.²⁶⁰

By 1827, Bermuda experienced further improvements towards the education of her children. Bishop Inglis, at Spencer's request, had not only helped him to establish eight Sunday schools and adult schools, but had also arranged for the dedicated school masters of these schools to receive an extra 20 pounds salary from the S.P.G.²⁶¹ Two years later, Inglis approved both a school and a teacher for Paget Parish.²⁶² It was in Paget that Spencer also opened a glebe school in 1835.²⁶³ By 1844, five years after Spencer had left for Newfoundland, Bermuda boasted a total of sixteen public and 25 private schools, all made possible through Spencer's tireless efforts to obtain funding from the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., and the Society for the Education of Negroes.²⁶⁴

However, not all of Spencer's educational attempts proved fruitful. Various municipal councils on the island refused his and the Rector of St. George's Parish request for 40 pounds towards a school for poor white children.²⁶⁵ Whether the reason for the refusal was based upon financial or other issues is difficult to determine. There did, however, exist some difference of opinion between Spencer and the

²⁶⁰C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 11, Volume 35, Minutes of 17 June 1825 Meeting, 365.

²⁶¹C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 11, Volume 37, Minutes of 19 April 1827 Meeting, 93-94.

²⁶²C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 12, Volume 40, Minutes of 19 March 1830 Meeting, 66-69.

²⁶³Wilkinson, 471-473.

²⁶⁴Tucker, 116. – Bermuda's population in 1833 was 9,195, of which about 5,000 were African-descended and 4,000 white. The same or similar ratios, therefore, may be deduced for the population of school children, data which Tucker omits.

²⁶⁵Wilkinson, 470-471.

councillors over whether the responsibility for education devolved upon the rector, as Spencer assumed, or upon the archdeacon, as the councillors argued, a controversy that led Spencer to accuse the councillors of “affix[ing] an indelible stigma on the clergy.”²⁶⁶ It is also interesting to note that Bishop Inglis, who approved a number of colonial schools, appears to have been keeping a low profile while this controversy was taking place.

Spencer’s educational accomplishments in Bermuda were not limited, however, to the establishment of school buildings and the procurement of teachers. In addition to establishing a Society for Promoting Industry so that the intellectual fare obtained through education could be supplemented with industrial skills, he also acted as invigilator of exams at the schools, and reestablished the short-lived Devonshire College so that boys of all socioeconomic backgrounds could learn English.²⁶⁷

3.2.3 Bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda, 1839-43

Spencer returned to Newfoundland in 1839, not as missionary or even as archdeacon, but as bishop of the newly-established Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda, which was now separated from Nova Scotia and the other Atlantic provinces.²⁶⁸ Bishop Inglis, having recognized Spencer’s administrative and educational activities in Bermuda, suggested to British ecclesiastical authorities that he be promoted. This decision coincided with the realization that the Diocese of Nova Scotia was difficult to manage. The time had arrived to form a separate diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda,

²⁶⁶Wilkinson, 471.

²⁶⁷Wilkinson, 471-476.

²⁶⁸Millman and Kelley, 87.

and make Spencer its first bishop. Inglis wrote, "We may hope for benefit to the Church from the additions which have been made to the number of Colonial bishops, and you will join with me in thankfulness for the division of the extensive Diocese of Nova Scotia, by which the arduous duties of the Bishop are so far diminished. . . ." ²⁶⁹

Spencer's promotion to the position of diocesan bishop also occurred during a time when the Newfoundland portion of the diocese suffered from an acute shortage of clergy. As such, lay missionaries and teachers were expected to perform much of the work of the ordained clergy, especially divine services. The Colonial Church Record blamed much of the lack in recruitment on climatic and social reasons, notably the extreme poverty. ²⁷⁰ Spencer himself was one of those who claimed in his letters to have been adversely affected by the Newfoundland climate.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Reverend William Howley, consecrated Spencer to the episcopate in 1839. ²⁷¹ Spencer's examining chaplain was the Reverend Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge, ²⁷² Rector of St. John's Parish Church, and also an Evangelical.

3.2.3.1 Ecclesiastical Activities

One of Spencer's chief responsibilities as bishop was to solve the problems associated with the

²⁶⁹*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 31 December 1839, 2.

²⁷⁰C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, The Colonial Church Record, April 1839 Report (Newfoundland), 874.

²⁷¹Charles H. Mockridge, *The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland* (Toronto: F.N.W. Brown, 1896), 98.

²⁷²Bridge, *Two Religions*, Introduction.

acute shortage of clergy, of which also Reverend A.M. Campbell, Secretary of the S.P.G., was keenly aware through his correspondence with the new bishop and other missionaries. Ordained British clergy often totally spurned Newfoundland or remained there for only short periods because they could not acclimatize themselves to its weather and environment, or adjust to the social conditions of the poverty-stricken colony.²⁷³ In 1839, Newfoundland had only seven missionaries.²⁷⁴ Following Spencer's requests for more clergy, the S.P.G. sent seven additional ordained clergymen in 1840, for a total of fourteen missionaries. Nevertheless, this number fell still far below of what Newfoundland required to adequately serve the 31,110 communicants in 43 Anglican congregations.²⁷⁵ By 1842, however, Spencer had procured a total of 25 clergymen, established Sunday schools in each parish, erected and consecrated twenty new church buildings, repaired and renovated previously existing buildings, and established a theological seminary so that Newfoundland no longer needed to depend on England for a supply of clergy.²⁷⁶

Despite these efforts, two major regions in the diocese still lacked sufficient churches and missionaries. In one unnamed region, which most likely was the south-west coast or the west coast of the island, one clergyman assumed responsibility for 4,000 parishioners along an extended coastline. Spencer, recognizing that this region was not served as adequately as it should be, requested the

²⁷³Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (hereafter P.A.N.L.), A.M. Campbell to A.G. Spencer, 2 March 1841, S.P.G., C/CAN/NFL, f. 4, 308.

²⁷⁴Millman and Kelley, 85.

²⁷⁵P.A.N.L.), S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer's Diary, 13 August 1840.

²⁷⁶Charles Pedley, *The History of Newfoundland* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1863), 454.

S.P.C.K. to send two teachers and six lay readers to assist in the pastoral and educational efforts,²⁷⁷ until such time as he could procure sufficient clergy to minister there. In response to a desperate plea from residents of the south coast of the island for two church buildings, a missionary, and a teacher, Spencer sent a student of the newly-established theological college.²⁷⁸ That the bishop sent immediately a theological student, even prior to the completion of his studies, illustrates the dire personnel needs of the Church of England in Newfoundland at that time. It also demonstrates Spencer's authority as a bishop.

In cases of emergency, the S.P.G. continued to send English clergy until the first class of Newfoundland theology students had completed their studies. Correspondence indicates that Spencer appointed Reverend William Bowman for Ferryland;²⁷⁹ a lay person named William Jeynes for Fortune and Placentia Bays,²⁸⁰ Reverend William F. Meek for Harbour Buffett,²⁸¹ and Reverend William Netten and a lay person by the name of William H. Grant for Catalina.²⁸² By the spring of 1842, Spencer was pleased to report that he had sent three more new clergymen into the mission field:

²⁷⁷S.P.C.K. A. Report, 1842, Spencer to S.P.C.K., (no date), R.N.L.A., File 1-006-03.

²⁷⁸P.A.N.L., Spencer to Campbell, 26 April 1842, S.P.G., C/CAN/NFL, f. 4, 279 (ii) add. 133.

²⁷⁹P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to the Bishop of Northern Ireland, 22 August 1839.

²⁸⁰C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 16 April 1841 Meeting, 381.

²⁸¹C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 19 November 1841 Meeting, 408-409. Also, R.N.L.A., File 1-031-05, C.F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. (Missionary Roll)*, 859.

²⁸²C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 21 January 1842 Meeting, 424.

Reverend Henry H. Hamilton for Bay de Verde, Reverend Benjamin Smith for King's Cove, and Reverend James C. Harvey for Fogo Island.²⁸³

Posting clergy in the various missions represented only a small portion of Spencer's extensive roster of ecclesiastical duties. Spencer noticed during his parochial visitations that older church buildings had either begun to display evidence of disrepair, or required renovations and extensions to accommodate population increases. Between 1840 and 1842, Spencer requested from the S.P.G. funding to repair existing churches in Conception Bay,²⁸⁴ as well as for church buildings in the missions of Placentia Bay²⁸⁵ and Brigus.²⁸⁶ Spencer also sought funds to establish an orphanage at St. John's,²⁸⁷ which indicates his concern for the impoverished and less fortunate members of his diocese.

Throughout his episcopate, Spencer continued to visit Bermuda periodically, since it was part of his diocese. Jack Cattell, author of *The Story of Holy Trinity Church, Hamilton Parish*, records visitations in 1839, 1840, and 1843.²⁸⁸ In addition to determining the locations for new clergy or the need for church renovations, Spencer also visited the schools which he had established during his years

²⁸³P.A.N.L., S.P.G., G. Mss., Newfoundland Letters Received, Volume 1, Spencer to Rev. C.B. Dalton, 23 May 1842. Also: R.N.L.A., File 1-031-05, Pascoe, *Missionary Roll*, 858-859.

²⁸⁴P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to S.P.G., 22 July 1840.

²⁸⁵P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to Rev. E. Hawkins, 18 November 1840.

²⁸⁶P.A.N.L., S.P.G., G. Mss., Newfoundland Letters Received, Volume 1, Spencer to Campbell, 15 December 1842.

²⁸⁷P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to The Treasurer of the S.P.G., 25 March 1841.

²⁸⁸Cattell, 7.

as archdeacon. Bermuda, because of its location in the mid-south Atlantic, often lay in the path of tropical storms. Thus, Spencer's episcopal visits to Bermuda sometimes resulted in supervising the repair of hurricane-damaged schools and churches in addition to his basic episcopal responsibilities of confirming communicants, ordaining new deacons and priests, and consecrating churches and cemeteries.²⁸⁹ During his 1843 visit, Spencer also visited the prison at Ireland Island and planned to erect a chapel there for the use of the inmates.²⁹⁰

Spencer's greatest achievement for Bermuda during his episcopate as far as the institutional stability of the church was concerned was, however, the promotion of Reverend H.M.S. Crocodile to Archdeacon, so that Bermuda would continue to benefit from the presence of a clergyman with delegated ecclesiastical authority.²⁹¹ The bishop did not want to see his previous accomplishments neglected while ministering in Newfoundland.

3.2.3.1.1 Visitations

To do justice to the ecclesiastical needs of his diocese, and to maintain the physical and spiritual presence of his church, regular parochial visitations were needed. Spencer's diary for the summer of 1840 records ordinations at St. John's, Harbour Grace, and Portugal Cove; Holy Eucharist celebrations at Bay Roberts, Trinity, and Bonavista; confirmations at Trinity, Bonavista, King's Cove,

²⁸⁹Millman and Kelley, 92-93.

²⁹⁰P.A.N.L., S.P.G., G. Mss., Newfoundland Letters Received, Volume 1, Spencer to Campbell, 25 January 1843.

²⁹¹P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to Campbell, 25 March 1840.

and Keels; a cemetery consecration at Bay Roberts; and church and school inspections at Portugal Cove, Bell Island, Salmon Cove, Brigus, Port-de-Grave, Burnt Head, Spaniard's Bay, Bareneed, Bryant's Cove, Torbay, Quidi Vidi, Trinity, Bonavista, King's Cove, and Keels. The church at King's Cove, in particular, required renovations so that extra pews could be added to accommodate an increasing population.²⁹²

In 1841 and 1842, Spencer visited not only the same missions as in 1840, but also included Baie Verte,²⁹³ Fogo Island, the Bay of Islands,²⁹⁴ Fortune Bay,²⁹⁵ and Burin²⁹⁶ on his itinerary. By 1842, Spencer had at least partially succeeded in procuring sufficient missionaries for his diocese. Active missions extended now beyond the Avalon Peninsula and northeast coast also to areas on the south and northwest coasts of the island. Much of this success can be attributed to Spencer's establishment of a theological college in Newfoundland and his numerous requests to the S.P.G. for clergy.

²⁹²P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer's Diary, 22 May-13 June and 7-13 August 1840.

²⁹³P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to Hawkins, 23 July 1841.

²⁹⁴P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to Campbell, 2 August 1841.

²⁹⁵P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to Hawkins, 20 December 1841.

²⁹⁶P.A.N.L., S.P.G., G. Mss., Newfoundland Letters Received, Volume 1, Spencer to Campbell, 23 August 1842.

3.2.3.1.2 A New Theological Seminary

As bishop of Newfoundland, Spencer was not content with full reliance on clergy obtained in England. He sought an indigenous solution by training local Newfoundlanders in a theological institution established for that purpose in St. John's. Missionaries who had been born and raised in Newfoundland, so the bishop felt, would be more accustomed to Newfoundland's needs and conditions. Less likely to leave Newfoundland, theologically trained native-born priests and lay people would not only strengthen the active ministerial presence of the diocese but also remain on the island whereas British clergy had a very high turnover. To fulfil this goal, Spencer established a theological college in 1841 "in which a limited number of lay readers and students in theology are to be prepared for missionary labour . . ."²⁹⁷

Spencer appointed Rev. Charles Blackman, Rector of St. Thomas's Church in St. John's, to be the first principal of the new theological college.²⁹⁸ Six students enrolled during the college's first year of operation, and a portion of their practical training included ministering in the nearby outports of Pouch Cove and Petty Harbour.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C/CAN/NFL, f. 4, *The Primary Charge of the Bishop of Newfoundland*, 279(i), add. 106.

²⁹⁸Joseph James Curling and Charles M. Knapp, *Historical Notes Concerning Queen's College, St. John's, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1842-1897* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898), 12. Also, John Alfred Meaden, *Queen's College: More Historical Notes* (St. John's: Central Diocesan Office, 1979), 9, and E. Rex Kearley, *Queen's College: 1841-1991* (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1991), 35.

²⁹⁹S.P.C.K. A. Report, 1842, Spencer to S.P.C.K., 2 November 1841 in R.N.L.A., File 1-006-03. Also, Curling and Knapp, 37.

During its earliest operation, the college did not have its own building and land.³⁰⁰ Students attended classes in a school-like building of Gothic architecture³⁰¹ located on "The Mall" near St. Thomas's Church, St. John's.³⁰² Spencer's correspondence with the S.P.G. in 1842 is preoccupied with securing funds for building separate college facilities. In addition to asking the S.P.G. for 300 pounds for land, Spencer also requested funding for rectories throughout the island, as well as for the establishment of a Church Diocesan Society, whose chief aim would be the financial support of the college.³⁰³ A Church Diocesan Society had the added benefit of being based in Newfoundland. Spencer received 50 pounds from the S.P.G. towards a lecture hall for the new college.³⁰⁴ Indeed, Spencer made every effort to ensure that the college achieved its financial goals.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ An edifice and land, along with the nomenclature Queen's College, did not materialize until Feild's episcopate, after 1844.

³⁰¹ That the building was Gothic in structure was recently confirmed by Dr. Shane O'Dea via email at sodea@mun.ca.

³⁰² Kearley, 7-10.

³⁰³ P.A.N.L., Spencer to Campbell, 16 November 1841, S.P.G., C/CAN/NFL, f. 4, 279(ii), add. 126. Also, Curling and Knapp, 11.

³⁰⁴ S.P.C.K. A. Report, 1842, Spencer to S.P.C.K., 2 November 1841 in R.N.L.A., File 1-006-03. Also, C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 14, Volume 45, Minutes of 17 June 1842 Meeting, 30.

³⁰⁵ Other than financial support, the sources do not give much information about the college's early years in terms of its Evangelical outlook or curriculum. Curling and Knapp do suggest, however, that while Spencer was satisfied for students to attend classes in one building and lodge elsewhere, Feild, by contrast, pushed for a more monastic setting in which students lived and studied in the same institution. See Curling and Knapp, 12.

3.2.3.1.3 A New Cathedral

Since Newfoundland and Bermuda were now a diocese of their own, Spencer recognized the need for the newly-formed diocese to reflect its ecclesiastical status through a new church that would serve as the diocesan cathedral. "The establishment of a separate episcopate in Newfoundland," the bishop wrote "should be attended with such a revival. . . as may mark a new and most important era in the religious history of the colony. . . . But of all the deficiencies. . . one of the most obvious must be the want of a commodious and decent church in the capital. . . and be. . . respectable. . . to serve as the Cathedral." The bishop wanted "a decent and holy sanctuary, in which [one] may glorify God, and which may stand as a monument of [one's] your piety to remote prosperity."³⁰⁶

A "respectable" cathedral, however, required considerable funds, which Spencer sought from the S.P.G. Estimating the cost of the cathedral to be about 4,000 pounds, Spencer requested initially 1,000 pounds in late 1840,³⁰⁷ as well as an extra 500 pounds shortly thereafter.³⁰⁸ Spencer made several similar requests the following year and by 1842 had collected a grand total of 5,000 pounds,³⁰⁹ 1,000 pounds more than originally estimated. Later that year, these figures were revised upwards in the face of an extreme shortage of building materials so that an extra 4,000 pounds in addition to the 6,000 already raised were needed. Contractual requirements imposed some urgency and required an

³⁰⁶*The Star and Newfoundland Advocate*, 30 January 1841, 3.

³⁰⁷P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to Hawkins, 1 September 1840.

³⁰⁸C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 18 December 1840 Meeting, 356-357.

³⁰⁹P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to Campbell, 26 April 1842.

additional 1,000 pounds, a request honoured by the S.P.G.³¹⁰

By 1843, Spencer had succeeded in raising sufficient funding to complete the construction of the cathedral. Ill health, however, caused by the extremities of the Newfoundland climate, forced him to resign his position as Bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda and ask the S.P.G. for a transfer to the See of Jamaica. This marked the second time that Spencer was forced to leave Newfoundland on account of his physical health. He still officiated, however, during the service of the laying of the cathedral's cornerstone³¹¹ before departing for Jamaica.

Spencer's chief means of funding during his episcopate was the S.P.G. Other means of raising funds for the cathedral were special sermons. Sermons were beneficial in two ways. Not only would financially well-off church members respond and donate funds at such occasions, but also the proceeds from the sale of the published sermons generated further revenue. As noted in Chapter Two of this thesis, already the Newfoundland School Society had received some funding through sermons preached by Reverends Henry Budd and Charles Blackman.³¹²

The sermon preached by Spencer in 1842 under the title *The Church of God* had as its purpose to attract donations towards a "new and more commodious parish church [which was to be vested] with the Cathedral character,"³¹³ a construction that not only replaced the existing dilapidated

³¹⁰P.A.N.L., S.P.G., G. Mss., Newfoundland Letters Received, Volume 1, Spencer to Campbell, 23 September 1842.

³¹¹*The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 16 August 1843, 2.

³¹²C.N.S. Microfilm 619, Reel A-322, Sermon of Reverend Henry Budd in Second Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1825, 51-102. For information on Blackman's sermon, see *The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 5 March 1839, 3.

³¹³Spencer, *Church*, 19.

church building but also provided an edifice of respectability for the new diocese.³¹⁴ Such aspiration led to Spencer's decision of preaching the sermon in St. John's rather than in the outports. In the city, Spencer reasoned, he could better reach merchants, professionals, politicians, and others of rank and means in society. The choice of preaching the sermon on Good Friday was no doubt motivated in view of the great number of communicants who attended church. But Spencer also stipulated that one-third of the pews in the new cathedral be reserved as rent-free for the benefit of poor people,³¹⁵ reflecting part of Spencer's evangelically motivated social concern.

Spencer also used his 1842 Lenten Pastoral Address to secure funds for the new cathedral. Unlike *The Church of God*, which was directed primarily towards St. John's residents, the pastoral address was aimed at the entire diocese. Instead of asking for monetary donations, the bishop noted that the residents of outport Newfoundland and Bermuda were not, by and large, financially secure and focused instead on the need for fervent prayer.³¹⁶

3.2.3.1.4 Conclusion to Spencer's Ecclesiastical Activities

Bishop Spencer tirelessly sought to establish a solid institutional presence for the Church of England in Newfoundland and Bermuda. Cut short by ill health, his ministry assumed nevertheless a foundational role and place in Newfoundland's Anglican history. This is not only because he was the first bishop of a new diocese, but also because his Evangelically-motivated activism represented a

³¹⁴Spencer, *Church*, 6-7.

³¹⁵Spencer, *Church*, 27.

³¹⁶*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 11 March 1842, 2-3.

considerable contrast to the episcopal neglect of Newfoundland by Bishops Charles Inglis and Robert Stanser, who never visited Newfoundland during their episcopates.³¹⁷ Spencer's efforts in alleviating Newfoundland's chronic shortage of clergy through the establishment of a theological college contributed significantly toward remedying the island's ecclesiastical retardation. Spencer's Evangelical ethos motivated as well his opposition to the growing Roman Catholic presence in the island, notably on the Avalon Peninsula.³¹⁸ The bishop also contributed towards the establishment of schools and accessibility of education for all Newfoundlanders and Bermudans. His overall ministry and public work would not have been possible, however, without the active financial support of the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. In his final address to his Newfoundland parishioners, he avidly praised the work and support of both societies. "It is not too much to say," the bishop stated, "that in that poor populous country, preoccupied by the missionaries of a corrupt and almost antagonist religion, no ministry in the Church of England could have been maintained; . . . no schools. . . could have subsisted without. . . aid [from the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.]."³¹⁹ And Spencer's final prayer before departing for Jamaica was that the church in Newfoundland should continue to grow and prosper,³²⁰ in spite of the S.P.G.'s inherent financial problems.

³¹⁷Millman and Kelley, 83.

³¹⁸S.P.C.K. A. Report, 1844, Spencer to S.P.C.K., 1843 (no date), 5 in R.N.L.A., f. 1-006-03.

³¹⁹S.P.C.K. A. Report, 1844, Spencer to S.P.C.K., 1843 (no date), 5 in R.N.L.A., f. 1-006-03.

³²⁰P.A.N.L., S.P.G., G. Mss., Newfoundland Letters Received, Volume 1, Spencer to Hawkins, 7 August 1843.

3.2.3.2 Involvement with the Newfoundland School Society

Spencer's term as Bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda involved a wider range of responsibilities than his pastoral ones. Perhaps the activities and concern that most readily allow us to define him as an "Evangelical"³²¹ is his involvement in education, notably his relationship with the Newfoundland School Society. Having worked towards the education of children in Bermuda, Spencer turned his episcopal attention to the education of Newfoundland children, which he had begun two decades earlier as an S.P.G. missionary with the school in the Trinity Bay Mission.

Noting the state of education in Newfoundland, as well as Spencer's request to be involved with educational affairs, the S.P.G. made him Vice-President of the Newfoundland School Society shortly after his arrival in Newfoundland.³²² The appointment coincided with the bishop's earliest ecclesiastical visitations in 1840. Thus, Spencer's diocesan visits had a twofold purpose. As Bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda, he attended to ecclesiastical needs. As a member of the Newfoundland School Society, he reported on the state, number, and distribution of schools, and inspected them.³²³

In 1840, Spencer, noting the chronic shortage of clergy, asserted his authority as both Bishop of Newfoundland and Vice-President of the Newfoundland School Society and ordained five members of the Society for missionary work in communities where they also taught.³²⁴ In the absence of a regular

³²¹See here especially Bebbington, 12.

³²²C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 17th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1840, 327.

³²³C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 18th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1841, 374.

³²⁴P.A.N.L., S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23, Spencer to Campbell, 1 July 1840.

clergyman, these teacher-missionaries were authorized to perform divine services. The Society, in turn, agreed to pay each of the men an annual salary of 100 pounds.³²⁵ The joint initiative of Spencer and the Newfoundland School Society in training and hiring hitherto unordained teachers as missionaries indicates not only that Newfoundland suffered extraordinary “privations and difficulties,” but also demonstrates Spencer’s Evangelical commitment to seek remedies for such destitution.³²⁶ Spencer stated of this joint endeavour that “Their ordination will materially increase their usefulness, and strengthen our hands in their respective districts: it will not withdraw them from their schools, but it will give to hundreds who are willing members of our church the means of grace from which they have been too long debarred.”³²⁷ Under this initiative, then, Spencer and the Newfoundland School Society strove to satisfy both the educational and the pastoral needs of Newfoundland’s Anglicans.

3.2.4 Anti-Catholicism

An integral aspect of nineteenth-century Evangelical activism involved acting and speaking out against the perceived negative influences of religious competitors. In a Newfoundland context, this meant primarily Evangelical opposition to Roman Catholics and Tractarians, who held tenaciously to beliefs and practices that were at variance with Evangelical thought and ethos, but which had been used successfully by these groups, especially by the Roman Catholics, to gain power and influence in both

³²⁵P.A.N.L., Spencer to Campbell, 26 April 1841, S.P.G., C/CAN/NFL, f. 4, 279(ii), add. 116.

³²⁶*The Royal Gazette*, 30 June 1840, 2.

³²⁷C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 18th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1841, 375.

church and society.³²⁸ Spencer's Newfoundland episcopate commenced during an era in which Catholics in England enjoyed the benefits of increased recognition through the Emancipation Act of 1829, which had also consequences for Roman Catholicism and societal reform in Newfoundland. This coincided not only with the demographic equality in Newfoundland of both Roman Catholics and Protestants, which made Spencer defensive,³²⁹ but also with political and educational events, notably the election of 1836, which resulted in an extremely poor Catholic representation on the school boards, and the schools' textbook controversy in which Roman Catholic parents, particularly in Conception Bay, challenged the rights of Newfoundland School Society school masters to employ the King James Bible as part of the curriculum.³³⁰

Also, Spencer's printed sermon, *The Church of God*, had an anti-Catholic agenda. While it sought funding for the building of a cathedral, it also offered it in the form of an anti-Catholic and anti-Tractarian appeal. In the sermon, Spencer spoke out against what he and other Evangelicals considered to be the "unwarrantable pretensions of Rome, . . . habits which have no foundation in Scripture. . ."³³¹ Spencer's affirmation of scriptural Christianity was the driving force behind his repudiation of Catholic doctrines and beliefs. Like other Evangelicals of the time, Spencer accused local Roman Catholics of practising erroneous unscriptural Tridentine doctrines not legitimized by Jesus and contrary to the spirit and life of the Gospels.³³² Robert Traill Spence Lowell also echoed such anti-Catholic sentiments in his

³²⁸McCann, "No Popery," 88-89.

³²⁹Spencer, *Church*, 4.

³³⁰McCann, "No Popery," 80-82.

³³¹Spencer, *Church*, 3, 16.

³³²Spencer, *Church*, 11, 16.

Five Letters.³³³ Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge focused on them in his sermon *The Two Religions*³³⁴ and in his letter to Peter Winser.³³⁵ All three Newfoundland Evangelicals accused the Catholic church of holding fast to non-scriptural doctrines and practices.³³⁶ The various Catholic practices that Spencer judged as being unscriptural included the canonization of the Apocrypha, the value accorded to church tradition vis-a-vis biblical authority, Ultramontaniam, transubstantiation, the denial of the chalice to the laity, excessive adoration of the Virgin Mary, reverence of icons and relics, purgatory, recognition of seven sacraments as necessary for salvation, and the proliferation of good works over, or as equal to, faith.³³⁷

Another controversial Roman Catholic practice was the tendency to turn one's back to the congregation during Mass. Because this was one of the few Roman Catholic practices which the Tractarians attempted to adopt, the Newfoundland Evangelicals became doubly defensive. Thus, in their publication *The Newfoundland Guardian and Christian Intelligencer*, they quoted Lord Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, who accused the Tractarians of belonging to a "corrupt system" that turned its back to the changes effected during the Protestant Reformation.³³⁸

³³³Lowell, *Five*, Letter One, 6-7.

³³⁴Bridge, *Religions*, 13-15.

³³⁵Bridge, *Letter to Winser*, 8-15.

³³⁶For further information on Bridge's and Lowell's opinions on these issues, see, respectively, Chapters Four and Five of this thesis.

³³⁷Spencer, *Church*, 4-5.

³³⁸*The Newfoundland Guardian and Christian Intelligencer*, January 1851, 21-22. – According to <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/IRashley.htm>, Ashley's Evangelical stance is shown in his reasons for social reform to his friend Edwin Hodder, "My religious views. . . are the views that have sustained and comforted me all through my life. . . . I have always been – and, please

Spencer and his fellow Evangelicals invoked Scripture and church councils as religious authorities by which Roman Catholic and Tractarian beliefs were to be judged and repudiated. He continued to affirm, however, the catholicity of the church by its being grounded in early Christian and patristic witness and as sustained by the church's sacraments.³³⁹

Spencer's architectural preferences rejected Roman Catholic and Tractarian building styles, as was the case with the Georgian-style church he built during his ministry at Trinity in the 1820s, with its two-storey construction, flat gable roof, west end battlemented tower, and round-arched windows.³⁴⁰ Likewise, in his proposed blueprint for the new cathedral, he chose a design which, while worthy of a cathedral, appeared to favour neither the Romanesque architecture that Roman Catholics desired nor the Gothic-revival style that appealed to Tractarians.³⁴¹ Spencer chose possibly another Georgian design for his cathedral.

3.3 Conversionism

The earliest Evangelicals in Britain and America employed sermons as the chief means of bringing potential converts to Christ. While Spencer, perhaps due to his Church of England background, appears to have been less aggressive than the missionaries of the First Great

God, always shall be, an Evangelical."

³³⁹Spencer, *Church*, 16.

³⁴⁰Shane O'Dea, "The Clergy, The Community, and Anglican Architecture in Newfoundland" (Unpublished Paper, June 1984), 5, R.N.L.A., File 1-016-00.

³⁴¹O'Dea, "Clergy," 7, R.N.L.A., File 1-016-00.

Awakening,³⁴² his many sermons nevertheless taught important truths which were not only responsive to the social environment of Newfoundland and Bermuda, but which emphasized such conversionist-related themes as the repudiation of unhealthy habits, repentance of sins, and purity of heart, all of which would encourage growth in holiness.

To properly effect this, Spencer, in cooperation with the Newfoundland School Society, made every effort to obtain clergy for the various missions in Newfoundland and Bermuda. Especially work among the African population were aimed at religious and moral conversion. During his tenure as Archdeacon of Bermuda, for example, Spencer assigned missionaries under his authority so that each of Bermuda's nine parish churches had its own clergyman as well as a school master. Spencer's *Charge to the Clergy of Bermuda* reveals the conversionist intent of this policy.³⁴³ The archdeacon reasoned that the presence of an ordained clergyman might encourage the African-descended population of Bermuda to attend church. Church attendance, in turn, would eventually lead to greater commitment and changed lives.

Spencer's commitment to a local seminary in Newfoundland points in a similar direction.³⁴⁴ The seminary was designed as an institution to train the clergy needed for mission work in a locale where its clergy "had to depend for their training upon the two ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge."³⁴⁵ It would be more convenient, the bishop felt, to have locally-trained clergy. This indicates Spencer's

³⁴²For more information, see Bebbington, 5-10.

³⁴³Spencer, "Charge," in *Subjects*, 375-376, 383-384.

³⁴⁴Millman and Kelley, 83-96.

³⁴⁵Meaden, 9.

keen awareness that sufficiently funded congregations with experienced pastors might lead to increased church attendance and conversion to Christianity.

The language of Spencer's poetry and sermons express the conversionist intent of his ministry. Spencer used the imagery of light and darkness, which to him were analogies for life and death, with Jesus representing the true light. His poem "Creation and Redemption" illustrates that Jesus's death overcame and triumphed over spiritual death to procure eternal life for all. This, for Evangelicals, represented the epitome of their soteriology:

"Let there be light!" – from Gethsemane springing
From Golgotha's darkness, from Calvary's tomb –
Joy, joy unto mortals, good angels are singing,
The Shiloh has triumph'd and death is o'ercome.³⁴⁶

The symbolism in "Steti Super Vias Antiquas" is similar to that in "Creation and Redemption." Again, Spencer employs the idea of light versus darkness to illustrate how, through Jesus's death on the cross, eternal life is awarded to those who believe:

Yet in this mist of life and mind,
Which ever dark and darker grows,
There is one living lamp enshrin'd,
Whose ray in deathless lustre grows.
That star-like light my God bestows
To break the deep sepulchral gloom;
Its beams eternity disclose,
And show the garden round the tomb.³⁴⁷

The need to convert sinners also assumes a prominent place in Spencer's sermons. In the funeral sermon for Reverend Trimingham, Spencer argues that conversion is the end product of hearty

³⁴⁶Aubrey George Spencer, "Creation and Redemption," *The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 18 March 1840, 3.

³⁴⁷Aubrey George Spencer, "Steti Super Vias Antiquas," in Cattell, 14.

repentance and true faith. Spencer advised his potential converts that they must make every effort to extricate themselves from the spiritually damaging yoke of sin, especially the more trivial sins that are often considered less harmful than more wicked sins and are therefore often overlooked or ignored. Such minor sins, Spencer argues, if not controlled by a “hardy grapple,” will grow into major ones, take control by “feast[ing] upon the soul with an appetite which never dieth,”³⁴⁸ and produce defilement. Therefore, repentance of all sins, regardless of their nature and origin, is needed. Obtaining absolution from God depends on persistence and perseverance, a pure and contrite heart, and an untroubled, sin-free conscience.³⁴⁹

The idea of repentance is also echoed in several of Spencer’s earlier sermons, including “On the Numbers that are Called to and Reject Christianity” and “On the Consolations of Religion,” where repentance represents the forerunner to pardon and salvation,³⁵⁰ and “On the Trials of Human Life,” in which repentance is the end product of a period of trials and sorrow.³⁵¹

The sermon “On Purity of Heart” emphasizes the theme of repentance in more detail. Here, a rigorous self-examination leads to repentance, which in turn leads to contrition and purity of heart.³⁵² Spencer suggests that a pure heart produces personal “blessedness” and brings one to “a nearer

³⁴⁸Spencer, *Trimingham*, 16-17.

³⁴⁹Spencer, *Trimingham*, 18.

³⁵⁰Spencer, “On the Numbers that are Called to and Reject Christianity,” in *Subjects*, 112. Also, Spencer, “Consolations,” *Subjects*, 270.

³⁵¹Spencer, “On the Trials of Human Life,” in *Subjects*, 350.

³⁵²Spencer, “On Purity of Heart,” in *Subjects*, 124, 125.

approximation [of] the Deity.”³⁵³ The theme of purity is also the focus of two other sermons. In “On Patience in Affliction,” “purity of heart and righteousness of conduct” lead to less severe afflictions.³⁵⁴ In “On Prayer, and the Purity Requisite to Render it Effectual,” Spencer argues that since God knows the intentions and motives of one’s heart, one must pray from unselfish motives, lest their prayers be rendered invalidated by God.³⁵⁵ He further argues that a pure heart “. . . shows that sincere repentance may efface the pollutions of crime, . . . [and teaches] that without this cleansing, happiness either here or hereafter is hopeless. . . .”³⁵⁶ Given that this sermon was preached in Bermuda, the crime Spencer referred to here was very likely mistreatment of the African slaves. Thirdly, Spencer makes the case that a pure heart acts as a mirror through which converts may observe God and “look forward to a more intimate knowledge as the completion of [their] joy.”³⁵⁷ Thus, a pure heart was necessary for the knowledge of God’s love. This marks one of very few references in Spencer’s writings to the doctrine of assurance. For Spencer, as for the Evangelicals in general, conversion signaled a new life and the beginning of a personal joy in knowing Jesus Christ and owning Him as one’s friend and Saviour, whether the conversion occurred in a revival, or whether, according to the tradition of the Anglican Church, it occurred through regeneration in the sacrament of baptism and completed itself with the

³⁵³Spencer, “Purity,” in *Subjects*, 119.

³⁵⁴Spencer, “On Patience in Affliction,” in *Subjects*, 133.

³⁵⁵Spencer, “On Prayer, and the Purity Requisite to Render it Effectual,” in *Subjects*, 98-99.

³⁵⁶Spencer, “Purity,” in *Subjects*, 125.

³⁵⁷Spencer, “Purity,” in *Subjects*, 119.

anointing of the Holy Spirit at confirmation and a subsequent holy life.³⁵⁸

In “On the Power of Habit,” Spencer argued that sin is a harmful habit which the adoption of good practices and repentance of old ways may cure. Spencer thus says that “. . . habit is the most influential law of human nature. . . the principle [sic] use of reason and religion lies in the formation of good habits; . . . the only method of changing corrupt habits effectually is found in the application of Christianity. . . . Howsoever gone, howsoever lost in wickedness, the sinner may be, the day of repentance in this world is never closed against [them]. . . .”³⁵⁹ Unhealthy habits, left unchecked, control even the Christian’s best intentions and inhibit one’s means of receiving God’s grace. The most unhealthy habit of all, Spencer argues, is the tendency to sin deliberately in order that “[more] grace may abound” and that “the more acceptable will be [one’s] future conversion.”³⁶⁰ For a true and everlasting conversion to occur, sinful desires and intentions must be replaced with the adoption and application of Christian values. Spencer also made this point in his funeral sermon to Trimingham by stating that minor sins must be kept in check before they take control of one’s soul and body to produce defilement,³⁶¹ although in this sermon he made no mention of the complete conversion experience, but limited his discussion to a growth in holiness.

Also, in *The Church of God*, one finds expressed the importance of turning to God in faith. Within its passages, Spencer focused on three distinct sub-themes: teaching by example through doing

³⁵⁸Spencer, *Church*, 4. – Baptism here is synonymous with “regeneration,” confirmation with “renewal” in which the conversion process is completed.

³⁵⁹Spencer, “On the Power of Habit,” in *Subjects*, 141, 146.

³⁶⁰Spencer, “Habit,” in *Subjects*, 138.

³⁶¹Spencer, *Trimingham*, 16-18.

good works for others, performing the sacraments in the Church of England, and praying that potential converts will turn to God. Regarding good works, Spencer argued that benevolent activities were as much the responsibility of those who had already accepted Christ as they were of the potential converts. It was the responsibility of the convert to encourage “the faith once delivered to the saints” through teaching by example.³⁶² In other words, conversion did not permit one to live a carefree life, but rather entailed the responsibility of living for Christ and encouraging others to do likewise.

Church of England Evangelicals, on account of their sacramental heritage, continued to regard the sacraments as indispensable vehicles of divine grace. Spencer was particularly against any who “undervalue[d] the efficacy of the sacraments which Christ hath commanded to be received.”³⁶³ Baptism remained for Spencer, as it had for Henry Ryder, the “laver of regeneration” that washes away sin.³⁶⁴ Thus, Spencer retained the undiminished value of the sacraments for the life of faith. Regeneration at the point of baptism, for the entire process of conversion to be complete, however, needed to be supplemented with the manifestation of “reformation [in performing] public, holy, and eternal obligations.”³⁶⁵ Thus, Spencer as a Church of England Evangelical made a valiant attempt at reconciling sacramental conversions, which were the heritage of the ecclesiastical fathers, and revivalistic conversions, which were the domain of the eighteenth-century Evangelicals.

Likewise, the Lord’s Supper held great efficacy for Spencer. Any omission of it would render

³⁶²Spencer, *Church*, 17.

³⁶³Spencer, *Church*, 15.

³⁶⁴Spencer, *Church*, 4. Also, G.C.B. Davies, *The First Evangelical Bishop: Some Aspects of the Life of Henry Ryder* (London: The Tyndale Press, 1957), 8-9.

³⁶⁵Spencer, “Consolations,” in *Subjects*, 270-272.

“preaching . . . foolishness.”³⁶⁶ Spencer was, however, strongly opposed to the Roman Catholic practice of transubstantiation, which held that the elements of bread and wine become “the very body and blood of Christ.”³⁶⁷ For Spencer, the symbolism of the elements was to be taken on faith rather than literally. He was also against the denial of the cup to the laity and the multiplication of the sacraments necessary for salvation,³⁶⁸ even though he believed that confirmation, as explained above, was the completion of one’s baptism.

Prayer was the third sub-theme in *The Church of God*. Spencer advocated the need for a fervent life of prayer by admonishing his followers to believe that conversion was indeed possible for all through persistent prayer and fervent belief that sin could be overcome and defeated.³⁶⁹ Thus, Spencer argued the importance that conversion was indeed possible as a consequence of prayer.

Grace was another aspect of reform. “The Lord’s arm is not shortened,” Spencer wrote, “That it cannot save, nor his ear heavy that it cannot hear; . . .”³⁷⁰ Spencer argues for the Lord’s gracious nature, and that one may “taste how gracious the Lord is” once vows are fulfilled, commandments are obeyed, and divine aid is implored.³⁷¹ In *The Church of God*, Spencer explains how the sacraments act as vehicles for the conveyance of this grace through God’s covenant with the church.³⁷² Spencer

³⁶⁶Spencer, *Church*, 15.

³⁶⁷Spencer, *Church*, 4.

³⁶⁸Spencer, *Church*, 5.

³⁶⁹Spencer, *Church*, 5.

³⁷⁰Spencer, “Consolations,” in *Subjects*, 266.

³⁷¹Spencer, “Consolations,” in *Subjects*, 265.

³⁷²Spencer, *Church*, 10, 17-18.

also argued that the need to seek God's grace should not arise as a final plea before one's impending death; thus, he had "little confidence in a death-bed repentance."³⁷³ This indicates his preference for gradual rather than sudden conversions. He argues that "the germ of a change and contrite heart. . . requires only time to eventuate in practical religion."³⁷⁴

Another key to successful conversion, Spencer maintained, besides a pure heart and the rejection of sinful habits, involves turning to God for solace and encouragement. It is necessary, he said, to seek "remission of [one's] sins by prayer, and penitence, and reformation [of evil ways]."³⁷⁵

Reform is also the focus of "On the Trials of Human Life," a sermon Spencer preached in 1819 to the Church of England congregation in St. John's, Newfoundland, after a fire had destroyed much of the city. Given its date, it appears as if the sermon might be a response to the fire, and prior to Spencer's official appointment to the Ferryland mission.³⁷⁶

Spencer states in this sermon that God employs trials and tragedies as a means of awakening complacent sinners, removing indifference from their hearts and attitudes, and making converts of them.³⁷⁷ Part of this process, Spencer states in reference to the St. John's fire, involves the repudiation of "evil habits."³⁷⁸ He also argued that "it is one of the properties of religion, to create good out of evil,

³⁷³Spencer, "Consolations," in *Subjects*, 267.

³⁷⁴Spencer, "Consolations," in *Subjects*, 267.

³⁷⁵Spencer, "Consolations," in *Subjects*, 270.

³⁷⁶Spencer, "Trials," in *Subjects*, 348.

³⁷⁷Spencer, "Trials," in *Subjects*, 349-351.

³⁷⁸Spencer, "Trials," in *Subjects*, 353. – Spencer also used the terminology "habits" in "Habit," 140 ff., and in "Purity," 126-127 to refer to acts and thoughts of sin prior to one's repentance.

to produce reformation from punishment, and to convert the trials of her strength into the triumphs of her faith.”³⁷⁹ Without God’s aid, discouragement can set in. Believing the chief causes of the conflagration to have been drunkenness and rioting, Spencer exhorted his listeners to pray for rioters, for those who refused to practice temperance, and for any who misused the Sabbath.³⁸⁰ Spencer also demonstrated in this sermon his support of both the Sabbatarian and temperance causes, activities around which Evangelicals rallied worldwide but especially in Canada.³⁸¹

The bishop urged his listeners to remain thankful to God even in times of such tragedies as fires. Gratitude in all life situations, he argued, produces a pure faith which leads to resignation to God’s will.³⁸² Resignation, in turn, guarantees the continued success of conversion. In “On the Consolations of Religion,” Spencer also maintains that sinners can find no rest in God, and that lack of religious devotion leads to the very doubt³⁸³ which is the antithesis of faith. In his funeral sermon for Trimingham, he states that “acceptance with God” equals resignation to death.³⁸⁴

Through sermons focusing on themes of repentance, Spencer gently encouraged his potential converts to turn to God without the need to resort to such scare tactics as sermons that focused on the

³⁷⁹Spencer, “Trials,” in *Subjects*, 351.

³⁸⁰Spencer, “Trials,” in *Subjects*, 352.

³⁸¹Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin, *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (Toronto, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 159-173.

³⁸²Spencer, “Trials,” in *Subjects*, 355.

³⁸³Spencer, “Consolations,” in *Subjects*, 269.

³⁸⁴Spencer, *Trimingham*, 14.

threat of the horrors of hell, which was the method adopted by the early Evangelicals,³⁸⁵ or, as Lowell maintains in his *Five Letters*, is the method used by Roman Catholics. These methods of intimidation also represented the strict psychological discipline for which Bishop Feild, the Tractarian, was notorious. While in Kidlington Parish, England, before becoming Bishop of Newfoundland, Feild employed psychological bullying to encourage church and Sunday school attendance among children and young people.³⁸⁶ Phillip McCann also indicates that Feild, after opening the Church of England Academy in St. John's in 1844, insisted on compulsory Divine Service in the church as part of the school's daily curriculum.³⁸⁷ His sermon *The Means and Method of a Christian's Life* employs a forceful language in his attempt to define appropriate reverent behaviour in the house of God. It assumes a coercing tone replete with expressions such as "I warn you," "there is an obligation. . . to attend every part of the Divine Service," and "rules and directions."³⁸⁸

3.4 Biblicism

The importance of Scripture is expressed by Spencer in several of his sermons. One can observe in Spencer some of the themes that Bebbington identified for Evangelicalism in general: reverence for Scripture, the Bible as the source of all spiritual truth, and Scripture as a tool for personal

³⁸⁵Bebbington, 5.

³⁸⁶Jones, "Making," 5, R.N.L.A., f. 1-018-01.

³⁸⁷McCann, "Politics," in *Vexed*, McKim, 40.

³⁸⁸Edward Feild, *The Means and Method of a Christian's Life, A Sermon Preached in Trinity Church, Hamilton, Bermuda, on St. Mark's Day, 1870* (London: W. Clinkskeel, 1870), 19, 25, R.N.L.A., File 1-026-15.

and private devotion. Passages in Spencer's writings that advocate Scripture occur not only in the collection *On Various Subjects* and in Trimingham's funeral sermon, but also in the later sermons that Spencer preached as bishop of Newfoundland, notably the printed sermon *The Church of God*. The pervasive presence and high estimate of biblical thought in a wide range of writings is an indicator of the value Spencer accorded to the Bible throughout his ministry.

In his funeral sermon to Rev. Trimingham, Spencer invoked "every possible consolation with which the Scriptures abound" as the source of spiritual comfort for the mourning congregation.³⁸⁹ He employed relevant biblical examples from the New Testament with which the mourners could identify: Jesus's stay with Martha and Mary during the temporary death of their brother Lazarus and his subsequent resurrection as well as the Pauline word of comfort to the Thessalonians about the inevitability of the resurrection for those who had died and who remained alive.³⁹⁰ Spencer grounded the Christian hope of the present in the biblical promise.

The importance of Scripture is also evident in Spencer's apologetics and polemics against Roman Catholicism. The *sola scriptura* notion of Protestantism became the overriding criterion by which he evaluated any ecclesiastical organization and its doctrine. In his sermon *The Church of God*, papal and conciliar decisions are rejected on account of their lack of biblical warrant. Moreover, the church itself, as defined in the 19th Article of the Book of Common Prayer, receives its legitimization

³⁸⁹Spencer, *Trimingham*, 10 – Spencer's rejection of pronounced Calvinistic notions may also be found in his preface to *On Various Subjects*, in which he "adhere[s] to the doctrines of the Church of England" and does not interpret "her articles in the high Calvinistic sense." See especially the Preface to *On Various Subjects*, viii.

³⁹⁰Respectively, the scripture references for these passages are John 11: 1-44 and I Thessalonians 4:13 ff.

from the fact that the “visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful [people], in which the pure Word of God is preached. . . .”³⁹¹

Spencer also champions faithfulness to scriptural teachings in several of his earlier sermons that were published under the title *On Various Subjects*. In “On the Death of Absalom,” Spencer argues that the Bible contains moral and didactic paradigms. He interprets the story of the death of King David’s son Absalom in II Samuel 18: 1-33 as containing a moral lesson in the dire consequences of not completely preparing their children for the uncertain world outside the home. David’s faith in Absalom’s ability to fight in battle, along with his trust in Joab, culminates in the eventual murder of Absalom. Spencer states that such preparation is a responsibility that must not be taken lightly. Without “Christian, as well as. . . moral and intellectual instruction of [the] child, . . . [parents] will be answerable [and accountable] . . . [to] God.”³⁹² Spencer’s point, then, is that King David was accountable for overestimating Absalom’s ability vis-a-vis his age, and allowing his own royal pride and position to hinder aiding in the battle himself, leaving matters in the hands of Joab.

Spencer viewed the Bible as the best source of Christian instruction. The bishop advised adults in his congregations to test their consciences, to “prove then [themselves] to the quick, and with the Bible in [their] hands descend into [their] heart, and compare well its condition with that prescribed by [their] Master.”³⁹³

In his sermon “Christianity Not Incompatible with Worldly Avocations,” the instructional value

³⁹¹Spencer, *Church*, 8.

³⁹²Spencer, “Absalom,” in *Subjects*, 278.

³⁹³Spencer, “Absalom,” in *Subjects*, 280.

of the Bible is not limited to families but extends to business ethics, where, among others, it would promote fairness and frugal use of one's time.³⁹⁴ Moreover, Spencer argued for honesty in business and an overall accountability in the presence of God. Individuals were encouraged to give God glory, and "carry a sense of religion with [them] into all [their] pursuits."³⁹⁵

In the sermon "Christianity the One Thing Needful," Spencer uses the story of Martha and Mary in Luke 10: 38-42 to emphasize the importance of the Protestant doctrine of faith over works. Martha, while indeed possessing an aptitude for housekeeping and catering, lacks Mary's great devotion to Jesus's word and its soteriological value. The authority of the Bible was not limited to the time in which the narrated actions occurred. Lessons inferred from the account of Martha and Mary were directly applicable and transferable to the nineteenth century. Thus Mary's example and type of devotion had unconditional validity. Spencer argued that "the Bible. . . is still the volume of God's will, still the herald of good tidings, still the teacher of the 'one thing needful,' needful and indispensable to the weal and welfare of an everlasting existence."³⁹⁶ Through the use of Scripture, therefore, individuals sought the divine truths and gained access to God himself.

By contrast, the biblical outlook of Spencer's Tractarian successor Feild was never that immediate and direct but largely ecclesiastically mediated. In his printed sermon *The Means and Method of a Christian's Life*, although Feild argues for a general knowledge of biblical doctrines and the need to have a pulpit in the nave for the proclamation of the Word, there is never in any of Feild's

³⁹⁴Spencer, "Avocations," in *Subjects*, 78.

³⁹⁵Spencer, "Avocations," in *Subjects*, 83.

³⁹⁶Spencer, "Christianity the One Thing Needful," in *Subjects*, 71.

writing the Protestant pathos of the private use of the Bible for moral instruction and growth in holiness.³⁹⁷ Feild associated the Bible largely with its public presence in the church, not with its private or domestic use. For Feild, the Bible functioned largely in a liturgical context in which, for example, confirmation candidates were encouraged to learn the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments,³⁹⁸ or, in a casuistic way, did what was "good and right, as taught and commanded in Holy Scripture,"³⁹⁹ and felt the need to "frequently and attentively [read] or [hear] the Holy Scriptures [as laid out in the writings of John]."⁴⁰⁰

3.5 Crucicentrism

According to Bebbington, one of the distinctives of Evangelical theology is the doctrine of substitutionary atonement, or the idea that Christ died as a substitute for the sins of humanity.⁴⁰¹ Passages from Spencer's sermon preached at the funeral of Rev. Joseph Trimingham, a native of Bermuda and Rector of Aylesford, Nova Scotia, who was lost at sea enroute home,⁴⁰² show the importance of eternal salvation through the cross of Christ. Spencer comforted Trimingham's congregation with the thought that their beloved pastor would live with God eternally on account of

³⁹⁷Feild, *Means*, 9-12, R.N.L.A. File 1-026-15.

³⁹⁸Edward Feild, *A Short Catechism on Confirmation, or Laying on of Hands* (Charing Cross, England: S.P.C.K., Harrison and Sons, no date), 1, R.N.L.A., File 1-023-00.

³⁹⁹Feild, *Catechism*, 2, R.N.L.A., File 1-023-00.

⁴⁰⁰Feild, *Catechism*, 3, R.N.L.A., File 1-023-00.

⁴⁰¹Bebbington, 15-16.

⁴⁰²Spencer, *Trimingham*, Title page.

Jesus' atoning death.⁴⁰³

Although *The Church of God* is better known as an appeal for cathedral funding, it nevertheless contains passages that reveal Spencer's Evangelical theology of the cross with three themes: the doctrine of atonement, human access to God on account of the cross, and sanctification through Christ's blood. For Spencer, Christ's atonement alone was sufficient for the salvation of those who believed in Christ's death and accepted Him as their Lord and Saviour.⁴⁰⁴ However, in this sermon, Spencer also states that such access is available only through the instrumentality of the church. He writes, "... there is no other access to God than through the Son. I find no means of acquiring... the Son but through the Church which He has espoused and ordained."⁴⁰⁵

Jesus' death had the purpose of redeeming and atoning the sins of humankind. It is in the church that his redemptive death finds its object of sanctification and purification and eventually also its eschatological glorification. Spencer quotes Ephesians 5: 26-27 in support of his argument: "He loved it and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it, with the washing of water by the word, and present it to himself, when He should revisit the earth, as a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, but holy and without blemish."⁴⁰⁶

Spencer's earliest sermons, particularly those he wrote and preached during his ministry in

⁴⁰³Spencer, *Trimingham*, 15-16 – "... only one has returned to tell us of the great... wonders [of Heaven]. – To whom then but to [Jesus] shall we go, ... 'This is life eternal'... The terms of receiving that glorious gift of God... are the suffering and atonement of His Blessed Son... Paid are the wages of sin..."

⁴⁰⁴Spencer, *Church*, 12.

⁴⁰⁵Spencer, *Church*, 12-13.

⁴⁰⁶Spencer, *Church*, 13.

Bermuda and which are contained in the printed volume *On Various Subjects*, identify his redemptive focus. "The Progress of Christianity" and "On the Resurrection of the Dead" show the cross of Christ as an essential prerequisite for eternal salvation while in the sermon "The Brevity and Responsibility of Human Life" he refers to general redemption. In "The Progress of Christianity," Spencer demonstrates how the final acts of Jesus' earthly presence, his resurrection and his ascension, endowed Christians with their strength of witness, for they were "shaken by his crucifixion. . . nor was it till after they had witnessed his glorious resurrection and ascension. . . that they fully comprehended the mysterious tenets of the faith which they were to teach. . . ." ⁴⁰⁷

In "On the Resurrection of the Dead," Spencer shows that Christ's overcoming of death on the cross becomes also the ground of the resurrection for the Christian believer. Spencer argued that "the resurrection of the dead [is] prefatory to that of the life everlasting." ⁴⁰⁸ God, the resurrection and the life, will raise up those who have died, ⁴⁰⁹ for death, at least in the spiritual sense, is but temporary.

A person, Spencer stated, must accept Christ as one's Saviour and repent and believe the Gospel in order to enjoy the reward of eternal life. In this way, the doctrine of Christ's death on the cross is linked to the Evangelical summons to repentance and conversion. Otherwise, Spencer argued, the "fearful volume" of evil will condemn to judgement those who reject Christ and refuse to believe. ⁴¹⁰ Conversely, penitents will be "reunited to souls cleansed by His blood, and saved by His

⁴⁰⁷Spencer, "The Progress of Christianity," in *Subjects*, 3.

⁴⁰⁸Spencer, "On the Resurrection of the Dead," in *Subjects*, 232.

⁴⁰⁹Spencer, "Resurrection," in *Subjects*, 233-236.

⁴¹⁰Spencer, "Resurrection," in *Subjects*, 237.

intercession.”⁴¹¹

In “The Brevity and Responsibility of Human Life,” Spencer takes up the same theme by viewing the atonement accomplished through Christ’s death on the cross also in a classical way as the act of reconciliation with a previously “offended God.”⁴¹² Christ’s death has consequences for life in the present in that it enables a humanity cleansed from sin to continue “in well-doing” under God’s care.⁴¹³

Another element of crucicentrism involves whether Christ died for a chosen few only, as in Calvinistic particular redemption, or whether he died for all as most Evangelicals, and particularly the early Methodists, believed. According to Bebbington, Evangelicals eventually discovered the middle ground between the two by advocating the idea of free will and human responsibility.⁴¹⁴ Spencer, whose arguments mirror those discussed by Bebbington, insists that while Christ died for all sinners, it is nevertheless the responsibility of individuals to decide of their own free will whether or not they accept Christ as their Saviour. While “many shall be refused,” Spencer argues, “all have it in their power to be elected.”⁴¹⁵

3.6 Conclusion

According to Bebbington, Evangelicals worked tirelessly to conform their actions and thoughts to religious ideals derived from Scripture, notably examples based on Jesus’ benevolent deeds in the

⁴¹¹Spencer, “Resurrection,” in *Subjects*, 240.

⁴¹²Spencer, “The Brevity and Responsibility of Human Life,” in *Subjects*, 244.

⁴¹³Spencer, “Brevity,” in *Subjects*, 245.

⁴¹⁴Bebbington, 16-17.

⁴¹⁵Spencer, “Numbers,” in *Subjects*, 110-111.

Gospels. Aubrey George Spencer conformed to this ethos and commitment. During his early ministry in Newfoundland, one of his major accomplishments was the establishment of a day school at Trinity Mission, so that the children and illiterate adults there might learn to read and write by direct exposure to Holy Scripture. As Archdeacon of Bermuda, Spencer also responded to the obvious need to establish schools not only for the benefit of whites but also for the African-descended ethnic population. He also constructed several churches in various parishes, repaired existing ones that had fallen into disrepair, and, in the latter years of his archdiaconate, undertook an administrative subdivision of Bermuda into deaneries. When Spencer became bishop of Newfoundland in 1839, he served as vice-president of the Evangelical Newfoundland School Society. He also maintained an active correspondence with the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., aimed at securing not only extra clergy but also the necessary funding for the success of his ecclesiastical and educational activities. As bishop he constructed a new church in St. John's as a replacement for the dilapidated old one, so that the new diocese would be fitted with an appropriate cathedral that reflected its new status. Most significantly, however, Spencer strove to solve Newfoundland's chronic clergy shortage through the establishment of a seminary in which local candidates could be trained for ministry.

Evangelical activism consisted not only of establishing the necessary ecclesiastical infrastructure but also had an apologetic dimension. As such, it involved speaking out against religious groups whose views conflicted with or posed a threat to the Evangelical ministry. In Newfoundland the most obvious religious competitors were Tractarians and Roman Catholics. In his sermon *The Church of God* and other writings, Spencer opposed those practices and doctrines which he deemed as being unscriptural.

Church architecture was another area in which Spencer deviated from a shared cultural heritage

with Roman Catholicism and the Oxford Movement. The new churches he constructed were Georgian in style, thus reflecting neither the Romanesque taste of Roman Catholics nor the Gothic preference of Tractarians.

Spencer's shared Evangelical activism extended to his participation in missionary societies. While ministering in Newfoundland, he was active in the Newfoundland School Society and, upon transfer to Jamaica, established the Jamaican Diocesan Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with the purpose to improve through better finances conditions in that country.

The importance of Scripture in Evangelical religion as an instrument for personal and private devotion surfaces especially in two sermons. In his sermons "On the Death of Absalom" and "Christianity Not Incompatible with Worldly Avocations," the Bible is offered as a practical teaching tool for parents and business owners. Biblical criteria are notably employed in contrasting and differentiating evangelical theology and practice against Catholics and Tractarians, as exemplified in Spencer's popular sermon *The Church of God*, in which Roman Catholic doctrine and practice is invalidated by its lack of scriptural warrant.

A large part of effecting conversions involved not only extensive travel but also preaching a great number of sermons. Spencer travelled widely throughout the diocese during his episcopate. He visited the Bermuda portion of the diocese at least once annually between 1839 and 1844 and travelled extensively around the Newfoundland portion of the diocese. In addition, his involvement with the Newfoundland School Society required him to conduct frequent school inspections in his vast diocese. Examples of his conversion-oriented sermons include "On Purity of Heart," "On the Power of Habit," both of which were preached in Bermuda, and *The Church of God*, which was preached to the St.

John's, Newfoundland, congregation.

Conversion and repentance was embedded for Spencer in the notion of divine grace,⁴¹⁶ which he saw freely dispensed among those who sought it, notably in the sacraments. He discusses repentance in several of his printed sermons, especially in "On the Power of Habit," where repentance is said to mark the transition from sinfulness to purity of heart within the conversion process.⁴¹⁷ The doctrine of assurance is mentioned by Spencer only in the sermon "On Purity of Heart," by name. Otherwise, he prefers the language of "knowledge" to that of "assurance." With other Evangelicals Spencer argued for the importance of faith in "On the Consolations of Religion,"⁴¹⁸ but not without expressing itself in good works, as discussed in the sermon *The Church of God*. While Spencer, like the earlier Evangelicals, was eager to bring sinners to God, his preaching was generally restrained and avoided hellfire and brimstone imagery.

Since conversion resulted in radically changed attitudes and lifestyles, it had social consequences. There was at times a close relationship of lifestyle and social ills, such as alcoholism as a cause of the fire of 1819, which in turn was seen as an opportunity to change attitudes and habits and thus create good from evil. In this way, "On the Trials of Human Life," which spoke about the 1819 fire, contributed toward curtailing societal ills.

The final of the four characteristics identified by Bebbington as constituting a grid for Evangelical theology and practice is crucicentrism. Evangelical belief stressed both the importance of

⁴¹⁶Bebbington, 7.

⁴¹⁷Bebbington, 5.

⁴¹⁸Bebbington, 6.

the doctrine of atonement as well as the voluntary acceptance of Christ's redemptive death and grace, a point strongly made in Spencer's funeral sermon for Rev. Trimingham, where the grace of the redeemed individual is grounded in "the sufferings and atonement of His Blessed Son."⁴¹⁹ The views on the all-sufficiency of Christ's atonement made available in the church can also be found in Spencer's sermon *The Church of God*.⁴²⁰

Employing Bebbington's characteristics of Evangelical religion, Aubrey George Spencer does indeed qualify, although some themes are less explicit, such as the doctrine of assurance, while other Evangelical ideals, such as "purity of heart" and a growth in holiness predominate. Overall, Spencer's sermons assume a milder and more restrained tone with their focus on holiness and repentance rather than the threats of everlasting damnation for the non-repentant sinner. However, Spencer's thoughts on the saving power of Christ's death on the cross, and especially the value he attaches to the authority of Scripture, along with his anti-Catholicism and his religiously motivated activism, leave no doubt about the Evangelical character of his thought and ministry.

⁴¹⁹Spencer, *Trimingham*, 15-16.

⁴²⁰Spencer, *Church*, 12-13.

Chapter Four

Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge

Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge was the second of the three prominent nineteenth-century Evangelicals ministering in the Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda. Unlike Spencer and Lowell, Bridge, although initially a committed Evangelical, quickly adopted Tractarian ideals during his service under Bishop Edward Feild. As with Spencer, the extent of Bridge's Evangelicalism can be determined through an examination of his activities, sermons, and other writings.

4.1 Biography

Thomas F.H. Bridge served as both curate and rector of the Church of England congregation of St. John's between 1832 and 1856. He was born 20 December 1807 in Harwich, England, and received his education at both Charterhouse and Christ Church College, Oxford, citing as his reasons for pursuing Holy Orders that an eye condition disqualified him for the navy, and that he never felt, as was his father's ambition for him, the call to practise law.⁴²¹

At the time of Bridge's education, Christ Church College, under the leadership of Daniel Wilson, an Evangelical contemporary of Isaac Crouch of St. Edmund Hall,⁴²² became a breeding ground for Evangelical learning.⁴²³ Also central to Bridge's Evangelical ethos which developed during

⁴²¹Cyprian Bridge, *Some Recollections* (London: John Murray, 1918), 13-17. – Sir Cyprian Bridge was one of T.F.H. Bridge's sons.

⁴²²For more information, see the biographical section of Chapter Three, which discusses Aubrey George Spencer's education at Magdalen College.

⁴²³Reynolds, 72-73.

his Oxford career, was his association with Francis William Newman and John Henry Newman.⁴²⁴ That the latter was Evangelical in orientation in the 1820s is obvious not only from his curacy in Over Worton Parish, which had become Evangelical under Wilson, but also from his involvement in the Church Missionary Society and Bible Society in the late 1820s.⁴²⁵

After leaving Oxford, Bridge served as a curate in Norfolk for one year⁴²⁶ before being sent to Newfoundland as a chaplain to Governor Thomas Cochrane and tutor to his learning-challenged son.⁴²⁷ While still in Newfoundland, Bridge acted as examining chaplain at Spencer's consecration in 1839.⁴²⁸ On 21 June 1840, following the death of Reverend Frederick H. Carrington, who had been parish rector during Bridge's curacy, Bishop Spencer inducted Bridge as Rector of what would eventually become the St. John's Cathedral Parish.⁴²⁹ During his stay in Newfoundland, Bridge, among others, also assisted cholera victims during an epidemic, became involved in missionary societies, and opened a new chapel-of-ease at Quidi Vidi.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁴Bridge, *Letter to Winsor*, 16-17. – The letter itself does not provide the first names of the Newman Brothers; it is Reynolds, 202, who indicates their given names as Francis William and John Henry.

⁴²⁵Brian Carter, *Newman at Deddington* (Deddington, U.K.: Brian Carter Publishing, 2000), 1-5. – J.H. Newman eventually turned to Tractarianism.

⁴²⁶Cyprian Bridge, 17. Also, Frederick Jones, "Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 8 (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 103.

⁴²⁷Cyprian Bridge, 18. Also, *The Public Ledger*, 4 March 1856, 2.

⁴²⁸Bridge, *Religions*, Introduction. – Examining chaplains are ministers who examine ordinands during ordinations on questions of faith and conscience.

⁴²⁹*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 26 June 1840, 2.

⁴³⁰*The Public Ledger*, 4 March 1856, 2.

T.F.H. Bridge died in 1856 and was remembered by *The Royal Gazette* as an indefatigable worker, who laboured in Newfoundland “with an energy seldom equaled.”⁴³¹ His son, Sir Cyprian Bridge, notes in his memoirs that his father’s devoted love towards Newfoundland’s people was a factor in his refusal to accept other missions and parishes. Sir Cyprian presented a moving testimonial to his father’s labours, who “worked hard in his parish [and that] no slave could have worked harder.”⁴³² The evidence presented in this chapter supports these assessments.

4.2 Activism

Throughout his ministry in Newfoundland, Bridge was involved in several educational and ecclesiastical societies and charitable organizations. For him, stewardship and missionary labour represented both God’s gracious offer and a serious responsibility for earthly ministers. Divine omnipotence did not render superfluous human activity, but rather delegated much of God’s work to earthly ministers. Such stewardship was to be “treasured” and used wisely.⁴³³

While in Newfoundland, Bridge immersed himself in the benevolent work of several missionary societies. Two of these were geared towards education, the Newfoundland School Society and the Church of England Branch of the St. John’s Academy. In addition, Bridge was also involved with the Newfoundland Church Society, the Agricultural Society, and the Temperance Society. The available

⁴³¹*The Royal Gazette*, 4 March 1856, 3.

⁴³²Cyprian Bridge, 18-19.

⁴³³Thomas F.H. Bridge, *Three Sermons on II Corinthians iv. 7., Funeral sermons preached to the Memory of Reverend Carrington* (St. John’s: Henry Winton, General Publishing Office, 1839), 8-10.

sources document that much of Bridge's involvement in societies occurred during Feild's episcopate. Bridge's work with the Newfoundland School Society, however, began during Spencer's episcopate.⁴³⁴

4.2.1 Involvement in Missionary Societies

One of the fundamental goals of the Newfoundland Church Society was to provide financial support for diocesan missions and clergy at a time when the S.P.G., due to insufficient funding, was forced to curtail its donations. Bridge praised the Newfoundland Church Society's egalitarian character, "a common ground on which rich and poor may meet and unite in promoting the glory of the great God. . . ."⁴³⁵ Missions that had been established in the 1700s and benefitted significantly from S.P.G. support in the past, began to suffer from want of funding. This lack of funds seems to have been caused by excessive dependence on the S.P.G., while parishioners of these missions were unaware of the work of the newly-established Newfoundland Church Society.⁴³⁶ To alleviate such an anomaly, Bridge recommended during a Society meeting that outpost missionaries not only make known to their congregations the work of the Newfoundland Church Society, but also aid its efforts through such

⁴³⁴For dates of these activities, consult the footnotes from Section 4.2 Activism to 4.4 Biblicism inclusive.

⁴³⁵C.N.S., Microfilm 604, Newfoundland Church Society Report, 22 September 1847 (St. John's: J.C. Withers, Queen's Printer, 1847), 13.

⁴³⁶C.N.S., Microfilm 604, Newfoundland Church Society Report, 22 September 1847 (St. John's: J.C. Withers, Queen's Printer, 1847), 9-12.

fundraising activities as door-to-door collections.⁴³⁷

Because of the encouragement and planning of Bridge and his fellow members of the Newfoundland Church Society, the Society accomplished benevolent work in the colony. Bridge's involvement culminated in not only the reorganization of existing missions into new deaneries but also in the establishment of a female boarding school in St. John's.⁴³⁸

By 1849, however, there still existed a few remote regions of the diocese without clergy, where inhabitants rarely had the opportunity to attend church or make contact with a member of the clergy.⁴³⁹ The regions in question included the northwest coast of the island and Labrador, places which were absent from Spencer's itinerary during his episcopate.

In 1852, the Newfoundland Church Society raised a substantial amount so that impoverished missions and communities with no churches or missionaries at all could erect new church buildings and parsonages in order to accommodate the increasing number of graduates of the theological college, who were destined to fill these missions. By 1853, many formerly destitute communities had thus received a clergyman.⁴⁴⁰ Increased funding through collections also helped the Society to open an

⁴³⁷C.N.S., Microfilm 604, Newfoundland Church Society Report, November 1848 (St. John's: J.W. McCoubrey, 1848), 10. – Exact Date of the Month Not Given.

⁴³⁸C.N.S., Microfilm 604, Newfoundland Church Society Report, November 1848 (St. John's: J.W. McCoubrey, 1848), 12, 16. – Exact Date of the Month Not Given.

⁴³⁹Bridge wrote: "Settlement after settlement. . . year after year left without her means of Grace -- people passing from the cradle to the grave, with scarcely a single opportunity of learning the things which concern their everlasting peace, -- . . ." -- C.N.S., Microfilm 604, Newfoundland Church Society Report, 1 November 1849 (St. John's: J.C. Withers, 1849), 12.

⁴⁴⁰C.N.S., Microfilm 604, Newfoundland Church Society Report, 3 July 1855 (St. John's: J.W. McCoubrey, 1855), 16-17.

asylum for widowed mothers and their impoverished children at St. John's.⁴⁴¹

Bridge also became involved with the Newfoundland School Society, serving in the position of superintendent for part of his tenure.⁴⁴² He built upon the benevolent work of Samuel Codner and hoped for continued success with sufficient funding. Bridge viewed the educational work of the Society as following scriptural directives and of employing "eminently useful coadjutors in gathering souls into the fold of the Good Shepherd. . . ."⁴⁴³

During Bridge's earliest years with the Society, he taught Sunday school, both in St. John's⁴⁴⁴ and at Portugal Cove. In the latter community, he also performed divine services during the absence of the regular missionary. In Portugal Cove he assisted the school master of a nearly-neglected school, who was often absent due to illness.⁴⁴⁵ In 1841, Bridge took time from his regular ministry and visited or inspected some of the Society's schools in the colony.⁴⁴⁶

The 1840s marked a new milestone for Bridge's involvement with the Newfoundland School Society. Having recognized the Society's progress by the 1840s and wishing for its continued success, Bridge appealed to England for continued financial aid. "Will England," the clergyman wrote in 1847,

⁴⁴¹C.N.S., Microfilm 604, Newfoundland Church Society Report, 3 July 1855 (St. John's: J.W. McCoubrey, 1855), 14-16, 17-19.

⁴⁴²*The Public Ledger*, 4 March 1856, 2.

⁴⁴³*The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 23 December 1840, 2.

⁴⁴⁴C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 14th and 16th Annual Reports of the Newfoundland School Society, 1837 and 1839; 1837 Report, 143; 1839 Report, 267.

⁴⁴⁵C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 17th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1840, 327.

⁴⁴⁶C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 19th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1842, 435-441.

“desolated by no consuming fire. . . . with temporal riches beyond the other nations of this earth. . . hear the cry of Newfoundland unmoved. . . which has done and is still doing so much, if not for [England’s] greatness, yet for her wealth?”⁴⁴⁷ The nationalistic tone underscores Bridge’s recognition that Newfoundland was a British colony with Anglicanism as its “official religion.”⁴⁴⁸ Bridge was promoted to the position of Superintendent of the Newfoundland School Society in 1842 following the death of former Superintendent of the Colonies, Thomas Saxby. This promotion was due to the recognition by others of Bridge’s efforts at the St. John’s Sunday school and at Portugal Cove, and for his repeated appeals to England for continued financial aid.⁴⁴⁹

A year later, when the Society boasted 44 schools, Bridge again visited the various missions but observed to his regret that thirty communities were still without a school master.⁴⁵⁰ Given that the early 1840s marked the Society’s most productive years, a plausible explanation may be that, in some missions, one person assumed dual responsibility of priest and school master. Peddle White suggests that the problem originated with tensions between the Newfoundland School Society and the Church of England establishment because the former had taken to hiring non-Anglican teachers in the outports in

⁴⁴⁷C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-324, 24th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1847, 10. – Bridge’s reference to “no consuming fire” in his 1847 letter appears to be in regard to the 1846 fire in St. John’s, which destroyed the new Anglican Cathedral. For more information, see C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 14, Volume 45, Minutes of 17 July 1846 Meeting, 274.

⁴⁴⁸McCann, “No Popery,” 81.

⁴⁴⁹C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 19th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1842, 367, 434-441.

⁴⁵⁰C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 20th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1843, 496-497.

order to ensure a sufficient supply of school masters. This move aroused the ire of Archdeacon George Coster.⁴⁵¹ Bridge foresaw the Society's collapse, should it receive insufficient financial aid, and donated 21 pounds to the Society from a grant of books.⁴⁵²

As the Society's superintendent, Bridge continued to depend on local government aid, which he sought and received from Colonial Governor Thomas Cochrane. By 1844 funding had developed into a more serious problem and Bridge, in a letter to Cochrane, expressed grave concern that some of the Society's schools would be forced to close. The colonial government responded with a 10 pound donation, followed by additional support in 1845.⁴⁵³ That same year, Bridge accompanied Bishop Feild on his ecclesiastical voyage so that he could determine which communities needed new schools or repairs, and which ones required a school master.⁴⁵⁴ Correspondence for 1846 likewise indicates Bridge's request for 318 pounds for repairs to the orphan asylum. That Bridge's pleas for aid eventually reached England is indicated in a reference to a 750 pound donation and expenditure.⁴⁵⁵ This donation must have at least partially satisfied the Newfoundland School Society's operating requirements, as the Society did not actually fully cease operations until a decade later. It is unlikely that the money funded any new schools, given that the number of schools reached its apex in 1840. The budget in the annual report for that year indicates that funding was set aside for, among other amenities,

⁴⁵¹Peddle White, 217-220.

⁴⁵²*The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 20 December 1843, 2.

⁴⁵³C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 21st Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1844, 563. See also *The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 8 April 1845, 2-3.

⁴⁵⁴S.P.G. Annual Report, 1845, xlix, R.N.L.A., File 1-033-00.

⁴⁵⁵*The Newfoundland Indicator*, 12 April 1845, 2-3.

tuition, fuel, rent of lodgings, and a teachers' allowance. There is no reference, however, to new school buildings.⁴⁵⁶

Indeed, the Society would require more substantial amounts of donations from England or elsewhere in order to sustain itself permanently. Bridge continued his appeals amidst a general sense of gloom in view of the limited local resources.⁴⁵⁷

It was during this time period that members of the Newfoundland School Society were forced to ask poor families to pay school dues for their children. That the Society had to resort to this drastic measure shows that the S.P.G. was no longer in a financial position to aid the Society as generously as it had in the past. It also lends credence to Bridge's expectation that the colony and Society must be self-sufficient.

When Bishop Feild arrived in Newfoundland in 1844, his Tractarian consciousness of a self-sufficient church also envisioned a separate Anglican school system. For this reason, as well as for financial ones, the Colonial Government eventually divided both the St. John's Academy of the Newfoundland School Society and the school boards outside St. John's along denominational lines. Under this system, each religious denomination would receive an equitable share of the allotted educational grant, divided proportionately according to the percentage of the population represented by

⁴⁵⁶C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 21st Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1844, 586-588.

⁴⁵⁷Bridge wrote: "... the local prospects of the Society are involved in the prevailing gloom. Not only can we not expect to obtain our usual subscriptions. . . we must look again for the sympathy and charity of England, and it is our earnest prayer that we shall not look in vain. . . ." -- C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, Newfoundland School Society Documents, Occasional Paper of July 1846, 716.

each denomination.⁴⁵⁸ Although the original intention under the 1836 Education Act was geared towards non-denominational education,⁴⁵⁹ since there seemed to be no agreement between Roman Catholics and Protestants, nor among the several Protestant boards, Richard Barnes proposed dividing the grant in 1843.⁴⁶⁰ Frederick Rowe asserts that even though individual school boards had the authority to decide which books could be used as texts, a clause existed which nevertheless prohibited the use of any literature that might encourage the particular doctrines, tenets, and beliefs of an individual denomination.⁴⁶¹ In the eyes of the Roman Catholic board members, the King James Version of the Bible was considered such a text.⁴⁶² Bridge, ever mindful of the importance of Scripture, as well as funding, to the success of any educational experience, spoke out against the Roman Catholics on the issue of Scripture in the schools while he was a member of the Newfoundland School Society.⁴⁶³

Bridge did not limit his educational involvement solely to the Newfoundland School Society. By 1850, following the division of the educational grant along denominational lines, he had taken a position on the Church of England Branch of the St. John's Academy. Because Anglicans comprised a plurality of the Protestant population, and probably also because of Feild's influence, Bridge fought for more than a mere Anglican share of the overall Protestant education grant. At an 1850 meeting of the Branch,

⁴⁵⁸*The Morning Post and Shipping Gazette*, 5 February 1850, 3. Also, McCann, "Politics," in *Vexed*, McKim, 34.

⁴⁵⁹McCann, "No Popery," 80.

⁴⁶⁰McCann, "Politics," in *Vexed*, McKim, 32-36.

⁴⁶¹Rowe, 80-81.

⁴⁶²McCann, "No Popery," 82.

⁴⁶³Bridge, "Duty," 448-449.

Bridge and James Clift moved that “a proportionate part of any grant for the support of education, according to population, be awarded for the maintenance of schools to be placed under the direction of the bishop, clergy, and other members of the Church of England only.”⁴⁶⁴ Bridge’s goal was for Anglicans to exercise complete autonomy over the distribution of educational funds.

Bridge, never losing sight of the state of education in the colony, worked hard to provide an optimum quality education for the Anglicans. This even extended to specifics of equipment and curriculum. One letter indicates his request for globes, mechanical power sets, diagrams, models of common machinery, and other scientific apparatuses, evidence that school curricula, at least in St. John’s, had been extended beyond the basics of reading, writing, religious instruction, practical skills, and arithmetic to also encompass such courses as science and geography. The blunt tone of the letter now also reveals Bridge’s changed religious views. Phrases such as “The Directors also recommend. . . .” and “The Directors, in conclusion, beg to represent the inconvenience and disadvantage of their not having some small sum at their disposal to meet contingent expenses”⁴⁶⁵ contrast with earlier references to the blessing of God Almighty, a religious theme that had pervaded Bridge’s previous correspondence.

By early 1853, however, members of the Church of England still did not have their own school system. Hence, Bridge requested further funding, “beg[ging] to renew their expression of regret that from the continued want of premises belonging to the Academy, . . . there are no funds at their disposal

⁴⁶⁴*The Morning Post and Shipping Gazette*, 5 February 1850, 3.

⁴⁶⁵*The Courier*, 14 April 1853, 2.

out of which they can defray the commonest contingencies.”⁴⁶⁶ Meanwhile, fellow committee members recognized the efforts of Bridge and Feild to obtain a school. Because of his educational commitments, Bridge received a promotion to the position of Chairman of the Board of Directors.⁴⁶⁷ In this position, he could hope to obtain his goals by exercising greater power.

Bridge’s involvement in societies was not limited to educational and ecclesiastical matters. He had arrived in Newfoundland in 1832 among a populace who could ill afford life’s basic necessities. Chief among the ills of Newfoundland society were the problems inherent in the mercantile system, a system in which credit and barter, coupled with dependence of the largely illiterate population upon voracious merchants, led to extreme poverty for many families, who then turned their hands to agriculture in order to attain self-sufficiency. The government of the day spurned such ventures because they saw them as a threat to their power, seeking instead to maintain the status quo.⁴⁶⁸

A local Agricultural Society was founded by Governor Sir John Harvey in 1842 to promote year-round settlement of the colony for fishers. Bridge, recognizing that physical comfort and food were as important as spiritual and moral comforts, became a non-executive member of the Agricultural Society Committee in 1848⁴⁶⁹ and remained with the society until 1850.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁶*The Courier*, 13 April 1853, 2.

⁴⁶⁷*The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 24 December 1853, 2.

⁴⁶⁸Hilda Chaulk Murray, *Cows Don’t Know It’s Sunday: Agricultural Life in St. John’s* (St. John’s: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2002), 35-36.

⁴⁶⁹*The Courier*, 15 January 1848, 3.

⁴⁷⁰*The Morning Post and Shipping Gazette*, 12 April 1850, 3. Also, *The Courier*, 15 January 1848, 3.

In addition to education and farming, temperance also held an important place among Bridge's priorities. Indeed, temperance was also a major issue for Evangelicals worldwide. In Great Britain in the 1840s, sobriety was equated with both personal discipline and with "upward social mobility." Hurdfield, in fact, was noted for its Temperance Society and Teetotal Club.⁴⁷¹ The same was true in Canada where Evangelicals recognized that since drinking was a major cause of violence, crime, and poverty, a move was made to promote teetotalism.⁴⁷² Bridge's interest in temperance issues began during his involvement with the Newfoundland School Society, a Society that supported temperance causes. Bridge was the first Anglican clergyman in St. John's, possibly in all of Newfoundland, who took the time to teach the values of temperance at the St. John's Parish Church.⁴⁷³

That temperance was held in high esteem among Newfoundland's Evangelical population as a whole may be seen from the example of the Congregationalists. No less than three Newfoundland Congregational ministers, notably George Schofield, James Howell, and David Beaton, encouraged temperance. As well, the old Congregational meeting house was renamed Temperance Hall following the opening of the new meeting house on Queen's Road.⁴⁷⁴

In 1843, Bridge was promoted to chairperson of the Temperance Society. In his view, temperance was to be taught to children early in life if it were to remain an important value throughout

⁴⁷¹Bebbington, 127, 134-135.

⁴⁷²Murphy and Perin, 157-159.

⁴⁷³Prowse, 589.

⁴⁷⁴Bicentennial History Committee of St. David's Presbyterian Church, St. John's, Newfoundland, *The Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, 1775-1975: A History of St. David's Presbyterian Church, St. John's, Newfoundland* (St. John's: Creative Printers, 1975), 81-91.

adulthood and “save the rising generation from intemperance.”⁴⁷⁵ Bridge wanted heads of households to set a good example by teaching temperance values to their children.⁴⁷⁶ To underscore this parental need, a story in an 1851 issue of *The Banner of Temperance* shows how two children of well-to-do parents became alcoholics at a young age because the father had set a poor example by keeping spirits in the home for entertainment purposes. Bridge followed the British example of administering abstinence pledges to young people.⁴⁷⁷ About a week after Bridge presented his report on British pledges, thirteen boys, through Bridge’s encouragement and teaching, took the Total Abstinence Pledge.⁴⁷⁸

Minutes of the Temperance Society’s first meeting in 1844 indicate Bridge’s preparedness to promote the temperance cause. Also evident is Bridge’s disdain for Catholics, whose views on alcohol consumption differed from those of Evangelical Anglicans. Bridge therefore advocated, and helped to organize, a public temperance demonstration march through the streets of St. John’s, the purpose of which was not only to determine “whether it was in [the Church of England’s power]. . . to convey an intimation that they would be prepared to accept such an overture [of an offer of a drink by their Catholic neighbours]. . . .”⁴⁷⁹ but also to impress upon intemperate parties the seriousness behind the need to promote abstinence. Unlike Evangelicals, Roman Catholics considered social drinking harmless. Bridge, however, fearing that the Church of England Evangelicals would adopt a similarly

⁴⁷⁵*The Banner of Temperance*, 18 January 1851, 1.

⁴⁷⁶*The Banner of Temperance*, 15 February 1851, 29-31.

⁴⁷⁷Thomas F.H. Bridge, “Report of the Temperance Festival,” *The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 22 February 1843, 3.

⁴⁷⁸*The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 1 March 1843, 2.

⁴⁷⁹*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 5 January 1844, 3.

relaxed attitude towards alcohol consumption, did all in his power to promote prohibition and temperance.

4.2.2 Poor Relief, Ecclesiastical, and Benevolent Activities

In addition to his involvement in organized groups and societies, Bridge performed several other activities that regularly demanded his attention. While some of these philanthropic activities were performed in response to devastations caused by virulent diseases, economic hardships, and disasters, others were related to Bridge's basic ecclesiastical duties.

Bridge's involvement with the Newfoundland School Society had vastly increased his awareness of Newfoundland's economic destitution during the 1830s. According to historian Gertrude E. Gunn, the machinations of politics as well as the barter and credit system left fisherman destitute to the merchants who, more than simply advancers of credit, were better qualified than a poorly educated fisherman to seek a position in government. Thus, the lowest socioeconomic classes had little opportunity of gaining social mobility and access to the corridors of power. Gunn notes that "In bad years there might be no balance and [the fisherman] might not cover his debt. The merchant might or might not, tide him over the winter and refit him on credit for the next season, but successive bad fisheries burdened the fisherman with debt and made the merchant adamant about further advances. Then the fisherman, with no savings, and no alternative employment, and no source of food save a small and sometimes failing "potato patch," turned to the government for relief."⁴⁸⁰

A greater proportion of the poor populace of St. John's were members of Bridge's own

⁴⁸⁰Gertrude E. Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland: 1832-1864* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 4.

congregation. Small offerings by the St. John's Anglican congregation of which Bridge was Rector represented but one indicator of the pressing need for poor relief. Bridge therefore devoted a number of charity sermons to raising money for those in need.⁴⁸¹ He preached two such sermons to the St. John's congregation in February of 1840. Sales from these sermons were intended to fund poor relief in Newfoundland.⁴⁸² Bridge also distributed among the poor a donation of clothing that had been collected in England and from the well-to-do residents of St. John's.⁴⁸³

One of the poor families with which Bridge worked closely during his involvement with poor relief efforts was the Brennan family. When Thomas Brennan, member of the Royal Veterans Companies, died on 18 September 1839 while battling the fire that destroyed the mercantile premises of Messrs. Dunscomb and Company,⁴⁸⁴ he left behind a wife and several children. Bridge responded by collecting a sum of money for them.⁴⁸⁵ Bridge's benevolence towards the Brennans demonstrates his concern for widows and fatherless children, which may also have been the impetus behind the eventual establishment of the widow and orphan asylum.

Bridge's involvement with the Newfoundland School Society alone indicates his concern for the poor, given that the Newfoundland School Society's original mandate was the education of all poor

⁴⁸¹*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 18 February 1840, 3.

⁴⁸²*The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 12 February 1840, 3.

⁴⁸³C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, Newfoundland School Society Documents, Occasional Paper of July 1846, 716.

⁴⁸⁴*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 20 September 1839, 2. – In nineteenth-century St. John's, fire brigades as they are known today were practically non-existent. Therefore, various groups of military officials were responsible for firefighting duties.

⁴⁸⁵*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 18 October 1839, 2.

children, regardless of religious persuasion. Although the Society's original mandate had not changed in the two decades since the Society's inception in 1823, insufficient funding from the S.P.G. and other external sources had nevertheless made it necessary for families of poor children to fund their children's education. This defeated the purpose of the original mandate. According to Bridge:

... this extension of our operations is attended with a heavy expenditure, which can only be met and maintained by increased support at home. Press this fact on the attention of the public at home. ... let me urge on the committee to send us out more labourers as early as possible in the spring. ... This is a momentous crisis in the educational concerns of the colony. Our respected and laborious diocesan has opened, in all parts of the island, new missions: our missionaries feel that the Society's schools will be as right arms to them, and from all quarters do they apply to me to send them teachers.⁴⁸⁶

On 9 June 1846, a great conflagration destroyed much of St. John's, including the new cathedral begun by Spencer.⁴⁸⁷ As a result of the fire, many hundreds of St. John's residents were rendered homeless. Bridge made every effort, between 1846 and 1847, to raise funds to aid the fire victims. His relief efforts, however, were thwarted by Robert Law, a Senior Military Official, who, upon the approval of Lord Grey and Governor Harvey, recommended that some of the funding go towards the reconstruction of the cathedral. Law suggested that uninsured fire sufferers had already been sufficiently recompensed through Bridge's relief efforts, and extra relief would only increase their dependence on government aid.⁴⁸⁸ Thus, in early 1848, when residents of St. John's saw that further relief was still not forthcoming, and unaware of Law's recommendation, they placed the blame on both

⁴⁸⁶C.N.S., Microfilm 619, Reel A-323, 19th Annual Report of the Newfoundland School Society, 1842, 429.

⁴⁸⁷C.N.S., S.P.G. Journals, Microfilm 567, Reel 14, Volume 45, Minutes of 17 July 1846 Meeting, 274.

⁴⁸⁸Gunn, 104-105.

Bridge and Feild who, in their eyes, were using the proceeds to reconstruct the cathedral. Bridge denied misappropriation of funds and would have rather “conduct[ed] Holy Services in the meanest building of wood.”⁴⁸⁹ Also, in considering Bridge’s commitment to the poor of Newfoundland, his involvement with the Newfoundland School Society must be considered. It is highly unlikely that Bridge would work so hard for the outports at the expense of the poor people in St. John’s, especially since many of them were members of his own congregation.

In 1848, Bridge took on the position of Commissioner of Poor Relief which involved an active commitment that demanded a significant portion of Bridge’s time and energy. In his capacity as commissioner, Bridge was responsible for actually dispersing the funding.⁴⁹⁰ Bridge’s work as Commissioner for Poor Relief ended, however, in 1849, at which point the Colonial Government assumed the responsibility of relief for the poor.⁴⁹¹ Gunn suggests that government takeover followed an amendment to the Relief Act in which “all persons applying. . . for relief shall, when possible, produce a certificate signed by a Magistrate or Clergyman of the locality or district to which the applicant belongs, . . .”⁴⁹² Since, therefore, parish rectors were required to sign the application, it is evident that Bridge may have created a conflict of interest by signing mainly applications of, and giving the greater share of relief funds to, his own congregation at the expense of others.

Although Bridge, being a regular parish priest, had no reason to visit areas of the diocese

⁴⁸⁹*The Patriot*, 12 January 1848, 2.

⁴⁹⁰Gunn, 53.

⁴⁹¹*The Royal Gazette*, 10 July 1849, 2.

⁴⁹²Gunn, 157.

outside St. John's, reports of Spencer's and Feild's visitations to Bermuda raised his awareness of conditions there. Thus, by 1853, Bridge and his parishioners had become aware of the spread of virulent diseases among the African slaves of Bermuda, as well as their mistreatment by the Bermudan government and the white population. Sensitized by Reverend R.T. Tucker's letter to Feild regarding the yellow fever in Bermuda, Bridge requested *The Public Ledger* to publish this letter.⁴⁹³ Bridge thought that readers of the letter would respond by sending aid or by praying for a change in conditions.

As a curate to Spencer and Feild in the St. John's congregation, Bridge was involved with both bishops on several committees and societies, such as the Newfoundland School Society and the Church of England Branch of the St. John's Academy. Bridge also accompanied Feild on his 1845 visitation to the west coast of the island.⁴⁹⁴ Because there were very few missionaries in that particular region of the diocese, Bridge's presence on the voyage proved indispensable to Feild. While Feild confirmed in one community, Bridge would take the opportunity to celebrate Holy Eucharist in an adjacent one. The 1845 visitation also allowed Bridge, as Newfoundland School Society Superintendent, to determine how many communities could benefit from the establishment of Newfoundland School Society schools, and which extant schools required either a school master or repairs to the building.

During the ministry of Reverend F. H. Carrington, Bridge himself had been a curate. He assumed the position of Rector after Carrington became ill and eventually passed away in 1839.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ *The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 25 October 1853, 2.

⁴⁹⁴ S.P.G. Annual Report, 1845, xlix, R.N.L.A., File 1-033-00.

⁴⁹⁵ *The Public Ledger*, 4 March 1856, 2.

Since Carrington's final illness was of a nature that confined him to a sick-bed, Bridge visited Carrington often at home to minister to him.⁴⁹⁶ Care for the sick, the widows and orphans was expressed as a reason for a "season for prayer" in his published sermons.⁴⁹⁷ Bridge requested that, in imitation of Jesus's ministry as recorded in the Gospels, surviving parishioners remember in their daily devotions the sick, the bereaved, and others in any kind of trouble or sorrow.

Up until 1834, two years after Bridge's arrival in Newfoundland, and during the episcopates of John Inglis and his predecessors, residents of Quidi Vidi Village, near St. John's, were required to travel to the city to attend worship services. During his ministry, Bridge erected and opened a church at Quidi Vidi for the convenience of its residents. The Church of England establishment in Newfoundland purchased the land for this new edifice from the Brace family of Quidi Vidi.⁴⁹⁸ An excerpt from the sermon Bridge preached at the opening service states the benefits of this new chapel-of-ease: "Now, . . . when, in a community, where no such thing has previously had existence, . . . a building is for the first time dedicated to the public service of the Almighty, for the ministration of His holy word and sacraments to all ranks and ages; and, . . . for the education of the younger branches of the poor amongst us in Scriptural knowledge -- upon such an occasion, which, to a certain extent, may be termed the establishment of Christianity in this settlement. . . ."⁴⁹⁹

Although this new church was originally built for Anglicans, Congregationalists and Methodists

⁴⁹⁶Bridge, *Three*, 34. – Carrington possibly died of cancer, although Bridge does not specify the illness in the sermon.

⁴⁹⁷Bridge, *Three*, 42.

⁴⁹⁸St. David's Bicentennial History Committee, *Dissenting*, 222.

⁴⁹⁹Bridge, *Quidi Vidi*, 8.

in the village were also permitted its use. According to the schedule the three religious groups mutually agreed upon, Anglican divine services were to be held there on Sunday mornings and on Monday and Thursday evenings. This agreement, which marked St. John's first formal ecumenical experiment, lasted from 1834 to 1842 at which time the Anglicans reclaimed the property in accordance with the original land deed.⁵⁰⁰ That the pan-Protestant ecumenical experiment lasted for eight years was a considerable feat in light of the fact that, on a worldwide scale, ecumenism did not evolve into a permanent feature of Evangelicalism until after the Second World War.⁵⁰¹

A cholera epidemic swept through St. John's in 1855 which killed many people and left hundreds of others violently ill. Sources indicate that the virus had entered the city through infected clothing worn by one of the sailors.⁵⁰² Although many of the cholera victims were members of his own congregation, Bridge, aware of the widespread sickness, abetted as many ill people as he could by visiting them in their homes and tending to their medicinal and other needs.⁵⁰³ Here, like his worldwide contemporaries,⁵⁰⁴ Bridge ignored religious preferences to concentrate on a calling which demanded much of his time and effort, and which represented the hallmark of Evangelical activism. Thus, Bridge

⁵⁰⁰St. David's Bicentennial History Committee, *Dissenting*, 222. Also, George Story, "The Rocks of Quidi Vidi," *Newfoundland Studies*, 2 (Spring, 1986): 65.

⁵⁰¹Bebbington, 255.

⁵⁰²Prowse, 468.

⁵⁰³*The Public Ledger*, 4 March 1856, 2.

⁵⁰⁴Bebbington states that philanthropy in any form represents a "spontaneous expression of a Christian movement" and lists as examples giving coins to beggars, helping the poor, almsgiving, building orphanages, and visiting the sick. See Bebbington, 40, 70-71.

extended his generosity also to Catholics and other Protestants.⁵⁰⁵

Bridge's 1855 Report to the S.P.G. indicates that despite his extensive work among the cholera sufferers he still found the time and energy to attend to his catechetical duties. "Though I had to attend to this extraordinary duty during the prevalence of the deadly epidemic," Bridge wrote, "a large number of the newly confirmed were at the Lord's Table on Christmas Day."⁵⁰⁶ Bridge died on 28 February 1856, presumably due to exposure to the cholera virus while ministering among the disease's victims.

4.2.3 Anti-Catholicism and Anti-Tractarianism

The sermons and correspondence of Bridge demonstrate his criticism of Roman Catholic doctrines and practice. His anti-Catholicism became particularly pronounced during his involvement in the temperance cause but relates more fundamentally to all areas where Bridge perceived theological conflict between biblical teachings and Roman Catholic traditions. It even extended to architecture, when he judged the new Roman Catholic cathedral as "an ugly, unecclesiastical structure, a glimpse at which would break Pugin's heart."⁵⁰⁷ Bridge referred here to Augustus C. Pugin, an English Gothic designer and drafter who, influenced and encouraged by his employer John Nash, "had no particular love for classical art and architecture."⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁵Prowse, 469.

⁵⁰⁶Bridge to S.P.G. in S.P.G. Annual Report, 1855, (Exact date of letter not provided), lxv, R.N.L.A., File 1-033-00.

⁵⁰⁷O'Dea, "Clergy," 14, R.N.L.A., File 1-016-00.

⁵⁰⁸Guy Williams, *Augustus Pugin Versus Decimus Burton: A Victorian Architectural Duel* (London: Cassell Publishers Limited, 1990), 30-36.

During his association with Bishop Spencer, Bridge addressed the growing influence of Roman Catholicism in Newfoundland in his sermon entitled "The Duty of Christians Towards Their Fellow Immortals," which he preached at St. Mary's Church, Islington, England. Newfoundland, Bridge informed his British congregation, had permitted Roman Catholicism to invade the "bulwark of pure. . . Evangelical religion,"⁵⁰⁹ in both the ecclesiastical and educational realms. For Bridge, "Popery" remained unopposed in its proselytizing and used public funds to support its demominational system of education.⁵¹⁰

The root of the denominational issue was Church of England patronage in the political sphere and Newfoundland's rule by a British governor. After the Emancipation Act of 1829, Catholics sought and won ascendancy in government, for they were well represented in the Legislative Assembly in 1832. The controversy between Catholics and Protestants was not confined, however, to government but also affected educational affairs. Protestants won the victory in 1836 when the newly created non-denominational school board comprised only 18 Roman Catholics on a 117-member staff. Roman Catholics became defensive. This eventually erupted into a textbook controversy regarding whether the King James Version of the Bible should be used in the schools. The controversy proved especially disastrous for Catholic school children in Conception and Trinity Bays, whose parents kept them home rather than send them to a school which was rife with Anglican patronage.⁵¹¹ Bridge, still Evangelical at the time he wrote "The Duty of Christians Towards Their Fellow Immortals," did all in his power to

⁵⁰⁹Bridge, "Duty," 448.

⁵¹⁰Bridge, "Duty," 448-449.

⁵¹¹McCann, "No Popery," 80-82. Also, McCann, "Politics," in *Vexed*, McKim, 32-36.

curtail Catholic influence.

Two of Bridge's published documents, his sermon *The Two Religions* along with his letter to Peter Winser, are the most explicit sources for documenting anti-Catholic views. Already the full title of the first publication, *The Two Religions, or, The Question Settled, Which is the Oldest Church, the Anglican or the Romish?*, shows its polemical intent. Like Spencer, Bridge rejected many Catholic beliefs and doctrines because they were based not upon scripture but tradition. Between 700 and 1439, Bridge argued, Catholic councils approved such theologically illegitimate practices as the invocation of Mary and the saints; the worshiping of images, icons, and relics; supremacy of the Pope; auricular confession; denial of the chalice to the laity; and the contention that seven sacraments were necessary for eternal salvation. These were doctrines and practices that already the Protestant Reformers had sought to abolish.⁵¹²

Bridge, however, did not terminate the anti-Catholic argument merely by listing the Roman Catholic innovations that were not based in Scripture. He also opposed the belief that the Catholic branch of Christendom existed before the advent of Protestantism, the latter of which, at least in its renewed format under Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformers, came to fruition in the sixteenth century but restored an earlier and purer version of the church than what Bridge regarded as illegitimate innovations.⁵¹³ According to Winser, who was Roman Catholic, the history of the Church of England could be dated to 1571 with the publication of the Thirty-Nine Articles. Bridge rebutted by arguing that if this was the case, then neither was the Roman Catholic Church ratified until the Council of Trent in

⁵¹²Bridge, *Two Religions*, 13-15. Also, Bridge, *Letter to Winser*, 8-15.

⁵¹³Bridge, *Two Religions*, 12.

1563.⁵¹⁴ Catholicism was, in Bridge's opinion, the more recent of the two religious traditions. Unlike Winser, who based his argument on the dates of formation of councils and articles of faith, Bridge dated the two religious traditions squarely on biblical premises. "Our Religion," the Evangelical Anglican argued, "is the Religion which God the Father has revealed, which God the Son. . . preached, – which God the Holy Spirit teaches; which apostles proclaimed – martyrs died for – saints, now before the throne, believed in, and oh! . . . 'Popery is the novelty – Protestantism the old Religion.'"⁵¹⁵

Bridge expressed anti-Catholic sentiments also in the local press as well as in the sermons he preached. His response in support of Henry Winton, publisher of *The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, whose attitude towards Catholicism employed such expressions as "Popish tyranny" and "Papist rabble,"⁵¹⁶ demonstrates fear that the freedom Catholics were now enjoying under Great Britain's 1829 Emancipation Act and under the spiritual leadership of the political and Ultramontane Roman Catholic bishop Michael Anthony Fleming would be abused and result in the eventual domination of the colonial government. Bridge saw the "same portentous union of Popery and Infidelity" exhibited in Newfoundland and "producing its natural effects." Alluding to the mobilization of the lower classes of Irish Catholics, he saw the Roman Catholic leadership engaged in an effort "to excite the lowest passions of the most degraded of society, hoping that. . . an opportunity will occur for seizing the reins of government, and domineering with absolute sway. . . ."⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴Bridge, *Letter to Winser*, 12.

⁵¹⁵Bridge, *Two Religions*, 18.

⁵¹⁶*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 16 October 1838, 2.

⁵¹⁷*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 13 November 1838, 2-3.

Under Feild's influence, however, Bridge gradually exchanged his Evangelical convictions with Tractarian ones. According to Rev. Thomas Collett of Harbour Buffett where, as indicated in Chapter One, controversy existed between Bishop Feild and the Evangelical Anglicans, Bridge had not only been quoted as having stated that it "shall be his constant endeavour and prayer" that "more and more of the Bishop's purpose shall be attained," but Feild had also "contrived to fasten upon the unsuspecting clergy and laity a debasing system of inquisition and exaction which is rapidly sapping the foundation of the church." Thus, not only did the residents and clergy of Harbour Buffett "[groan] under the incubus of a Tractarian bishop," but also Feild's presence and authority had an enormous impact upon Bridge's outlook and theology, as Bridge was "always informed of the wishes of his Ecclesiastical Superior."⁵¹⁸

Judging from the dates of various letters, particularly those relating to Bridge's educational involvement, the process of change appears to have reached completion in the early 1850s. An 1851 letter, however, indicates that, at least as far as music for divine services was concerned, Bridge continued to retain some of his earlier Evangelical commitments. Ben Johnston, a parishioner of the Cathedral, referred in a letter to the editor of *The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser* to an incident in which Bridge had vehemently disagreed with the cathedral's organist regarding the style of music to be played during divine services. According to Johnston, the organist's choice of slow Oxford-style Gregorian chant had raised Bridge's ire,⁵¹⁹ indicating that, even seven years after Feild's arrival, Bridge continued to prefer the more lively tempos of Evangelical church music. Thus, church music excepted, under Feild's influence, Bridge gradually eschewed his Evangelical

⁵¹⁸Thomas Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, Vol. 2 (St. John's: Joseph Woods, 1854), 32.

⁵¹⁹*The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 14 October 1851, 2.

convictions for high church Tractarianism.

4.3 Conversionism

Bridge's views on the conversion of sinners and their consequent changes in lifestyle and attitude is also expressed in his sermons and writings, notably "The Duty of Christians Towards Their Fellow Immortals" and *The Two Religions*. Bridge strongly believed that human beings are "born into this world the sinful descendant of a sinful ancestor," the remedy of which they believe is "knowledge" of the Lord which in turn leads to their "future eternal salvation." Although Bridge argued that human beings are potential heirs of God's eternal kingdom, they are nevertheless sinners until they repent and come to Jesus and thus become true heirs. Christians need to come to know Jesus Christ on a personal level, be assured of His love, and teach this love to others, so that they, too, may repent and sin no more -- this, for Bridge, is the touchstone of the Christian faith, as well as a "clear and imperative duty."⁵²⁰ His views are similar to those expressed by Spencer in his funeral sermon to Trimingham about the voluntary acceptance of Christ's love in order to be converted.⁵²¹

In *The Two Religions*, Bridge seeks to reconcile theologically his conversionist beliefs with the Anglican sacramental understanding of regeneration in baptism. The sacrament of baptism remains foundational for both church membership and the washing away of sin, a conviction which Bridge's contemporary Spencer echoed in his reference to the "laver of regeneration" in *The Church of God*,⁵²²

⁵²⁰Bridge, "Duty," 444-447.

⁵²¹Spencer, *Trimingham*, 15-16.

⁵²²Spencer, *Church*, 4.

and which also dominated Henry Ryder's teachings.⁵²³ But faced with the importance of conversion and a voluntaristic stance toward church membership, Bridge argued that baptism leads to conversion if baptized persons seriously follow up on the precepts of the Christian faith. He writes "'Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith.' Ye are OF the faith, but are ye IN the faith? Is Christ your 'all in all?' Are you looking for and seeking eternal life. . . only through faith in the merits of Christ's righteousness and death? [Are you] daily offering to the Lord the sacrifice [of] a broken and contrite heart? Have you been renewed in the spirit of your minds?"⁵²⁴ Persons who were "of" the faith, Bridge argued, were simply baptized persons who were, officially, church members but not true Christians in the Evangelical sense, namely those who knew Jesus personally. Those who were "in" the faith, however, were true Christian converts. In the Pauline distinction between "in" and "of" the faith (2 Corinthians 13:5), Bridge found a way to reconcile sacramental regeneration with revivalistic conversion. According to Bebbington, not all Evangelicals solved this anomaly satisfactorily.⁵²⁵ The Evangelical Anglican George C. Gorham, as mentioned in Chapter One, was refused a parish by his bishop because he did not accept that regeneration occurs at baptism.⁵²⁶

4.4 Biblicism

In order to determine the degree to which the Bible was authoritative for Bridge, it is necessary

⁵²³Davies, 8-9.

⁵²⁴Bridge, *Two Religions*, 22.

⁵²⁵Bebbington, 9-10.

⁵²⁶Bebbington, 9. Also, Hylson-Smith, 123-125.

to examine his sermons and correspondence. *The Two Religions* and his letter to Peter Winsor, with their anti-Catholic sentiment, clearly indicate a great respect for Scriptural value and authority.⁵²⁷ Like Spencer, Bridge opposed Roman Catholic traditions and beliefs that, to him, were not often grounded in biblical teachings. Anti-Catholicism is also quite evident in Bridge's correspondence and involvement with the Newfoundland School Society. In one sermon he preached on behalf of the Society, he praised the Society's education efforts as being the "only barrier to the entire deluging of the land with the poisonous streams of [Roman Catholicism]."⁵²⁸

Also Bridge's sermon entitled "The Duty of Christians Towards Their Fellow Immortals" contains scriptural directives within an anti-Catholic context. For Bridge, the chief responsibilities of all true Christians was to fulfil their basic duties towards others. Christians, Bridge maintained, must first of all familiarize themselves with "the life-giving doctrines and sanctifying precepts of the Gospel."⁵²⁹ Like Spencer, he considered the Bible as the exemplary source of Christian morals since it contained the precepts and examples by which one was to conduct daily life. Thus, knowledge of Scripture is for Bridge "so important and so imperative a duty."⁵³⁰ At the same time, however, his hearers are to be aware of and guard against the possible detrimental effects of institutional Catholicism in the colony as demonstrated by the misdirection of public funds for a "system of education for the children of our poor, which is Popish. . . for the Bible. . . is excluded from it. . . ."⁵³¹ Behind this

⁵²⁷Bridge, *Two Religions*, 13-15. Also, Bridge, *Letter to Winsor*, 8.

⁵²⁸Bridge, "Duty," 449.

⁵²⁹Bridge, "Duty," 445.

⁵³⁰Bridge, "Duty," 445.

⁵³¹Bridge, "Duty," 449.

statement lies the fact that the King James Version of the Bible was withheld from Roman Catholic children when in 1839 Catholic parents in Conception and Trinity Bays refused to send their children to school since Anglicans and Methodists were controlling the operation and text book choices of these schools, a controversy which was rooted in the Roman Catholic ascendancy in the Assembly and on school boards.⁵³²

Bridge also showed his Evangelical ethos based on biblical teachings in an 1848 letter that opposed the idea of a charity ball to raise money for poor people. He used the Bible to argue for charity, but rejected frivolous self-gratifying modes of fund-raising. Bridge's attitude corresponds with that of the earlier Evangelicals, who repudiated theatricals and other sporting events in support of good causes.⁵³³ Parishioners, Bridge argued, should imitate God through free-will offerings, without desire of personal reward such as the sport associated with attending balls.

4.5 Crucicentrism

The importance of Christ's death within Bridge's Evangelical theology is best gleaned from the three funeral sermons he preached for Reverend F. H. Carrington, as well as his sermon preached at the opening of Quidi Vidi Church in 1834. The first of the three funeral sermons comforts the mourners with the assurance inherent in Jesus's own death and resurrection and the promise of eternal life.⁵³⁴ In

⁵³²McCann, "No Popery," 80-82.

⁵³³Bridge's original letter is found in *The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 23 February 1848, 2. For information on the early Evangelicals' attitudes towards theatricals, see Bebbington, 129-132.

⁵³⁴Bridge, *Three*, 7-8.

order to obtain eternal life, it was necessary for Jesus to atone for humanity by first dying and then rising to immortality in the resurrection.⁵³⁵ The doctrine of substitutionary atonement was as important to Bridge as it was for Spencer and other Evangelicals. The blood shed by Jesus while on the cross represents a substitutionary sacrifice for humanity's sins and "strong cryings for pardon through the Lamb's atoning blood."⁵³⁶

In the second of Carrington's three funeral sermons, Bridge discussed the benefits of eternal life, which according to him cannot exist without Christ's prior sacrifice on the cross. This death had taken place to "secure through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, . . . a title to the blessedness of the 'life eternal,' and to escape our just due as sinners." Thus a "home. . . an eternal dwelling-place, awaits us beyond the grave."⁵³⁷

Faith, Bridge argued, was a pre-condition for the inheritance of eternal life, a faith that also sustained the believer in his or her own sufferings. There "is no power," Bridge wrote, "but the power of faith in a crucified Saviour which can either support us amid the weariness of long disease, or strengthen us for the struggle with 'the last enemy;'. . . ."⁵³⁸

The final cross-related theme expressed in Carrington's funeral sermons is the concept of pardon and rest. Through fervent belief in the Saviour's unselfish love, those who invite Jesus into their lives will find not only pardon but also rest for their souls, safe from further influence of earthly sin.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁵Bridge, *Three*, 11-12.

⁵³⁶Bridge, *Three*, 18.

⁵³⁷Bridge, *Three*, 25-26.

⁵³⁸Bridge, *Three*, 28.

⁵³⁹Bridge, *Three*, 30.

The sermon preached by Bridge at the opening of the church in Quidi Vidi focused on Christ's death by invoking the symbolism of the Lamb of God. Bridge states that God sent Jesus "to redeem them that were under the law [and take] away the sins of the world."⁵⁴⁰ This mission and apostolic doctrine of Jesus's atoning death is seen as well in terms of prophetic fulfilment, one of two major gifts in which God gave Himself to humanity, the other being creation.⁵⁴¹

4.6 Conclusion

Using activism as an enduring characteristic of Evangelical religion identified by Bebbington, this activism is characterized by its magnitude, intensity, and pervasiveness. It ranges from a consuming opposition directed against Roman Catholics and other religious competitors to an energetic involvement in missionary and other societies. Bridge fits this profile when one considers his engagement with the Newfoundland Church Society, the Newfoundland School Society, the Church of England Branch of the St. John's Academy, the Temperance Society, the Agricultural Society, and efforts directed at administering poor relief. In his service as superintendent of the Newfoundland School Society, he travelled extensively throughout Newfoundland to inspect schools, at a time when travel represented in most cases a strenuous effort of preparation and endurance. In addition to these institutional commitments, he also carried out other acts of benevolence, such as visiting the sick and aiding cholera victims.

One major issue that Church of England Evangelicals faced when promoting conversion, was to

⁵⁴⁰Bridge, *Quidi Vidi*, 11-12.

⁵⁴¹Bridge, *Quidi Vidi*, 17.

argue for the relevance and importance of religious conversion within a sacramental framework that accepted regeneration as having taken place at baptism. In *The Two Religions*, Bridge thus distinguishes between the Pauline notion of being “of” and “in” the faith (2 Corinthians 13:5). Those who had undergone true conversion were no longer simply “of” the faith, or members of the wider church communion, but rather were immersed “in” a faith, a relationship at a more profound level of commitment. In his sermon “The Duty of Christians Towards Their Fellow Immortals” Bridge also alludes to an “assurance” of knowing Jesus on a personal level. According to Bridge, Christians possessing such Methodist-like assurance of God’s love had also a greater capacity and ease to teach the faith to unbelievers.

Reverence for Scripture and its commanding authority represents a third characteristic of Evangelical religion identified by Bebbington. Such reverence included the role of the Bible as a book of private devotion for the home as well as motivational wellspring in articulating theological differences and opposing effectively Roman Catholics and Tractarians. Bridge expressed such scripturally informed polemic in his sermon *The Two Religions* and in his letter to Peter Winsor, a convert to Roman Catholicism. Somewhat uncharacteristic for an Evangelical, however, is the relative absence of a didactic and devotional use of Scripture, although most of Bridge’s publications expressing Evangelical convictions take the form of polemics and thus are not suitable vehicles for expressing the subjective and devotional dimensions of religion. Only in once instance is there expressed a biblically oriented selfless attitude as a motivation for giving, as opposed to the questionable fund-raising scheme of a charity ball, which in Bridge’s judgment is based on an inferior gratification through competition and reward.

Although there is in classical Christianity a nearly universal belief in Christ's redemptive death on the cross, for Evangelicals this act of divine love is understood doctrinally as a substitutionary atonement. While soteriology and Christology are never discussed by Bridge as theological topics of their own, he shares the Evangelical appreciation of Christ's redemptive death. In his funeral sermons for Rev. Carrington, as well as in the sermon preached at the opening of the church in Quidi Vidi, Bridge spoke about the redeeming blood of the Lamb, through which believers cry out for pardon.

Most of Bridge's published sermons were preached during his Evangelical phase, that is the first half of his Newfoundland ministry, when he ministered under Bishops John Inglis of Nova Scotia and Aubrey George Spencer of Newfoundland and Bermuda. How his thoughts and attitudes changed under the Tractarian Bishop Edward Feild, whose Archdeacon he remained, is difficult to assess since his literary production virtually ceased. But the language and temper of his correspondence in the newspapers dramatically changed during Feild's episcopate. In his letters of 14 April 1852 and 13 April 1853, for example, we now find blunt and authoritarian requests for school supplies for the Church of England Academy, rife with demanding tones and formal phrases such as "directors also recommend," "beg to represent the inconvenience and disadvantage," and "beg to renew their expression of regret."⁵⁴² This language contrasts sharply when compared with Bridge's earlier letters, such as the one of 23 December 1840, in which he invokes the idiom of intimate fellowship ("fold of the Good Shepherd") when recommending the work of Samuel Codner and the Newfoundland School Society.⁵⁴³ Thus during the years 1832 to 1844, Bridge exhibits through his activities and views on the

⁵⁴²*The Courier*, 14 April 1852, 2.

⁵⁴³*The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer*, 23 December 1840, 2.

authority of the Bible as well as on conversion and redemption a characteristic theological posture that fits the grid established by Bebbington for Evangelical religion.

Chapter Five

Robert Traill Spence Lowell

The third of the three prominent nineteenth-century Church of England Evangelicals who ministered in Newfoundland and who are treated in this thesis is Robert Traill Spence Lowell. He has remained in the collective awareness because of his novel *The New Priest in Conception Bay*. Lowell, unlike Spencer and Bridge, was not British but American. He served as priest and educator in his native country after leaving the Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda.

5.1 Biography

Lowell's earliest religious exposure was not to the teachings of the Church of England, but to those of the Unitarian Church, of which he was a member and his father a minister in Boston. His mother, however, was a member of the Episcopal Church, and Reverend Alonzo Potter, a well-known Boston clergyman, was a friend of the Lowell family.⁵⁴⁴ Thus, Lowell came under Potter's influence during his early adulthood and was encouraged by him to study for Holy Orders.⁵⁴⁵ Although Potter was "broad minded and tolerant," his true Evangelical nature may be gleaned from his involvement in missionary societies, as well as temperance and anti-slavery initiatives. Potter opposed the latter because the Bible spoke out against it.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁴Anonymous, "Robert Traill Spence Lowell," ed. Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935): 470. – The Episcopal Church is the American branch of the Church of England.

⁵⁴⁵"Notes By The Way," (No Author Provided) in *The Churchman* (Hartford, Connecticut), 19 September 1891, 342 -- Obituary of Robert Traill Spence Lowell.

⁵⁴⁶"Alonzo Potter," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 15: 124-125.

While Lowell was a candidate for ordination in 1842, he had opportunity to meet the Bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda, Aubrey George Spencer. Spencer invited the ministerial candidate to become a missionary in his diocese. Lowell was ordained to the diaconate on 5 December 1842 and to the priesthood just a short time later on 12 March 1843 at St. Peter's Church, St. George, Bermuda.⁵⁴⁷ Having one more missionary to add to his increasing roster of clergymen, Spencer assigned Lowell to a two-month period in Bermuda as both his domestic chaplain and as inspector of schools, after which he sent him to Newfoundland to assume a mission in Bay Roberts.⁵⁴⁸ Spencer's opinion of Lowell's character, religiosity, devotion to the church, and abilities may be gleaned from a letter of the bishop to the S.P.G., which states that "Mr. Robert Lowell. . . [is] a good scholar, and apparently very pious and zealous, with an excellent temper, clear judgment and strong attachment to the Mother Church. Of his future usefulness and success as a missionary I have no doubt, and if God spare his life. . . I shall have great reason to be thankful for his accession to the clerical strength of my Diocese."⁵⁴⁹

5.2 Activism

Lowell's active ministry covered four main geographical locations, Bermuda, where he was inspector of schools and domestic chaplain to Spencer, missionary at Bay Roberts, Newfoundland, and rector of the Parishes of Newark, New Jersey, and Duanesburg, New York. Lowell's Evangelical

⁵⁴⁷Hans Rollmann, "Lowell," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 12, 574.

⁵⁴⁸Harold Blodgett, "Robert Traill Spence Lowell," *New England Quarterly*, 16/4 (1943): 580, R.N.L.A., f. 1-005-19.

⁵⁴⁹Hans Rollmann, "A Biographical Chronology of R.T.S. Lowell," 2, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-03.

activism can be studied more closely by focusing on his missionary work in Bay Roberts and as rector of Episcopal churches in Newark and Duaneburg.

Spencer assigned Lowell to the Archdeaconry of Bermuda immediately following his ordination to the priesthood in 1843. But because of Newfoundland's chronic shortage of clergy Lowell's stay in Bermuda lasted for only two months.⁵⁵⁰ Spencer was anxious to ensure that each mission in his diocese had a clergyman, while the inspection of Bermuda's schools could be performed by a lay educator. Lowell welcomed Spencer's decision since he was eager to take up ecclesiastical duties befitting of an ordained clergyman. Because he "wanted wider, more arduous experience"⁵⁵¹ than his duties in Bermuda could offer, Lowell requested the Bay Roberts mission following news of the death of its Rector, Reverend William Henry Grant.⁵⁵² That he possessed some leadership capabilities was obvious from his previous experience as captain of a military band in Boston in the 1830s.⁵⁵³

Lowell spent his entire Newfoundland ministry in Bay Roberts and the communities associated with this parish. Even after his return to the U.S. in 1847 he undertook benevolent work for Newfoundlanders through a famine appeal,⁵⁵⁴ having experienced suffering and subsequent illness

⁵⁵⁰Rollmann, "A Biography of R.T.S. Lowell," 1-2, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-02.

⁵⁵¹Blodgett, "Lowell," 580, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-19.

⁵⁵²Robert T.S. Lowell, "Fifty Year Memorial Speech of 5 July 1882," in *Memorials of the Class of 1833 of Harvard College*, ed. Waldo Higginson (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1883), 129, R.N.L.A., f. 1-005-20.

⁵⁵³Blodgett, "Lowell," 580, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-19.

⁵⁵⁴Rollmann, "Biography of R.T.S. Lowell," 2, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-02.

himself during the famine of 1846.⁵⁵⁵ It was thus for health reasons that Lowell, like his contemporary Spencer, was unable to remain in Newfoundland.

Bay Roberts is situated in the central portion of Conception Bay in proximity to the larger mercantile towns of Harbour Grace and Carbonear. In the early 1840s, Bay Roberts not only had a prosperous inshore cod fishery, but also sent numerous fishing schooners to Labrador each summer and numerous ships to the seal fishery each spring. Because of the money generated from the Labrador fishery, Bay Roberts was at this time more economically prosperous than St. John's. Bay Roberts also had two church buildings, Anglican and Methodist.⁵⁵⁶ According to the 1845 census, the town of Bay Roberts had a population of 1,799, of which 1,245 or 69% were Anglicans. The other 31% was almost equally divided between Methodists and Roman Catholics. For the entire mission of Bay Roberts, the proportion of Anglicans and Roman Catholics were 75% and 19% respectively.⁵⁵⁷

Lowell, however, even as early as 1845, prior to the famine, did not consider Bay Roberts to be as prosperous as O'Flaherty described it a century later. However, he placed some of the blame on his own lack of sufficient missionary experience when, in a state of the mission report of 1845, he noted that "the smallness of the amount [of offerings] has been occasioned partly by my inexperience or diffidence. . . [and by] a very poor and ignorant people. . . where the most ordinary comforts are not

⁵⁵⁵Patrick O'Flaherty, "Introduction," in *New Priest in Conception Bay* (Robert Traill Spence Lowell), (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), 5.

⁵⁵⁶O'Flaherty, "Introduction," *New Priest*, 1-2.

⁵⁵⁷*Abstract Census and Return of Population, 1845* (No Printer or Publisher; information bound in photocopied form at M.U.N.'s Centre for Newfoundland Studies).

always easily procured. . . .”⁵⁵⁸

Lowell did, however, offer the parishioners of Bay Roberts every possible opportunity to attend worship services. As priest, he celebrated Holy Eucharist one Sunday per month and on selected Holy Days and officiated at Matins and Evensong⁵⁵⁹ on Sundays and weekdays, as well as on Christmas Day, Good Friday, each Wednesday and Friday of Lent, and during Holy Week. He also often officiated at Matins on Holy Days as an alternative, because parishioners could not always attend Holy Eucharist. During the summer months, he performed special Evensongs at sunset.⁵⁶⁰

However, activism as such is not an indicator of Evangelicalism, unless it can be tied to a specific Evangelical motivation or ethos, for also Tractarians are known for their frequent divine services. Bebbington notes, however, that the Evangelical practice that arose in the 1830s of performing frequent divine service was part of the larger commitment towards churchmanship in the Church of England.⁵⁶¹ For Anglican Evangelicals, it was part of a practice that discouraged religious individualism. It can be linked to the Evangelical surge of the previous century and, in the place of individualism, reintroduced the more constrained churchly norms that had become lost in the Evangelical emphasis on revivalism and extensive missionary labour. However, the nineteenth-century emphasis on

⁵⁵⁸Lowell, “Account of Bay Roberts in 1845,” 10, in Rollmann, “Various Documents on R.T.S. Lowell,” R.N.L.A., File 1-005-04.

⁵⁵⁹Traditional Anglican Church of England nomenclature for Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer.

⁵⁶⁰Lowell, “Account of Bay Roberts in 1845,” 9, in Rollmann, “Various Documents on R.T.S. Lowell,” R.N.L.A., File 1-005-04.

⁵⁶¹Bebbington, 94-97.

churchmanship surfaced prior to the blossoming of Tractarianism.⁵⁶²

The lasting Evangelical spirit that characterized Lowell's active engagement for Newfoundland can best be demonstrated by the initiatives he took on behalf of his former parishioners after his return to Massachusetts in 1847. The summer of 1847 marked Newfoundland's third consecutive season of economic disaster in the cod fishery,⁵⁶³ the sole industry upon which Newfoundlanders depended for a living. Economic disaster in the fishery was also accompanied by Governor John Harvey's absence from Newfoundland. Harvey's tenures as Lieutenant-Governor of both Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick⁵⁶⁴ had given him sufficient experience in politics to see that the colony should continue with Representative Government. Other government members, however, more aware than Harvey of the religious and political upheavals of the previous decade, were eager for the changes and promises that Responsible Government would bring. The ensuing opposition was part of the reason that Harvey asked for a transfer to Nova Scotia in 1847 to become that province's Lieutenant-Governor.⁵⁶⁵ Added to the destitution in Newfoundland were a non-existent poor law as well as a potato blight in both St. John's and the outports.⁵⁶⁶

Ill health caused by malnutrition which resulted from the famine, as well as opposition to Bishop Feild, were factors in Lowell's decision to return to the United States.⁵⁶⁷ His departure from

⁵⁶²Bebbington, 94-96.

⁵⁶³*The Times*, 8 January 1848, 5. – A clipping found in R.N.L.A., f. 1-005-02.

⁵⁶⁴Gunn, 192 (Appendix A: Biographical Notes on Governors of Newfoundland).

⁵⁶⁵Gunn, 89-105.

⁵⁶⁶Gunn, 106-116.

⁵⁶⁷*The Boston Evening Transcript*, 14 September 1891, 7.

Newfoundland, however, did not blind him to the abiding needs he had observed among his former flock when serving as a relief commissioner in Bay Roberts. Remembering the plight of impoverished Newfoundlanders, Lowell, while awaiting a new assignment in Newark, collected from the residents of Cambridge, Massachusetts, food for famine victims in Newfoundland. The result was seventy barrels of Indian meal,⁵⁶⁸ which were shipped to Newfoundland, 25 of which were earmarked for the Bay Roberts mission.⁵⁶⁹

That Lowell considered the needs of impoverished Newfoundlanders can be compared to other Evangelicals and their spirit, fervour, and concern for the poor, such as the concern expressed in Thomas Chalmers's series of papers entitled *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, which emphasized that poor relief was the responsibility of the churches,⁵⁷⁰ but also the benevolent work of missionary societies as the Dorcas Society, which provided poor people with clothing, and the Destitute Children's Dinner Society, which provided meals for hungry children.⁵⁷¹ Lowell, aware of how the people of Cambridge helped the Irish during the potato famine, now exhorted them to demonstrate similar charity towards famine victims in Newfoundland. He stated:

The people of this country, who. . . answered so cordially the cry of the famishing in Ireland, may. . . not turn away from the appeal of the wretched much nearer home. . . . [I pray] any who may read this. . . to. . . give towards

⁵⁶⁸*The Times*, 8 and 12 January 1848 – Page numbers are missing as the newspaper article is clipped from the original newspaper and preserved in R.N.L.A., f. 1-005-21.

⁵⁶⁹Lowell to an Unnamed Party (Governor of Newfoundland? Colonial Secretary?), 31 December 1847 in Rollmann, "Correspondence and Contemporary Periodicals on R.T.S. Lowell," R.N.L.A., File 1-005-11.

⁵⁷⁰Bebbington, 76.

⁵⁷¹Bebbington, 122.

the relief of [others] who have death as near to them, as if they had been shipwrecked in mid-ocean upon some rock that bore not so much as a blade of grass.”⁵⁷²

Lowell's benevolent work in the United States was by no means limited to his involvement with the Newfoundland famine appeal. Once he became Rector of Newark Parish, New Jersey, in 1847, Lowell turned his attention to the poor families in the slum section of the parish and rebuilt their dilapidated and neglected church.⁵⁷³

Lowell transferred to the Parish of Duanesburg, New York, in 1859, where he ministered until his retirement in 1869. In Duanesburg, Lowell's activism centred on aiding impoverished farming families, specifically visiting the sporadically located farms to minister to an ill farmer and to any who were struggling economically.⁵⁷⁴ His dedication to Duanesburg caused him in 1868 to refuse the position of Professor of Belles-Lettres at Racine College, Wisconsin.⁵⁷⁵ The existing evidence, however, does not provide any further details regarding the nature of Lowell's activities in Duanesburg, or whether the cause of poverty was natural as well as economic. Lowell then decided to retire from parish ministry in 1869 to assume the position of headmaster of St. Mark's School, Southboro, Massachusetts.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷²*The Times*, 8 January 1848 – Again, page number missing because the article is clipped and preserved in R.N.L.A., File 1-005-21.

⁵⁷³Ferris Greenslet, *The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), 241.

⁵⁷⁴Rollmann, “A Bibliographical Chronology of R.T.S. Lowell,” 7, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-03.

⁵⁷⁵Lowell in Higginson, *Memorials 1833*, 129, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-20.

⁵⁷⁶Rollmann, “Lowell,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 574.

5.2.1 Anti-Catholicism

Lowell's anti-Catholicism is found especially in two of his writings. He wrote *Five Letters Occasioned by Published Assertions of a Roman Catholic Priest* with the primary purpose of curtailing the Roman Catholic influence in Newark, New Jersey. But Lowell also deals with Catholic doctrine and belief in his novel *The New Priest in Conception Bay*, a literary work inspired by his missionary stay at Bay Roberts.

Anglican Evangelicals in Newfoundland were being challenged by the growing influence of Irish Catholics. According to Hans Rollmann, the period 1779 to 1832 was critical to the growth of Newfoundland's Roman Catholic population. The clause "except papists" was removed in 1779 from the instructions to colonial governors following a repeal of Great Britain's penal laws. Thus, Roman Catholics *de jure* were free to celebrate Masses,⁵⁷⁷ a right they did not possess prior to 1779. Also, a large influx of Irish immigrants after the Napoleonic wars further increased Newfoundland's Roman Catholic population.⁵⁷⁸ The Emancipation Act of 1829 gave Roman Catholics *de facto* freedom to worship⁵⁷⁹ and to be involved in politics. In the 1837 general election, the Catholic Liberals won the

⁵⁷⁷Hans Rollmann, "Religious Enfranchisement and Roman Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland," in *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*, ed. Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne (Jespersion Press: St. John's, NL, 1987), 40.

⁵⁷⁸Raymond J. Lahey, "Catholicism and Colonial Policy in Newfoundland, 1779-1845," in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, ed. Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal, Kingston, London, and Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 56-57.

⁵⁷⁹Rollmann, "Enfranchisement," in Murphy and Byrne, 37.

majority of the seats.⁵⁸⁰ In the school board appointments, however, they did not fare as well. Out of 117 positions on the board, Governor Henry Prescott, a Protestant, awarded only 18 seats to Roman Catholics.⁵⁸¹

Thus, in order to redefine their goals in light of the growing Catholic presence, and reaffirm Anglicanism as the official religion of the colony, the Newfoundland Evangelicals endeavoured to reemphasize the Protestant values of personal religion and reverence for Scripture. The Newfoundland School Society, an Evangelical missionary society, also became caught up in the impetus of change through their "campaign to introduce the Bible into the classroom [under] a vehement 'No Popery' crusade."⁵⁸² This was particularly important in Newfoundland where, according to educational historian Phillip McCann, the presence of Catholics, abetted by the Emancipation Act of 1829, was influential enough as to "frustrate the design [of Protestantism and British superiority]."⁵⁸³ Evangelicals thus made every effort to curtail the influences of Catholics and Tractarians.⁵⁸⁴

Roman Catholics in Newfoundland felt the effects of these challenges. Rollmann notes that from 1779 to 1832, Newfoundland did not have a proper legislature but was ruled by British colonial governors who, physically removed from British governmental authorities, interpreted laws to suit

⁵⁸⁰Gunn, 195 (Table III).

⁵⁸¹McCann, "No Popery," 80-82.

⁵⁸²Rollmann, "Bay Roberts Through Missionary Eyes," 29, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-18.

⁵⁸³McCann, "No Popery," 87-88.

⁵⁸⁴Rollmann, "The New Anglican Priest in Conception Bay: Robert T.S. Lowell and Bay Roberts," R.N.L.A., File 1-005-04.

themselves, even to the detriment of Roman Catholics and others.⁵⁸⁵ Neither were Catholics well represented on school boards following the 1836 Education Act.⁵⁸⁶ It was such a milieu of religious and nationalistic unrest that met Lowell when he first arrived in Newfoundland.

Bay Roberts Mission was not without its share of conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics. According to the 1845 census, in the town of Bay Roberts, the seat of the mission, 16.62% of the population was Roman Catholic, compared to 7.66% for New Harbour, 27.69% for Spaniard's Bay, and as high as 35.10% for Bryant's Cove,⁵⁸⁷ possibly owing to Bryant's Cove's proximity to the Catholic community of Riverhead near Harbour Grace. Statistics for the town of Bay Roberts show that the proportion of Catholics in that community was actually less than that of the entire mission, in which the total percentage of Catholics was 18.67%.⁵⁸⁸

Lowell's ministry in Bay Roberts occasioned his anti-Catholic novel *New Priest in Conception Bay*. The Catholic influence he experienced in fictional Peterport and the anti-Catholic sentiment which ensued from it became the pervading themes of the novel. Although Lowell's characters are fictional, the plot and novel draw upon his missionary experiences.⁵⁸⁹

In the novel, Jesuit Catholic priest Father Nicholas Crampton serves the Roman Catholic Parish of Peterport in the early nineteenth century while other prominent citizens of Peterport are Protestants, including the Barburys, a family of renown. Lucy Barbury, a Protestant teenage girl, becomes the

⁵⁸⁵Rollmann, "Enfranchisement," in Murphy and Byrne, 34-35.

⁵⁸⁶McCann, "No Popery," 81-82.

⁵⁸⁷*Census, 1845.*

⁵⁸⁸*Census, 1845.*

⁵⁸⁹Rollmann, "Lowell," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 575.

kidnapping target and victim of the Catholic priest Father Nicholas.⁵⁹⁰ Lowell casts Protestants in the role of innocent Christian citizens while Catholics, especially those in authority like Father Nicholas, are innate troublemakers and conspirators, not to mention proselytizers. O'Flaherty states that the novel's "principal theme was Protestant-Catholic rivalry, with Anglicans everywhere getting the upper hand, while the treacherous Romans, hunting for souls, connive, cheat, and inevitably fail."⁵⁹¹ Lowell thematizes the idea of proselytism through one particular chapter entitled "Mr. Bangs a Neophyte," in which Elnathan Bangs, the American character, converts to Roman Catholicism under the encouragement of Father Terence.⁵⁹²

Several other references in the novel further demonstrate the alleged innocence of Anglicans vis-a-vis the supposed conniving of Roman Catholics. First, many of the suspects in Lucy's kidnapping are Catholic, including some nuns, as well as Mrs. Calloran, and James Urston.⁵⁹³ Lowell also indicates that, in Peterport, "priests of the Roman Catholic denomination do not visit generally among their people, unless to administer sacraments. . . ."⁵⁹⁴ That Catholics do not use the Bible for personal devotion or any purpose outside of worship is clarified in a scene in which Urston, before the magistrate, "had the sacred volume held out to him [and] decidedly objected."⁵⁹⁵ Also, Mary Barre, a

⁵⁹⁰Blodgett, 584, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-19. Also, Lowell, *New Priest*.

⁵⁹¹Patrick O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed: Studies in the Literature of Newfoundland* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 92.

⁵⁹²Lowell, Chapter XXIX, "Mr. Bangs a Neophyte," in *New Priest*, 192-201.

⁵⁹³Lowell, *New Priest*, 174.

⁵⁹⁴Lowell, *New Priest*, 73.

⁵⁹⁵Lowell, *New Priest*, 131.

Protestant child, learns from eavesdropping on adult conversations that a “minister of God” is different from a “Romish priest.”⁵⁹⁶

The Anglicans of Peterport do all in their power to ensure that they are neither taken advantage of, nor converted by, Roman Catholics. For example, Skipper George Barbury states regarding his daughter Lucy that “[his] poor, dear maid loved her Saviour too much to hear to e’er a Roman. She’ll folly her own church, thank God, while she’s livin’, or ef she’s dead. . . she’ll never change now. . . .”⁵⁹⁷ However, such Protestant piety is demonstrated not only in Lowell’s polemic against Roman Catholic proselytism, but also by other means. Sunday is always observed in Peterport as a day of rest. Even after Lucy’s disappearance, she is prayed for on Sunday in church. Never throughout the Sabbath is she actively searched for.⁵⁹⁸ Ladford also spends a great deal of time reading his Bible and his prayer book,⁵⁹⁹ as did Lucy before her alleged kidnapping, when one scene in the novel shows her reading the New Testament lesson during Evening Prayer.⁶⁰⁰

Also central to *New Priest in Conception Bay* is Lowell’s extensive, commanding use of local dialect. Linguist Philip Hiscock identifies five dialects: standard English spoken by upper class Protestant characters such as Rev. Wellon, the Newfoundland English of working-class Protestants like Skipper George, Irish-English which is spoken by most of the Catholics, the Newfoundland Irish-

⁵⁹⁶Lowell, *New Priest*, 66-67.

⁵⁹⁷Lowell, *New Priest*, 94.

⁵⁹⁸Lowell, Chapter XIX, “The Day of Rest,” in *New Priest*, 118-122.

⁵⁹⁹Lowell, *New Priest*, 361.

⁶⁰⁰Lowell, *New Priest*, 61.

English of the Roman Catholic priests, and American English spoken by Elnathan Bangs.⁶⁰¹ Hiscock maintains that standard English is the domain of the respectable characters of the novel, notably Parson Wellon, Peterport's Anglican missionary.⁶⁰² Thus, Lowell uses dialect to maintain his contention that Protestants are more respectable than Roman Catholics. The use of Newfoundland English especially conforms to the mid-nineteenth century, outport Newfoundland setting.

Given that both *New Priest in Conception Bay* and *Five Letters Occasioned by Published Assertions of a Roman Catholic Priest* were not published until the 1850s,⁶⁰³ it becomes evident that Lowell's anti-Catholicism did not end once he had left Bay Roberts. On the contrary, it increased his sensitivities for what he thought was a fundamentally destructive potential of Roman Catholicism. Having ministered in Newfoundland, where he feared Catholics would assert their influence and authority to the point of placing Evangelicals on the defensive, Lowell remained ever suspicious of the Roman Catholic influence in America.

According to Lowell's rhetoric in his *Five Letters Occasioned by Published Assertions of a Roman Catholic Priest*, the Roman Catholics in and around Newark posed a distinct threat to Protestants. Lowell addressed the five letters to the local priest, Father P. Murphy, who is accused of vehemently supporting Father P. Moran's assertions that the Bible was approved by Pope Pius VI,⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰¹Philip Hiscock, "Dialect Representation in R.T.S. Lowell's Novel *New Priest in Conception Bay*," in *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Harold J. Paddock (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Department of Linguistics, 1982), 115-121.

⁶⁰²Hiscock, 115.

⁶⁰³Lowell, *New Priest*, Bibliographical and Publishing Information page. Also, Lowell, *Five Letters*, Title page.

⁶⁰⁴Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter One, 5.

that the Roman Catholic Church forbids Bible reading,⁶⁰⁵ that the King James Version of the Bible is corrupt because it omits the apocrypha,⁶⁰⁶ that the Council of Trent authorized the apocrypha,⁶⁰⁷ and that the Roman Catholic Church punishes heretics.⁶⁰⁸ Lowell defended these accusations in these five letters.

Like Spencer and Bridge, Lowell's chief criticism of Roman Catholics centred on the Evangelical value and authority of Scripture. Lowell writes that Catholic doctrine "has corrupted the Canon of Scripture"⁶⁰⁹ and encouraged the growth of an excessively law-oriented faith whose doctrines and beliefs are not based on Scripture.⁶¹⁰ For him, Roman Catholicism represented "... a warfare with a priesthood so discourteous and unscrupulous. . . an unrighteous superstition – which has invaded Heaven to set up rival thrones for men-and-women demigods, and Hell to steal the fire for its own purgatory; . . ." ⁶¹¹ Catholics, according to Lowell, reinterpret or evade biblical tenets to comply with their own beliefs, a situation that has its roots in the sanctioning of non-scriptural doctrines by Popes and Councils. Catholicism is thus a faith in which priests and Popes assume divine authority through its "pretended 'sacrament of penance,' [which seeks] to enslave all to its ministers. . . ," ⁶¹² and through

⁶⁰⁵Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter Two, 9.

⁶⁰⁶Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letters Three, Four, and Five, 12-22.

⁶⁰⁷Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter Five, 18.

⁶⁰⁸Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter One, 6-7.

⁶⁰⁹Lowell, *Five Letters*, Title page.

⁶¹⁰Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter One, 6-7.

⁶¹¹Lowell, *Five Letters*, iii.

⁶¹²Lowell, *Five Letters*, iii.

which confession of sins are to be made not directly to God but through human intermediaries. Lowell's letters to Murphy were fueled not only by scriptural issues in general, but also by his previous experiences. Lowell stated in the introduction to *Five Letters* that he "well knows the unpleasant character of a warfare with a priesthood so discourteous and unscrupulous."⁶¹³ He did not specify, however, whether or not the statement referred specifically to the Bay Roberts situation. Harold Blodgett, a Lowell biographer, sheds some light on Lowell's intentions by indicating that Murphy became the model for Father Terence, the Catholic priest at Bay-Harbour who was instrumental in Bangs's conversion to Catholicism.⁶¹⁴

Lowell spoke out against the alleged general attitude of Catholics towards the Bible as demonstrated by Popes Pius IV's and Gregory VIII's prohibition of reading specified biblical books.⁶¹⁵ Lowell contends that the entire Bible, not merely selected portions, represents God's word⁶¹⁶ and is therefore authoritative. He rejects the papal authority to judge the authenticity and worth of biblical books. That the Bible claims a place of centrality in the religiosity of Evangelicals is shown not only by a great variety of Evangelical authors claiming that the Bible as God's word was inspired and should be interpreted literally,⁶¹⁷ but also by Lowell's Newfoundland contemporaries Spencer and Bridge. Spencer taught that scripture was "the teacher of the one thing needful."⁶¹⁸ He also opposed the

⁶¹³Lowell, *Five Letters*, Introduction, iii.

⁶¹⁴Blodgett, "Lowell," 581, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-19.

⁶¹⁵Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter One, 7, and Letter Two, 9.

⁶¹⁶Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter Five, 22.

⁶¹⁷Bebbington, 12-13, 86-88.

⁶¹⁸Spencer, "Needful," in *Subjects*, 71.

Catholic tendency to hold fast to doctrines that were not based on biblical teachings.⁶¹⁹ For Bridge, “Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation.”⁶²⁰

Secondly, Lowell repudiated the Catholic contention that the King James Bible, by dint of its omitting the apocrypha, represented a corruption of Scripture.⁶²¹ The apocrypha, Lowell argued, did not form part of the original biblical canon and received only later the approval by the Council of Trent, a Roman Catholic church body that he and other Evangelicals did not recognize as being authoritative.⁶²² Lowell felt that in order to seek its own purposes and intents, the Council of Trent sanctioned the Latin Vulgate, a translation authorized by Popes and Councils. Lowell added, “nor is our Canon [the King James Version] left to private judgment only.”⁶²³

Thirdly, Lowell turned in his polemic to the patristic authority of St. Jerome, who had approved the biblical canon without the apocrypha.⁶²⁴ That the Council of Trent would ignore and repudiate Jerome’s judgment, which the church of the fifth century approved, represented in Lowell’s view a corruption not only of Scripture but also of ancient religious authority and thus reaffirmed the notion that the members of the Council of Trent followed their own desires, whether they were scripturally authenticated or not. Thus, in *Five Letters*, Lowell, like his contemporaries Spencer and Bridge who touched on the biblical issue in their writings, sought to demonstrate how Roman Catholicism had

⁶¹⁹Spencer, *Church*, 16.

⁶²⁰Bridge, *Two Religions*, 13.

⁶²¹Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter Three, 12.

⁶²²Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter Five, 18.

⁶²³Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter Five, 18-22.

⁶²⁴Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter Four, 16-17.

undermined and posed a threat to the supreme Evangelical religious authority, the teachings of the Bible.

5.3 Conversionism

Although Lowell's *Five Letters* is best known for its anti-Catholicism, it also demonstrates his views on Christian conversion. Lowell objected that the Catholic method of dealing with penitents in no way matched that of Protestants, who encourage penitence through a voluntary change of heart and will as necessary precursors to conversion. Roman Catholics, on the other hand, Lowell alleged, threatened with punishment, so that their version of penitence was much less gentle: "The church of which I am a priest does not condemn 'those heretics who seek to return to the faith, to perpetual imprisonment,' and require that 'they who shew signs of true penitence shall. . . be put into a monastery. . . where they may work out a perpetual penance, on the bread of affliction and water of bitterness,'" . . .⁶²⁵ By contrast, Protestant doctrine merely encourages sinners to repent and turn to God. Catholic penance, on the other hand, relied according to Lowell too heavily on the ultimatum of divine retribution for wrongdoing.

Lowell's views on conversion were embedded in his anti-Catholic polemic. There is no evidence of his having been actively involved in revivals. Moreover, the fact that he was a Church of England missionary and parish priest did not permit him to travel extensively outside the bounds of his missions and rectorates.

However, Lowell's views on conversion also make the occasional appearance in his poetry. Selected stanzas from "The Days of Sin" demonstrate how one's life changes after accepting Christ as one's Saviour:

⁶²⁵Lowell, *Five Letters*, Letter One, 7.

A change began to be!
 I felt the Breath of Life!
 For Heaven and Hell was strife:
 I struggled and was free!

Ah! now the strife was done:
 I sought the Flesh and Blood;
 I ate Salvation's food;
 My soul to Christ was won.⁶²⁶

Hence, once the battle with sin is waged, Lowell suggests here, salvation is achieved and Christ becomes the focal point of one's Christian life.

5.4 Biblicism

Not only was *Five Letters Occasioned by Published Assertions of a Roman Catholic Priest* an anti-Catholic treatise, it also illustrated Lowell's reverence for Scripture. As with Spencer and Bridge, Lowell opposed religious doctrines and beliefs that had no authorization in Scripture. Such a normative view of Scripture can also be found in his short story "A Raft That No Man Made," which contains lessons expressly based on biblical precepts.

"A Raft That No Man Made" is a tale in which the personal piety and faith of Skipper Benjie Westham, the main character, is explained by reference to scripture and Sabbatarianism, such as in Westham's statement that "we thowt wrong of `e's takun the Lord's Day to `e'sself"⁶²⁷ when speaking of a neighbour who had broken the Sabbath by working on Sunday. Sabbatarianism, a common Evangelical cause, is based on the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20: 1-17 but transferred to the

⁶²⁶Lowell, "Sin," in *Poems*, 25.

⁶²⁷Lowell, "Raft," 366.

Christian Sunday on which no work was to be performed. Lowell portrays Westham as a pious Newfoundlander who not only respects God's commandments but demonstrates a reverence for the Bible by "[kep'n] up [his] psalms, an' verses out o' the Bible"⁶²⁸ as a means of private devotion. The use of dialect in this story, as in Lowell's novel, conforms to the Newfoundland setting⁶²⁹ and reflects the author's personal experience. Skipper Westham is one of his Bay Roberts parishioners, specifically a person who was not only literate and who had experience as a sea captain, but who was also deeply pious.

5.5 Crucicentrism

Passages that outline Lowell's beliefs in the sacrifice of Christ's death on the cross occur mainly in his poems. In "Burger's Lenore," Lowell shows that Christ's death and resurrection is celebrated in the Lord's Supper and that partakers of that sacrament are thereby cleansed:

Help, God! whoe'er the Father knows,
Knows He the children loveth;
The Holy Sacrament such woes
As thine, my child, removeth.⁶³⁰

Also, Lowell accorded importance to Christ's death in his work with the Newfoundland famine appeal. Despite Lowell's best efforts, many Newfoundlanders succumbed nevertheless to the twin

⁶²⁸Lowell, "Raft," 371.

⁶²⁹That Newfoundland is the place setting for the short story is also found in Rollmann, "Lowell," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 575. Philip Hiscock also studied dialect usage in Lowell's *New Priest in Conception Bay*, but made no reference to any of Lowell's other writings. For further information, see Hiscock in Paddock, 114-121.

⁶³⁰Lowell, "Burger's," in *Fresh Hearts*, 73.

curse of malnutrition and starvation. Lowell dealt with the news of their deaths by fervently believing that the people of Newfoundland earned themselves a heavenly home by accepting the very Saviour who died and was resurrected to give them eternal life.⁶³¹ However, nowhere in the extant writings did Lowell employ the terminology “atonement” or “substitutionary sacrifice.” In this way, he deviates from the Evangelical emphasis on the atonement as far as Christ’s death on the cross is concerned.

5.6 Opposition To Bishop Feild

Despite the fact that Lowell came to Newfoundland while Spencer was bishop, the greater portion of his ministry there occurred during the episcopate of Bishop Edward Feild. As an Evangelical, Lowell took as much offense to his superior’s Tractarianism as he did to Catholicism in Bay Roberts, while Feild likely considered Lowell an hindrance to his High Church vision of Newfoundland Anglicanism. But also the cultural backgrounds of both men must be taken into consideration. While Feild was self-consciously British, Lowell remained an American. The cultural and political differences continued and may well have been the reason for some of Feild’s reluctance towards Lowell. This becomes evident in Feild’s letter of 26 May 1847 to Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the S.P.G., written at the time when Lowell, due to ill health, could no longer justify his remaining in Newfoundland and had applied for a mission station elsewhere. Feild wrote that “The Rev. R. Lowell, Missionary at Bay Roberts, has applied to me for his discharge. He has had some unpleasant dispute with his parishioners, and his health is much impaired. Under these circumstances, I have thought it right to grant his request. I

⁶³¹Rollmann, A Biographical Chronology of R.T.S. Lowell, 4, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-03.

have no complaint whatever against him: but he is an American.”⁶³² Lowell’s illness was due, in part, to the famine conditions in Newfoundland, which in turn was exacerbated by mercantile price-gouging.⁶³³ Nevertheless, during his ministry at Newark, he continued to aid famine-stricken Newfoundlanders.

It becomes apparent, therefore, that a combination of Feild’s Tractarianism and anti-American sentiment, along with Lowell’s own health problems, all played a part in his decision to return to America. That this was indeed the case is also indicated by Hans Rollmann in his address to the Newfoundland Historical Society, where he states that, “Merchant dissatisfaction, a radical change in ecclesiastical outlook between Bishop Spencer, a vocal Evangelical, and Edward Feild, the new ‘Tractarian’ bishop of Newfoundland; as well as Bishop Field’s anti-American stance all contributed towards Lowell’s departure from the island.”⁶³⁴ Hence, in 1847, Lowell departed Bay Roberts for the United States, although his new ecclesiastical superior, Bishop George Washington Doane of the Diocese of New Jersey, who assigned Lowell to Newark, was also a Tractarian.⁶³⁵ Nevertheless, from the standpoint of climate, America was a more favourable environment for Lowell to work in.

5.7 Conclusion

After returning to Massachusetts, Lowell laboured with great commitment on behalf of starving

⁶³²Feild to Hawkins, 26 May 1847, Rollmann, “A Biographical Chronology of R.T.S. Lowell,” 5, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-03.

⁶³³*The Boston Evening Transcript*, 14 September 1891, 7.

⁶³⁴Rollmann, “The New Anglican Priest in Conception Bay: Robert T.S. Lowell and Bay Roberts,” 3, R.N.L.A., File 1-005-04.

⁶³⁵“George Washington Doane,” in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 5: 333.

Newfoundlanders by issuing a famine appeal in New England, and supervised the collection and shipping of foodstuffs to Newfoundland, thus continuing his Evangelical activities which he exhibited previously in Newfoundland. His anti-Catholicism emerges most clearly in his *Five Letters* but also in his novel *New Priest in Conception Bay*. While in Newark and Duanesburg, he continued his benevolent activities for the poor. His ceaseless activities among his Newfoundland parishioners during dire periods of want, even to the point of endangering his own health and social relations with the merchants, establish him clearly as an Evangelical activist, even where his isolation in a relatively small outport placed natural limits on his activities in missionary societies.

The Bible as God's authoritative word and means of personal and private devotion is thematized in Lowell's short story "A Raft That No Man Made." The same short story and his Newfoundland novel are also a witness to his Sabbatarianism, which he shared with other Canadian and North American Evangelicals. Most of his publicly demonstrated biblicism, as found in his *Five Letters*, centres on defending the value of Scripture against Catholic doctrines that have no direct biblical warrant but rest instead on ecclesiastical traditions.

Thus his activism, at times with a strong anti-Catholic edge, as well as his biblicism, are the chief pillars of Lowell's Evangelical universe. As far as soteriology and Christology are concerned, a strong sense of otherworldliness pervades his religious poetry with its references to Christ's death and his comforting belief that the famine victims would go to Heaven since Christ died for their sins. In the extant literature, there are, however, no direct references to the doctrine of substitutionary atonement. His views on penance mostly surface in his anti-Catholic polemic. Conversion focuses on the saving power of Christ and appears largely in his poetry. However, the doctrine of assurance receives no

attention whatsoever. Thus Lowell meets Bebbington's characteristics of activism and biblicism while his views on conversion and atonement are never so clearly profiled that they validate him as an Evangelical as far as Christology and soteriology are concerned.

There is, however, in Lowell's anti-Catholicism an implicit recognition of the value of conversion not shared by Spencer and Bridge. For Lowell, the anti-Catholic theme was not merely confined to his biblicism and activism but affected ultimately also the way he understood repentance. In his *Five Letters* he views the Roman Catholic notion of penance with its specter of a severe divine retribution as a much less genteel method than the Evangelical emphasis on the believer's repentance and turning to God in faith. Nowhere in Spencer and Bridge is anti-Catholicism ever probed as to its perceived deficiencies for human conversion.

To judge accurately the scope and full range of a minister's Evangelical ethos and commitment, an examination of a greater variety of writings is required than is available in the extant published writings and unpublished letters of Lowell. Especially the absence of his sermons limits our judgment of his theological profile. But based on the available writings and records about his activities, Lowell can be identified as an Evangelical, even where the limited range of his publications does not allow us as clearly a judgment about his Evangelical character as could be established in the case of his contemporaries Spencer and Bridge.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The Evangelical movement with its evangelistic and missionary mandate had a vital presence in the Church of England Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda. Here it converged with and promoted the ideological interests of Great Britain to retain its status as a great world power. Through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, one of its chief missionary arms with a century-long presence in Newfoundland, the Church of England sent such missionaries as Aubrey George Spencer and Thomas F.H. Bridge to Newfoundland, and Spencer, in turn, recommended to the society a kindred spirit, American-born Robert Traill Spence Lowell. The theology, ethos, and activities of these three men are the focus of this study.

Not all Anglican clergy in nineteenth-century Newfoundland, however, were Evangelicals. Edward Feild, the second bishop of Newfoundland, was a professed Tractarian, whose influence affected vitally the Evangelical movement in Newfoundland, as he not only changed T.F.H Bridge's religious views but was also an important factor in the decline of the Newfoundland School Society and a reason for Lowell's departure in 1847. Ecclesiastical authorities in Great Britain selected Feild for mission work in Newfoundland not so much for his theological stance but for his prospect in providing leadership and institutional development for the new diocese. The Evangelical movement that blossomed in early nineteenth-century Newfoundland and Bermuda declined slowly with the departure of Spencer for Jamaica in 1844.

The Evangelical world of thought promoted by Spencer, Bridge, and Lowell in Newfoundland was by no means unique but held much in common with Evangelicals worldwide. Examples are

Spencer's baptismal theology, which echoes that of Henry Ryder, the first Evangelical bishop in the Church of England, as well as Bridge's involvement with the temperance cause and Lowell's Sabbatarianism, which assumed importance for Evangelicals in Canada and elsewhere.

While Evangelicalism features different theological and ecclesiastical emphases depending on the time period and the locale under study, several distinctive marks have endured throughout its history according to David W. Bebbington, notably conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism. Bebbington's characteristics were considered as particularly relevant for this study because they fell into the appropriate time frame, had a wide scope and -- while observing Evangelicalism in a global context -- paid nevertheless special attention to the history of the movement in Great Britain, of which Newfoundland was a colony and from where most clergy were sent.

Since the Evangelical movement as it is described in this study originated in Great Britain, it was inevitable therefore that British-born Evangelical clergy would spend part of their ministries in Newfoundland, Bermuda, and Britain's other colonies. The paucity of clergy prior to Spencer's episcopate required that if Great Britain were to maintain its footing as a world power in Newfoundland, it needed to establish societies and missions there. This was all the more required in view of an aggressive presence and expansion of Roman Catholicism on the island after 1830. The newly-founded diocese, therefore, represented an ideal setting in which the S.P.G. could engage in its "Christianizing" efforts.

To summarize the results of this thesis as far as Evangelicalism in the Church of England in Newfoundland is concerned, we observed its theological profile by examining the Newfoundland situation and its major representatives through Bebbington's four abiding characteristics of Evangelical

religion. Conversionism, the belief that people's lives need to be changed so that they may turn away from sin to God in faith, accept Christ as their personal Saviour, and mold their lives on godly living, while being assured of God's love, is represented in Spencer, who responded to the contemporary needs by establishing a seminary in Newfoundland so that indigenous clergy would ease the patent clerical shortage and by so doing improve the impoverished state of religion in the diocese. Spencer's sermons in the volume entitled *On Various Subjects* focus on the importance of conversion. His poetry witnesses to his belief in both the "laver of regeneration" in baptism and in a growth in holiness. Bridge was also aware of the need for human lives to change. His ideas on conversion are best exhibited in *The Two Religions*. Bridge's "The Duty of Christians Towards Their Fellow Immortals" highlights the importance of assurance. Lowell's notion of conversion can be found in his poetry as well as in his *Five Letters*, where he contrasts the Evangelical pastoral approach of dealing with sinners with the Roman Catholic one, which, in his judgment, relies too heavily on reward and punishment in the hereafter.

Part of the problem with the concept of conversion, particularly for Church of England Evangelicals, was attempting to reconcile revivalistic conversion, which involved an obvious and heartfelt change of lifestyle and attitude by conscious adults with regenerative sacramental change in infant baptism and incorporation into the community of believers. Bebbington notes that the issue of revivalistic conversion vis-a-vis the ecclesiastical type as laid out in the sacrament of infant baptism was one of the theological controversies among nineteenth-century Evangelicals, one which, in his opinion, has never been satisfactorily resolved. Notable is the case of the Evangelical George C. Gorham, who was denied a parish because he rejected the traditional doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The Newfoundland Evangelical T.F.H. Bridge sought to solve the theological problem by choosing the

Pauline distinction between those who were “of” the faith and those who were “in” the faith. Spencer distinguished in his sermon “On the Consolations of Religion” between the “abjur[ation of] all fleshly lusts” at baptism and the point of “reformation” in adulthood when one’s baptismal vows translate into action and practice, manifested in “public, holy, and eternal obligations.”

The second abiding characteristic of Evangelical religion is activism and covers a wide range of benevolent, missionary, and apologetic activities. All three of the Newfoundland Evangelicals laboured extensively either through involvement in missionary societies, ecclesiastical work, education, or other private activities. While Lowell had no extensive involvement with organized societies, his work as relief commissioner in Newfoundland and his active famine appeal in New England for his former parishioners after leaving the island indicate his evangelical concern with the plights of the impoverished. Spencer and Bridge were both involved with the Newfoundland School Society. Bridge also held prominent positions in such societies such as the Temperance Society and the Church of England Branch of the St. John’s Academy. All three Newfoundland Evangelicals opposed Roman Catholic doctrines and beliefs, which they felt had no scriptural warrant. Spencer did so in his sermon *The Church of God*, Bridge spoke out against them in *The Two Religions* and in his letter to Peter Winsor, and Lowell battled Catholic influence through his novel *New Priest in Conception Bay* and his polemical exchange, *Five Letters*.

Activism also involved itinerancy. However, the Newfoundland situation was different from that of America where itinerancy was as much a part of the conversion strategies as of a missionary’s activities.⁶³⁶ The Newfoundland Evangelicals, who were members of the Church of England, were

⁶³⁶Noll et al, however, place more emphasis on the itinerancy issue than does Bebbington.

limited to their own parish or diocese. Nevertheless, Spencer visited Bermuda at least once a year during his episcopacy, even though he was stationed in St. John's, Newfoundland, the seat of the diocese. Bridge travelled throughout Newfoundland as superintendent of the Newfoundland School Society in which he was involved.

The third of Bebbington's characteristics, biblicism, is the view that since the Bible is the inspired and authoritative word of God, it plays a pivotal role in all religious activities and thought. Reverence for Scripture is conspicuous in such anti-Catholic writings as Spencer's *The Church of God*, Bridge's *The Two Religions* and letter to Peter Winsor, and Lowell's *New Priest in Conception Bay* and *Five Letters*. Biblical issues also gave rise to public anti-Catholicism during the development of Newfoundland's early education system. The biblical thought of Spencer, Bridge, and Lowell was, however, not always preoccupied with anti-Catholic issues and sentiment. These men also championed biblical authority constructively in other writings, such as in the funeral sermon to Reverend Trimingham, as well as in selected sermons in *On Various Subjects*, where Spencer encouraged private reading of the Bible as an aid to devotion, a source of solace in times of trouble, and for educational purposes. Bridge's stance on the value of Scripture receives attention in "The Duty of Christians Towards Their Fellow Immortals" and in his letter that outlines his disapproval of the fund raising through charity balls. Lowell's short story "A Raft That No Man Made" also champions the biblical concept of Sabbatarianism and the use of the Bible for personal and private devotion.

Crucicentrism, Bebbington's fourth mark of Evangelical religion, is the belief that salvation through the cross of Christ represents the salvific centre of religious faith and thought. Central to this belief was for Evangelicals the doctrine of atonement through which Christ's death substitutes, or

atones, for humanity's sins. Spencer wrote of atonement in *The Church of God* while Bridge thematized it in his three sermons for Rev. Carrington and in his sermon he preached at the opening of the church in Quidi Vidi. Lowell's belief in the cross of Christ appears chiefly in his poetry as well as in his belief that the Newfoundland famine victims who died from starvation would go to Heaven because Christ died for their sins.

Thus, during the period 1819 to 1844, Evangelically-oriented Anglican missionaries to Newfoundland made every effort to convert those who had not embraced Christianity and accepted Christ with a conscious commitment. They also provided educational and other benevolent services to those in need, established church congregations, preached with an emphasis on biblical topics and issues, and emphasized the importance and meaning of Christ's death on the cross.

Spencer, Bridge, and Lowell championed Evangelical notions in thought and practice that fit the criteria of Evangelical religion. Spencer appears to have matched the model suggested by Bebbington in all four characteristics, Bridge and Lowell to a slightly lesser degree. Bridge specifies less emphatically the Bible as a means for private devotion. The literature written by Lowell does not permit any definitive conclusions about his views regarding assurance in conversion and the importance of substitutionary atonement, yet some of his poetry includes references to the importance of the cross of Christ.

Lowell among the Newfoundland Evangelicals was, however, most strongly anti-Catholic. He did not limit his anti-Catholic sentiments to apologetic and biblical issues but extended it to the areas of soteriology and pastoral care, where he criticized what in his judgment was the excessively punitive Catholic approach of dealing with sinners. Thus, Spencer's and Bridge's anti-Catholicism extends only to two of the four examined characteristics, whereas for Lowell, anti-Catholicism appears in three. In

profiling himself as Evangelical, Lowell's massive anti-Catholicism almost seems to compensate for his unemphatic views on assurance and atonement, although their absence is by no means assured and may very well be due to the fact that none of the sermon literature of Lowell has survived.

The presence of Catholics in Newfoundland appears to have been one of the driving forces that fueled the S.P.G.'s decision to send Spencer and Bridge to Newfoundland as well as Spencer's decision to engage Lowell for missionary work. A second driving force was what Phillip McCann labels "cultural imperialism," that is, Britain's need to preserve its status as a world power by "Christianizing" its colonies. The third was Newfoundland's clergy shortage. The existence of communities that had never enjoyed the benefits of established religious and educational institutions was sufficient to provoke the S.P.G. to action and to ensure that Newfoundland and Bermuda received a sufficient supply of missionaries. Overall, Aubrey George Spencer, Thomas F.H. Bridge, and Robert Lowell promoted ideas and exhibited an ethos that matches the marks of Evangelical religion identified by Bebbington and can thus indeed be considered as "Evangelicals."

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Newfoundland School Society, Annual Reports, Volumes 1 and 2, 1824-1857. (Microfilm 619, Reels A-322 to A-325). Copy made on behalf of the Public Archives of Canada.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: The Journals, 1701-1850. Volumes 32 to 45. Wakefield: Micro Methods, 1964 (Microfilm 567).

Reel 10, Volume 32, Minutes of 17 December 1819 Meeting – Spencer accepted a transfer to Trinity from Ferryland when Rev. Clinch became ill.

Reel 10, Volume 32, Minutes of 15 December 1820 Meeting – Spencer was fed up with the Ferryland Mission because the people there were too impoverished to provide a parsonage or contribute towards Spencer's stipend.

Reel 10, Volume 33, Minutes of 19 January 1821 Meeting – Spencer, in his first year at Trinity Bay Mission, performed thirty baptisms, sixteen marriages, and fifteen funerals.

Reel 10, Volume 33, Minutes of 7 February 1821 Meeting – The S.P.G. responded to Spencer's request to aid the Trinity Bay Mission by sending Bibles, testaments, prayer books, and catechisms.

Reel 10, Volume 33, Minutes of 1 June 1822 Meeting – Spencer assumed his new position as overseer of Bermuda. This was due to illness caused by the climate

- in Newfoundland. Three years later, he would be promoted to Archdeacon.
- Reel 10, Volume 33, Minutes of 15 November 1822 Meeting – Spencer received an honourarium of 75 pounds in addition to his regular salary of 100 pounds per annum.
- Reel 11, Volume 35, Minutes of 19 November 1824 Meeting – The S.P.G. sent Spencer 100 pounds towards the cost of two free schools in Bermuda. Spencer then requested the S.P.G. for further funding to pay a school master's salary.
- Reel 11, Volume 35, Minutes of 17 June 1825 Meeting – The S.P.G. complied with Spencer's 19 November 1824 request for a teacher's salary and also sent extra money to purchase clothing for the Negro children.
- Reel 11, Volume 36, Minutes of 21 July 1826 Meeting – Spencer requested the S.P.G. to send Bibles and prayer books for the use of the churches in Bermuda.
- Reel 11, Volume 37, Minutes of 19 April 1827 Meeting – Bishop Inglis had helped Spencer to establish eight Sunday schools and adult schools in Bermuda, and had arranged for the school masters to receive an extra 20 pounds salary from the S.P.G.
- Reel 12, Volume 40, Minutes of 19 March 1830 Meeting – Bishop Inglis approved a school and teacher for Paget Parish, Bermuda.
- Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 16 December 1836 Meeting – The S.P.G. donated 150 pounds to enlarge the church at Sandys Parish, Bermuda.
- Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 18 December 1840 Meeting – Spencer requested an extra 500 pounds for cathedral construction in addition to the 1,000 he requested just previous thereto.
- Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 16 April 1841 Meeting – Spencer appointed Mr. Jeynes for the Placentia Bay and Fortune Bay Missions.
- Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 19 November 1841 Meeting – Spencer appointed Rev. Meek for a mission which he did not name.
- Reel 13, Volume 44, Minutes of 21 January 1842 Meeting – Spencer appointed Rev. Netten and a lay person named Grant for the Catalina Mission.
- Reel 14, Volume 45, Minutes of 17 June 1842 Meeting – The S.P.G. sent 50 pounds in response to Spencer's 2 November 1841 request for funding towards a lecture hall for the theological seminary.
- Reel 14, Volume 45, Minutes of 17 July 1846 Meeting – The fire of 9 June 1846 destroyed much of St. John's, including the new cathedral.

Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (P.A.N.L.):

971.8G, S.P.G.F.P., 'C' Mss., MG 598/A192, Box 1A/20, Microfilm Reel B-4-1, f. 2:
Spencer to S.P.G., 24 January 1821 – Spencer outlined the benefits of having a

school established in Trinity.

S.P.G., C. Mss. Canada, Diocese of Newfoundland, 1839-1855, Box 11/23:

Spencer to the Bishop of Northern Ireland, 22 August 1839 – Spencer indicated that he appointed Rev. C. Bowman for the Ferryland Mission.

Spencer to A.M. Campbell, 25 March 1840 – Spencer appointed Rev. Crocodile to be Archdeacon of Bermuda.

Spencer's Diary, 22 May-13 June and 7-13 August, 1840 – Spencer reported of his visits around the island of Newfoundland to such communities as Bay Roberts, Trinity, Bonavista, King's Cove, and others. During this voyage, he consecrated church buildings and cemeteries, confirmed candidates, and ordained clerics.

Spencer to Campbell, 1 July 1840 – Spencer ordained five members of the Newfoundland School Society and commissioned them for church work in the communities where they were teaching.

Spencer to S.P.G., 22 July 1840 – Spencer requested the S.P.G. for funding to repair dilapidated churches in Conception Bay.

Spencer's Diary, 13 August 1840 – Spencer reported that Newfoundland had fourteen missionaries, far below what was required to minister to 31,110 communicants among 43 congregations.

Spencer to Rev. E. Hawkins, 1 September 1840 – Spencer requested the S.P.G. for 1,000 pounds towards the construction of the new cathedral.

Spencer to Hawkins, 18 November 1840 – Spencer requested the S.P.G. for funding to construct church buildings in the Placentia Bay Mission.

Spencer to the Treasurer of the S.P.G., 25 March 1841 – Spencer requested the S.P.G. for funding to construct an orphanage at St. John's.

Spencer to Hawkins, 23 July 1841 – Spencer visited Baie Verte during his 1841 diocesan visitation.

Spencer to Campbell, 2 August 1841 – Spencer visited Fogo and the Bay of Islands during his 1841 diocesan visitation.

Spencer to Hawkins, 20 December 1841 – Spencer visited Fortune Bay during his 1841 diocesan visitation.

Spencer to Campbell, 26 April 1842 – Spencer collected, by early 1842, 5,000 pounds towards the construction of the cathedral.

S.P.G., C/CAN/NFL:

F. 4, *The Primary Charge of the Bishop of Newfoundland.*

F. 4, Campbell to Spencer, 2 March 1841 – Campbell echoed the lament of most of his colleagues that British-born clergy, unaccustomed to Newfoundland's cooler and wetter climate and its economic poverty, remained there only for short periods, thus adding to Newfoundland's clergy shortage.

F. 4, Spencer to Campbell, 26 April 1841 – Spencer thanked the S.P.G. for agreeing

to pay 100 pounds annual salary to the five Newfoundland School Society members commissioned for ecclesiastical work in 1840.

- F. 4, Spencer to Campbell, 16 November 1841 – Spencer requested the S.P.G. for funding for both a Church Diocesan Society to support the theological college, for rectories throughout the diocese, and for land on which to build an edifice to house the college.
- F. 4, Spencer to Campbell, 26 April 1842 – Spencer sent a theological student to assist in the ecclesiastical efforts in a remote region of Newfoundland, most likely the southwest coast.

S.P.G., G. Mss., Newfoundland Letters Received, Volume 1:

- Spencer to Rev. C.B. Dalton, 23 May 1842 – Spencer appointed Hamilton, Smith, and Harvey to Bay de Verde, Kings Cove, and Fogo Island, respectively.
- Spencer to Campbell, 23 August 1842 – Spencer visited Burin during his 1842 diocesan visitation.
- Spencer to Campbell, 23 September 1842 – Since a site had been approved for the construction of the cathedral and contractual agreements were in place, Spencer requested the S.P.G. to send, as expediently as possible, 1,000 pounds towards the cathedral's completion.
- Spencer to Campbell, 15 December 1842 – Spencer requested the S.P.G. for funding to construct a church building at Brigus.
- Spencer to Campbell, 25 January 1843 – Spencer visited Bermuda in 1842, including the prison at Ireland Island where he planned to erect a chapel.
- Spencer to Hawkins, 7 August 1843 – Spencer's final prayer before departing Newfoundland for Jamaica was that the Church of England in Newfoundland would continue to grow and prosper despite the S.P.G.'s financial difficulties.

Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador Archive (R.N.L.A.):

- File 1-005-01, Obituary of R.T.S. Lowell in *The Churchman*, 19 September 1891.
- File 1-005-02, Hans Rollmann, "Biography of R.T.S. Lowell." The folder also includes a clipping of *The Times*, 8 January 1848.
- File 1-005-03, Hans Rollmann, "A Biographical Chronology of R.T.S. Lowell,"⁰ which includes a letter of Bishop Edward Feild to Rev. E. Hawkins, 26 May 1847 – Feild indicated that Lowell had applied to him for a discharge from the Bay Roberts Mission. He also indicated that Lowell had had some unpleasant dispute with his parishioners
- File 1-005-04, Various Documents on R.T.S. Lowell. "Account of Bay Roberts in 1845."
- File 1-005-11, Lowell to an Unnamed Party, 31 December 1847 – Here, he outlined his

work with the Newfoundland Famine Appeal, and reported that he sent seventy barrels of Indian meal on the sailing ships departing Cambridge for Newfoundland. In particular, twenty-five of the barrels were specifically marked for the Bay Roberts Mission.

- File 1-005-12, Biographical Material on R.T.S. Lowell in *Bibliography of American Literature*, Volume 6. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973.
- File 1-005-18, Hans Rollmann, "Bay Roberts Through Missionary Eyes." Unpublished Manuscript.
- File 1-005-21, *The Times*, 8 and 12 January 1848 – Newspaper clippings of Lowell's work with the Newfoundland famine appeal.
- File 1-006-03, S.P.C.K., A. Report, 1842, Spencer to S.P.C.K. (Exact date not provided) – Spencer requested the S.P.C.K. to send two teachers and six lay readers to minister in a remote region, possibly the southwest coast or west coast of the island.
- File 1-006-03, S.P.C.K., A. Report, 1842, Spencer to S.P.C.K., 2 November 1841 – Spencer reported that the theological students of the new seminary performed part of their practica at nearby settlements such as Petty Harbour and Pouch Cove. He also requested the S.P.G. for funding for a lecture hall for the college.
- File 1-006-03, S.P.C.K., A. Report, 1844, Spencer to S.P.C.K., 1843 (Exact date not provided) – Spencer spoke out against the Catholics, which he considered to be a "corrupt and almost antagonist religion." He also praised the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. for their generous support and financial aid, stating that if it were not for such funding and support, the Anglican ministry and associated educational efforts in Newfoundland could not have thrived.
- File 1-016-00, Shane O'Dea, "The Clergy, The Community, and Anglican Architecture in Newfoundland." Unpublished Paper, June 1984.
- File 1-018-01, Frederick Jones, "The Making of a Colonial Bishop: Field of Newfoundland."
- File 1-033-00, S.P.G., Bridge to S.P.G. in Annual Report, 1855, Exact date of letter not provided – Bridge informed the S.P.G. that despite his extensive and exhausting work administering to the cholera victims, he still found time to conduct confirmation classes, and that all the newly-confirmed attended the Christmas Eucharist.
- File 1-035-06, Phillip McCann, "The Newfoundland School Society, 1823-1855: Missionary Enterprise or Cultural Imperialism?" Unpublished Paper.

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The Banner of Temperance, 18 January and 15 February 1851.

The Boston Evening Transcript, 14 September 1891.

The Churchman, 19 September 1891.

The Courier, 15 January 1848, 14 April 1852, and 13 April 1853.

The Morning Post and Shipping Gazette, 5 February and 12 April 1850.

The Newfoundland Guardian and Christian Intelligencer, January 1851.

The Newfoundland Indicator, 12 April 1845.

The Patriot, 12 January 1848.

The Public Ledger, 4 March 1856.

The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser, 16 October and 13 November 1838; 5 March, 18 October, and 31 December 1839; 18 February, 5 May, and 26 June 1840; 22 January 1841; 11 March 1842; 5 January 1844; 8 April 1845; 14 October 1851; 25 October and 9 December 1853.

The Royal Gazette, 30 June 1840, 10 July 1849, and 4 March 1856.

The Star and Newfoundland Advocate, 30 January 1841.

The Times and General Commercial Gazetteer, 12 February, 18 March, and 23 December 1840; 22 February, 1 March, 16 August, and 20 December 1843; 8 and 12 January and 23 February 1848; and 24 December 1853.

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