

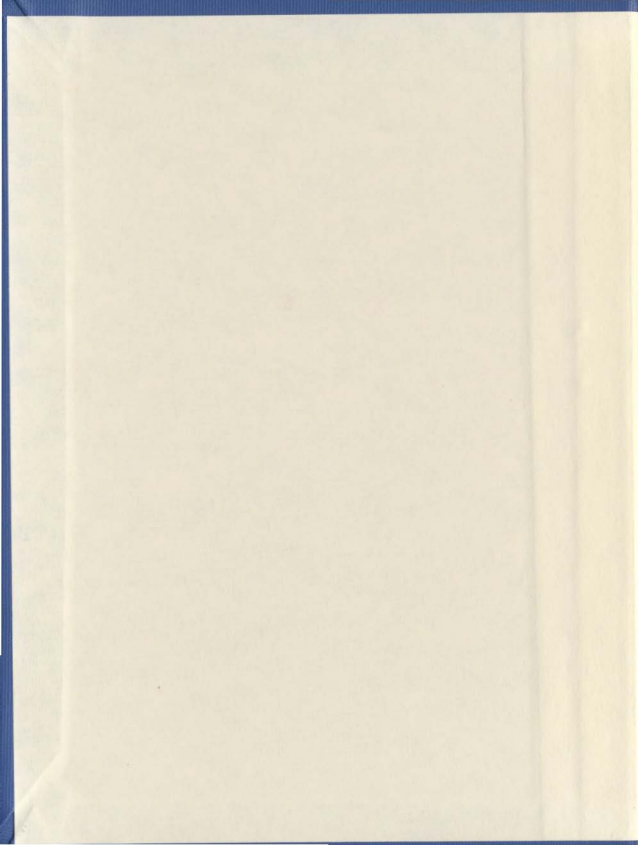
RELIGIOUS DISSENT IN ST. JOHN'S
1775 - 1815

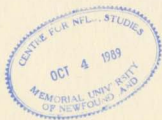
CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

**TOTAL OF 10 PAGES ONLY
MAY BE XEROXED**

(Without Author's Permission)

J.S.S. ARMOUR





RELIGIOUS DISSENT IN ST. JOHN'S

1775 - 1815

BY



J.S.S. ARMOUR, B.A., B.D., S.T.M.

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of History
Memorial University of Newfoundland

May 1988

St. John's

Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

Between the years 1775-1815, there existed in the chief harbour of Newfoundland a religious society called the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's. Although dissent in Newfoundland history has usually meant those of the Wesleyan or Methodist persuasion, the congregation at St. John's founded by John Jones, a sergeant of the Royal Artillery, in the summer of 1775, belonged to an older dissent, known as Independent or Congregational. What was somewhat unique about this congregation was the fact that, in an age when dissenters (to use the terminology of eighteenth century England) were divided, bitterly in many cases, between Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, and Methodist, all the dissenters of St. John's worshipped together in the same meeting house during the years under study. After an initial period of persecution, the dissenters of St. John's won the right to worship and perform the sacraments from a reluctant governor, well in advance of Governor Campbell's proclamation of religious liberty in 1785. The subject is examined against the background of dissent, in England and New England, with a comparison of events in Nova Scotia, as well as the many social changes taking place in St. John's during these years of war. The question of the number of dissenters in Newfoundland before the founding of the congregation in 1775

is also explored. Besides the principal events in the life of the congregation, its struggle for legal recognition, the building of the meeting houses in 1777 and 1789, and the six short ministries that followed the death of John Jones in 1800; the relations between the other two churches in St. John's, the Church of England mission founded 1699 and the Roman Catholic chapel founded in 1785, are considered. More particularly, the cause of Methodism, which was to outdistance and overshadow older dissent in Newfoundland as it did in every part of the English speaking world, is examined in depth. The history of dissent of St. John's cannot be understood without reference to the meeting house at Poole, Dorsetshire, and the person of Samuel Greatheed. The link which was first thought to be of the Fishery turned out to be of the Faith.

*

*

*

*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	page	i
List of Abreviations	page	iv
Introduction	page	1
Chapter One RELIGIOUS DISSENT	page	11
Chapter Two THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT	page	28
Chapter Three THE LITTLE SOCIETY	page	47
Chapter Four INTER-CHURCH RELATIONS	page	82
Chapter Five ... THE SECOND MEETING HOUSE	page	113
Chapter Six FIVE SHORT MINISTRIES	page	139
Epilogue	page	181
Bibliography	page	189
Appendices	page	198

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LMS	London Missionary Society
PANL	Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1775, under the leadership of a sergeant of the Royal Artillery, named John Jones, a religious society to be known as "The Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, Newfoundland" was formed. The original membership consisted of only six persons, drawn from the military, but bi-weekly services held that winter in the Court House resulted in growing support from the town and, in defiance of the governor, the building of the first meeting house in 1777. At the insistence of the congregation, Jones quit the army and returned as its duly ordained minister in 1779. After a struggle which lasted nearly two years, the dissenters of St. John's established their right to hold services and administer the sacraments well in advance of Governor Campbell's proclamation of religious liberty in 1784. (1)

-
1. Proclamation by Vice-Admiral John Campbell, 24 October, 1784, (PANL, GN2/1.): "pursuant to the King's instructions to me, you are to allow all persons inhabiting this Island to have all such modes of religious worship as are not prohibited by law, provided they be content with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to Government". See also, Hans Rollman, "Richard Edwards, John Campbell, and the Proclamation of Religious Liberty in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland" Newfoundland Quarterly, Fall, 1984.

Although there is evidence that Protestant dissent was known in Newfoundland from very early days, the religious societies founded in Conception and Trinity Bays up to this date were Methodist in sympathy and organization. The Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's was unique in that its loyalties lay with older English dissent; its doctrine, strictly Calvinistic. And yet, until the building of the first Methodist chapel at St. John's in 1815, dissenters of most persuasions - Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians-worshipped together in the one meeting house. This was in sharp contrast to neighbouring Nova Scotia, where Congregationalism, the largest denomination in that colony, suffered wreck. (2) Weakened by separation from the mother church and the defection of ministers caused by the American Revolution, the membership was divided and eventually decimated by the revival of Henry Alline. Nova Scotian Congregationalists became either Baptists or joined the rapidly growing ranks of Methodism, under the leadership of William Black. (3) Black has his place in Newfoundland

-
2. See Maurice W. Armstrong, The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia 1776-1809 (Hartford, Conn.: The American Society of Church History, 1948).
 3. G.S. French, "William Black" Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. VI, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1987) pp. 62-68.

history. In 1791, at the insistence of John Wesley, Black visited Conception Bay to revive the work begun by Laurence Coughlan in 1765. On August 10, he preached for John Jones in the splendid new meeting house, completed the previous year at a cost of over £900, the money raised almost entirely by dissenters in England. Black was a wise choice. Having learned to co-exist with the volatile Alline, Black counselled that the few Methodists there were in St. John's were well-served by John Jones and that fact, coupled with the attractive personality of Jones himself, ensured for all the dissenters of St. John's a period free from sectarian strife.

Something of the same ecumenical spirit seems to have possessed all three churches - Anglican, Roman Catholic and Dissenting - in St. John's during this period, in marked contrast to the fiery passions and prejudices of the mid-nineteenth century. The Church of England representative, the Reverend John Harries, while zealous for the privileges and powers of the established religion, nevertheless shared a common evangelical outlook with his dissenting brethren; and the Roman Catholic bishop, the Most Reverend James O'Donel, with his horror of revolution, and mindful of the history of his native Ireland, was determined that old religious hatreds would not put in jeopardy the

advance of the Catholic church in Newfoundland. (4) O'Donel, Harries and Jones in the 1790s make an interesting contrast to their successors, Bishops Michael A. Fleming and Edward Feild, and editor Henry Winton, of sixty years later.

Jones was succeeded by six short ministries covering the years 1801-1815. These might well have been years of growth for Congregationalism in Newfoundland, given a strong base in St. John's, preaching stations at Quidi Vidi, Portugal Cove and Petty Harbour, a meeting and school at Twillingate, and numerous contacts in Conception Bay. Two at least of the ministers, John Hillyard and W. J. Hyde, had some vision of the larger work, but this seems not to have been shared by the proprietors of the St. John's meeting, who perhaps were "at ease in Zion".

The history of "The Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's" for its first forty years is well-documented. Jones himself kept a most meticulous record of the life of the congregation from 1775 to his paralytic

-
4. Raymond J. Lahey, James Louis O'Donel in Newfoundland 1784-1807: The Establishment of the Roman Catholic Church (St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society Pamphlet, No. 8, 1984).

stroke in the late 1790s. (5) With perhaps an eye to the future, he made copies of all important letters and petitions, as well as financial accounts, baptisms and congregational meetings. In 1800 - the year John Jones died - the Reverend Samuel Greatheed, his great friend and benefactor, wrote a short biographical sketch, that was published in the Evangelical Magazine. (6) Greatheed's career paralleled that of Jones, and he writes with first-hand knowledge of St. John's, having been a member of the congregation sometime before 1784. (7) His account confirms and complements the Journal and places Jones and his church in the wider context of English dissent. The governors'

-
5. Referred to as John Jones' Journal. The original is in the possession of the Kirk Session of St. David's Presbyterian Church, St. John's, successor congregation to the Dissenting Church of Christ.
 6. November, 1800.
 7. The son of "a principal clerk in a banking house of respectability" in London, England, Samuel Greatheed was a military engineer posted overseas (possibly to Quebec City). He experienced a religious conversion prior to being stationed at St. John's where he became a member of John Jones' congregation. Perhaps encouraged by that "most worthy man", Greatheed quit the army and enrolled as a student for the ministry at Newport Pagnell Academy in 1784. Greatheed proved a good friend to Jones and one of the strongest supporters of the church at St. John's, soliciting money on its behalf and later, after marrying an heiress, in concert with others, supplying Jones with a pension. One of the founders of the London

correspondence, the chief source of information on the Newfoundland of this period, makes but scanty mention of the congregation, as do the reports of the Church of England missionaries to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). The principal source of information remains John Jones' Journal. Alas, that his successors did not keep it up - only the record of baptisms, marriages, a few congregational meetings, and that is all. For the last fifteen years there is, however, some help from the Royal Gazette, the Evangelical Magazine, the minutes of the London Missionary Society (LMS) and above all the Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, (1799-1815) - letters from John Hillyard, Edmund Violet and W.J. Hyde to the directors of the society giving their news and views of the Newfoundland church. An English Congregational minister, now dead, Charles E. Surman, supplied valuable biographical material regarding dissenting ministers of this period, and research carried out during the 21 years I was minister of St. David's Church, St. John's, by myself and others, revealed further items of interest.

Missionary Society in 1795, Samuel Greatheed was a strong advocate of missionaries being sent to Canada and Newfoundland. He died at Bishop's Hull, near Taunton, Somersetshire, in 1816. Charles E. Surman, "Biographies of Ministers" Archives, West Midland Province, United Reformed Church of England.

Any study of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, 1775-1815, must take into account the history of English dissent, particularly as it was influenced by the evangelical movement. Also examined will be the history of Congregationalism in New England and, in greater detail, the neighbouring colony of Nova Scotia. This by way of comparison and contrast, for, although several of Jones' congregation were Americans, all church connections were with the west country of England. While both John Jones and Henry Alline could be described as "New Light" or Whitefieldite Congregationalists, there were few similarities. (8) The Congregationalism of Newfoundland, having different roots, was quite different from the Congregationalism which evolved in the rest of Atlantic Canada.

Secondly, an attempt must be made to determine the number of dissenters in eighteenth century Newfoundland. Although the little society of John Jones began with the military and the garrison continued to play its part during this period, a congregation which required a

8. For the most sympathetic assessment of Henry Alline see G.A. Rawlyk, Ravished by the Spirit, Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984, pages 3-35.

meeting house seating 700 had to draw heavily from the town. Writers like Canon Pilot, Professor David G. Pitt and Senator Rowe tend to associate dissent in Newfoundland with Methodism and suggest that what dissenters there were before 1775 came from New England. (9) This is to ignore the strong dissenting tradition of the west country and the fact that the early English settlers probably brought with them their religious persuasion as well as their language and customs.

Thirdly, consideration must be given to the building of the first Methodist chapel at St. John's in 1815. Given the theological differences between Methodist and Calvinist within the evangelical movement, a united missionary effort in Newfoundland, so badly needed at this time, was probably impossible. The question remains, however, given its good start and the efforts of such men as Samuel Greatheed, who helped inaugurate the greatest period

-
9. The Rev. W. Pilot, D.D., "The Church of England in Newfoundland" in D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896), pp. 580-581. David G. Pitt, "Wesleyan Methodism in St. John's" Part I. Antecedents and Beginnings. Newfoundland Historical Society, St. John's, 29 November 1984. Frederick W. Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson Limited, 1980), p. 197.

of missionary expansion in the history of the Christian Church, why did Congregationalism do so badly in Newfoundland? (10) Various answers are attempted, but perhaps the most compelling is the refusal of the congregation to reach out into the community and beyond for new members. How revealing this sentence from a letter sent from Newfoundland to London from W.J. Hyde, minister 1813-1816:

There are 3 or 4 Outports, Destitute of the Gospel, to which as Mr. Parker [Nathan Parker] has observed I can not go, as my Duty calls me to St. John's.
(11)

Finally, while a knowledge of the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches is vital to any understanding of Newfoundland history, surely it is not without interest and hopefully significance that between the years 1775 and 1815 at a crucial period in the life of this

-
10. The statistics for 1884 reveal:- Church of England - 69,646; Roman Catholic - 75,330; Methodist- 48,943; Presbyterian - 1,478; Congregational- 768; and Baptist - 65. D. W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896). p. 702.
 11. Newfoundland Correspondence, London Missionary Society (LMS) W.J. Hyde, dated St. John's Newfoundland, 25 June 1813.

city and island, there was a substantial group of merchants, fishermen and their servants, together with members of the garrison at St. John's, who established a congregation, still in existence, that played some small part in the story of this, the principal harbour of the country.

* * * * *

Before we consider the circumstances which led to the founding of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's in 1775, we must explore the origins and history of English and Welsh religious dissent. The term 'dissenter' stems from the Act of Uniformity of 1662, particularly Article IV, which compelled all clergy of the Church of England to give "unfeigned assent and consent" to the restored Anglican Prayer Book and all that it contained. Those clergy who would not assent were ejected from their livings and henceforth labelled dissenters. The term 'non-conformist', although it was first used of those who would not conform to the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer of 1559, also dates from 1662 and the Act of Uniformity.

E.P. Thompson in The Making of the English Working Class feels that, "while 'non-conformity' is self-effacing and apologetic: it asks to be left alone; 'dissent' still carries the sound of resistance to Apollyon and the Whore of Babylon". (1) Michael R. Watts in The Dissenters reverses the interpretation. (2) In defence of

-
1. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London: V. Gollancz, 1963), p. 385.
 2. Michael R. Watts, The Dissenters, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 2.

Thompson, it is hard to think of 'dissent' as "self-effacing and apologetic": it is too close to the word 'dissidence', and too linked in the memories of those who would later choose to call themselves 'free churchmen' with the sufferings caused by the Clarendon Code. As Horton Davies states, "Conformity by compulsion inevitably produces a defiant Dissent". (3)

Words such as 'puritan', 'dissenter', and 'non-conformist' are negative because, as Christopher Hill has pointed out, they were first used as "reproachful names" - political epithets suggesting behaviour and beliefs ill-befitting a loyal subject of the crown. (4) But, like the name 'protestant' itself, there is a positive side as well. Men like John Jones, Samuel Greatheed and the members of the little society at St. John's, were proud to call themselves dissenters, believing that by dissenting from the Church of England as by law established, they were assenting to a higher form of churchmanship; for they believed most fervently with Martin Luther, that in matters of religion,

-
3. Horton Davies, The English Free Churches (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 5.
 4. Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London: Panther, 1969), p. 14.

to go against conscience is "neither right nor safe". (5)

Although English religious dissent had many antecedents, (6) its beginnings are usually traced to those Protestants, dissatisfied with the Elizabethan Church Settlement of 1559, who laboured both within and without the Church of England to re-form it according to what they deemed to be the "pure" Word of God. (7) This, of course, had been the declared purpose of Cranmer and all the leaders of the English Reformation, but the puritans, looking to the model of Geneva as much as Holy Writ, felt their reformation incomplete. Elizabeth I, desiring stability for her throne and peace for her realm, in an astute and largely successful move, decreed that all her peoples could believe what they wished (as long as they kept it to themselves), but must conform to the liturgy, discipline and government of the Church as laid down in the Prayer Book. (8) While

-
5. His defence at the Diet of Worms, 1521.
 6. Wyclif and his followers in England; on the continent, the medieval Cathari, to say nothing of Hussites, Waldensians and other pre-Reformation movements.
 7. Thus the nickname "puritan".
 8. The settlements of 1662 and 1689 were basically the same thing.

this perhaps was the only solution, given the shaky foundations of the Reformation in England and the extremes of the preceding two reigns, it was anathema to many of her Protestant subjects, particularly the Marian exiles recently returned from the continent. The Church of England needed further purification in the light of Scripture. (9) For puritans of every stripe the basic contention was, "Faith comes before Order, the Gospel before the Church." Tradition, whether in doctrine or practice, is a valuable guide, but a poor master. (10)

The puritans of Elizabeth's reign can be divided into two unequal parts: those who were content to wait within the church for reformation; and those impatient puritans like Robert Browne, who desired "reformation without tarrying for anie". (11) The Presbyterians were for comprehension, not separation. Their apostle was Thomas Cartwright, sometime Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at

9. Puritans objected to such things as kneeling to receive communion; wearing the surplice and other vestments; and crossing a baby at baptism; as unscriptural.

10. Ernest A. Payne, The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England (London, SCM Press Ltd., 1944) p. 151.

11. Watts, Dissenters, p. 29.

Cambridge and author of the Six Articles. Under Cartwright, the first presbytery in England was organized at Wandsworth, and Presbyterianism established in the Channel Islands. But Presbyterianism was "hardly more than a lusty infant when the Queen and her ecclesiastical advisers tried to strangle it". (12) With its fixed Confession of Faith, rigid discipline and hierarchy of courts, Presbyterianism was a viable alternative to episcopacy and was already established in Scotland. Its relative independence from state control and lack of reverence for rulers did not endear it to Elizabeth, and Archbishop Whitgift and his High Commission were determined that Presbyterianism would fail, even in its attempt to become an ecclesiola in ecclesia. Cartwright was silenced but the movement went underground and English Presbyterianism continued.

More radical were the Separatists or Independents, associated with the name of Robert Browne, (although he may well have retained his belief in a national church). For Brownists, the principle of the "gathered church" was central, in contrast to the parochial church which in their minds tended to nominalism. While many

12. Davies, The English Free Churches, page 47.

despaired of purifying the Church of England and left the country, others regarded their separation as temporary. (13) Independents and puritans saw in the rising power of parliament their best hope to tame both episcopacy and monarchy.

The persistence and breadth of support for early dissent rested as much in the weakness of the Church as in the compromising nature of state policy. The Tudors had seriously undermined the Church. Bullied into submission by Henry and plundered by all the Tudors, the Church of England had lost its independence. The power to appoint and supply the needs of its clergy had passed to other, less concerned hands. Poor, ignorant and demoralized clergy could hardly capture the allegiance of the rising middle class created by the policies of the Tudors. Although under the Stuarts there was a steady increase in the quantity and quality of Anglican ministers, (14) it was

-
13. Consider the answer of the "privye church" meeting at Plumbers Hall 1567 to Archbishop Grindal - "If from the Word of God, you can prove we are wrong, we will yield...." Watts Dissenters, pp. 23-24.
14. See A.D., Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England, Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914 (London, Longman, 1976) for statistics. p. 87.

puritan ideas which provided stimulus to thinking people. Puritans tended to be intellectuals - their leaders university men. Further, their teaching on "covenants" had implications for the social contract, and their democratic form of church government was a rebuke to the theory of the divine right of kings. Their stress on education, the work ethic, and on seriousness and simplicity, had great appeal for men of business.

If James I was a disappointment, Charles I proved a disaster to religious dissenters of every persuasion. When the Hampton Court Conference of 1604 produced none of the moderate changes requested in the Millenary Petition, conforming puritans became less confident of constitutional reform, more ready to join forces with those who would overthrow the system. The dictum "no bishop, no king" could be understood both ways. While the religious policies of the Stuarts harried many from the land, it also increased the size and stamina of the Puritan opposition at home. (15) In vain did Charles and Archbishop Laud seek to suppress lectureships and limit the power of puritans in parliament. Confrontation, not

15. It is estimated that between 1620 and 1640, 20,000 crossed the Atlantic.

comprehension, was the avowed religious policy of the Stuarts and was one of the chief factors in provoking the Civil War.

The Commonwealth of Oliver Cromwell witnessed both the triumph and defeat of comprehensive puritanism, which ensured not only the restoration of episcopacy, but also the continuing fact of dissent in English religious life. It was Presbyterianism, not Congregationalism, which became the established Church of England in 1646 in law if not in fact. It failed to take hold for many reasons - the unpopularity of the Scots, the support of the army, a near bankrupt treasury; but mostly because the nation, like Milton, decided that "new presbyter was but old priest writ large", and new parliament suspiciously like old king. The protectorate of Oliver Cromwell was a victory for Independency but it was short-lived. Freedom of religion demanded a spirit of tolerance possessed by few of the "saints". As Ernest A. Payne has pointed out, "Non-conformity is not homogeneous either historically or theologically, either in practice or in theory". (16) And yet, like Waterloo, it was a close-run

16. Payne, The Free Church Tradition, p. 147.

thing. Had Cromwell lived another ten years, it would have proved difficult to revive episcopacy and it is questionable whether Charles II would have been restored at all without the Declaration of Breda. (17) It is perhaps important to remember that only about 20 percent of English clergy left their pulpits for conscience sake in 1640 and in 1662.

The Restoration and the ejection of over nineteen hundred non-conforming ministers from their parishes seemed to end any hope of a reformed Church of England. (18) Richard Baxter and moderate Presbyterians came close at the Savoy Conference, but the motto of Peter Meiderlon did not prevail. (19) Perhaps, as G. M. Trevelyan

-
17. The Declaration of Breda 1660: "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man should be disquieted, or called to question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom".
 18. John T. Wilkinson in his 1662 and After, Three Centuries of English Nonconformity (London, Epworth Press 1962) points out that comprehension was tried one last time on 11 March, 1689, when the Earl of Nottingham introduced "An Act for uniting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects". This failed and in its place was passed "An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of Certain Laws", better known as the Toleration Act of 1689.
 19. Peter Meiderlon (1582-1651) a Lutheran, also known as Rupertus Meldenius: "Sit in necessariis

pointed out, this was salutary in the end, but the harshness of the Clarendon Code was to embitter the religious life of England for years to come. (20)

In many ways, the Great Ejection of August, 1662, was dissent's finest hour. One still marvels at so many quietly leaving pulpits (and a year's stipend) with only words of comfort and courage for their flocks. The sermons preached on that occasion still make very moving reading. The Act of Uniformity, coupled with the Conventicle Act (1664) and the Five Mile Act (1665), proved to be revenge indeed for those similarly dispossessed between 1640 and 1660. The sufferings would have been far

unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in omnibus charitas". This was a favourite quotation of Richard Baxter.

20. George Trevelyan, A Shortened History of England (Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1946) p. 450 "The religious settlement of the Restoration was not conceived in the spirit of compromise which marked the political and social settlement. Yet it may at least be questioned whether it has not led to more religious, intellectual and political liberty than would have resulted from a wider extension of the boundaries of the Established Church. If the plan to 'comprehend' Baxter and the moderate Puritans had succeeded at the abortive Savoy Conference of 1661, the Quakers, Baptists, and more advanced sects, which must still have been left outside, might have been too isolated and inconsiderable ever to enforce the claim of toleration for themselves".

greater had the laws been universally and rigorously applied. Nevertheless, the Church of England lost many of its best scholars and saints. Though many fell away during the next twenty seven years, dissent did not disappear. The Declaration of Indulgence (1672) though directed at Roman Catholics, bears witness to the continuing strength of dissenters, as the speed with which the Test Act passed parliament in 1673 testifies to the determination of the establishment to exclude them from public office. The indulgence promised by James II was even more attractive, but the dissenters were not deceived in regard to the king's true intentions. (21)

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 seemed the chance for a different church settlement, but the best William III could do was to soften the penalties of the old Clarendon Code. The Test and Corporation Acts remained, but Protestant trinitarian ministers who were prepared to take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration could obtain a license to hold meetings and, within certain limits, exercise their ministry. For dissenters, the Bill

21. Except perhaps the dissenters of Exeter who in a burst of patriotism, surely misplaced, named their church The James Meeting in honour of the promised indulgence.

of Rights was more important, and more particularly the coronation oath "to defend and uphold the Protestant religion in this kingdom". (22) It is interesting that when John Jones was challenged by the Reverend Walter Price in 1784 to obtain a license from the Bishop of London, the advice from London was that "the Coronation Oath is your security; that there shall be no persecution for conscience sake of any Protestants in his Reign [George III].... tell him we are not in the hands of the Stewarts [sic], and that no man shall deprive us and our fellow subjects with impunity". (23)

By this time, even the die-hards must have realized that if there was to be a state church at all, it must be an episcopal and uniform Church of England. Having found no agreement among themselves in the days of

-
22. Edward VIII desired to change the Oath, as offensive to his Roman Catholic subjects, in 1936. Catholic emancipation foundered for two reigns on the Hanovarian conscience regarding this same oath.
23. John Stafford to Jones, Journal, 1784. Stafford (1728-1800) was minister of New Broad Street, London for 42 years. His words derive from a famous letter from George II to the Reverend Philip Doddridge in 1743, then threatened with court action. "During my reign there shall be no persecution for conscience sake". Wilkinson, 1662 and After, p. 113.

the Commonwealth, even a weakened and congregational Presbyterianism could not co-exist in a 'Happy Union' with Independency much beyond the inaugural meetings of 1691 and there were other denominations besides. (24) Disappointed as they may well have been by the Toleration Act, dissenters now had the right to exist, and within the limits of their liberty, they were prepared to build their meeting houses and conduct their church life as best they could. It was the rights granted to duly ordained and appointed dissenting ministers in this act that the Reverend John Jones was to demand of the magistrates of St. John's when he returned on 9 July, 1779.

But it was a different dissent which emerged at the end of the years of "Black Bartholomew". Ghetto mentality is too strong (and too modern) a term, but much of its fire and more seriously, its will to extend and convert, had subsided. Dissent settled down to enjoy what freedom it had. Dissenting deputies zealously protected their rights; dissenting academics, the excellence of whose education far exceeded that of the Oxford and Cambridge of this period, ensured an articulate and erudite ministry (not

24. See R. Tudor Jones, Congregationalism in England (London, Independent Press, 1962) pp. 110-114.

to forget the patronage of the wealthy and powerful). (25)

There seemed a sufficiency of money and hearers to people the meeting houses, and to continue the dissenting tradition with an influence far in excess of numbers. There were unseemly divisions and much heresy, not only within Independency, where strict Calvinism did battle with mild Antinomianism, but particularly within discredited Presbyterianism, which continued its slide into Unitarianism or oblivion. English dissent at this time was somewhat static, stodgy and stuffy - an exclusive, and to many, eccentric body of men and women, with little sense of mission at home and overseas, content to follow the old ways, quite removed from the world around them. To describe the mood of this period, two writers quote lines from a hymn written by Dr. Isaac Watts, that great exemplar of all that was best in eighteenth century dissent:

We are a garden wall'd around,
Chosen and made peculiar ground. (26)

-
25. See Irene Parker, The Dissenting Academies in England (New York, Octagon Books, 1914, reprint 1969). Continuing a tradition that led to the foundation of Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, in America; and later in the next century - London University.
26. Jones, Congregationalism, p. 109 and Watts, Dissenters, p. 439.

The state of the established Church was even worse. While those who write on early Methodism tend to overdo "the sporting parson" image, the sins of omission of the Church of England at this time were many and grievous. No wonder John T. Wilkinson refers to the years 1730-1750 as "the most depressing twenty years in English Christianity in the eighteenth century". (27) Nevertheless, after 1689, dissent (and Roman Catholicism) lost ground rapidly, particularly among the upper and middle classes. (28) By that time, Englishmen realized that unless they were prepared to be outsiders in their own community and country, they had better conform. Some took the giant step into the Church of England without a backwards glance; some took smaller steps - occasional conformity, then through the

27. Wilkinson, 1662 and After, p. 113.

28. Watts, The Dissenters, p.3: "In the early eighteenth century men, women, and children who were in any way associated with a Dissenting meeting-house constituted only about 6 per cent of the total population of England and Wales; and even in the mid-nineteenth century when the Nonconformist variety of Christianity had its greatest appeal in England and Wales, not more than one person in five worshipped in a chapel, and only one adult in fifteen was a member of a Dissenting church, though again the proportions were much higher in Wales". See also the statistics for older dissent and Roman Catholicism, found in Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England, p. 37 and p. 46.

various denominations until in two or three generations, they arrived within the establishment. Even if they remained faithful to the faith of their fathers, they urged their wives to attend and had their children baptized within the parish church. Also, irreligion was possible after 1689, a point often overlooked, and there were not a few who made use of this new-found freedom. Weary of all the controversy and bigotry of the seventeenth century, they were only too happy to embrace the deism, rationalism, platonism and moderation for which the eighteenth century is renowned. Religion ceased to be a vital force within the affairs of the nation, and many were quite relieved to have it so.

Nevertheless, within or without the Church, dissenting thought helped form the English character. Sometimes it is forgotten by Anglican writers that "the Free Churches are as 'English' as the Church of England herself". (29) If E.P. Thompson sees a connection between Methodism and the twentieth century working class, a good case also could be made for a connection between older dissent and the Victorian middle class. The "non-conformist

29. Payne, The Free Church Tradition, p. 16.

conscience" was not restricted to free churchmen. It was often the legacy of a dissenting forebear. Methodism, or new dissent, may also have a link with older dissent, even though the vast majority of its members came out of the Church of England. It is not without interest that John Wesley, a High Churchman and a Tory, had two dissenting ministers as grandfathers.

If the Church, established and free, was at a low ebb in the opening decades of the eighteenth century, all was to change as the evangelical movement burst upon the scene. Too often, the movement is associated exclusively with John Wesley and his followers, and dated 24 May, 1738, when, at a society meeting in Aldersgate Street, the founder of Methodism found his heart strangely warmed by a reading from Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. In fact, the movement, which broke out almost simultaneously in Germany, America, Wales and England, embraced nearly all of Protestant Christianity, including English dissent.

*

*

*

*

*

*

Michael R. Watts, in his book The Dissenters, has pointed out that "the Evangelical revival was initially an Anglican, not a Dissenting movement, but it was Dissent, not the Church of England, that reaped the ultimate benefits." (1) This was true in North America and in Great Britain. Not only was dissent increased by yet another denomination, Methodism, but older dissenters, particularly Congregationalists, were radically changed by this religious phenomenon. As one after another Presbyterian meeting succumbed to Arianism, (2) the orthodox declared themselves Independent, thus swelling the ranks. While, in many places, rigid Calvinism resisted the new evangelism as an affront to the predestined decrees of a sovereign God and His choice of the elect, Watts rightly speaks of a Calvinism of the heart, as well as a Calvinism of the head. (3) The evangelical movement, especially as preached by the Calvinist George Whitefield, (4) rejuvenated

-
1. Watts, Dissenters, p. 438.
 2. Refers to the heresy of Arius of Alexandria (4th C.) who denied the consubstantiality of Christ. An Arian, as understood in the eighteenth century, was one who denied the divinity of Christ, i.e. a Unitarian.
 3. Watts, Dissenters, p. 440.
 4. See below, p. 33 ff.

Congregationalism, now purged of Unitarian heresy. Nowhere was this more evident than in the west country, where the move towards Unitarianism first began at the Exeter Assembly of 1718. Orthodox meetings tended to call the new breed of evangelical ministers, noted for their enthusiasm, not only for the Gospel, but for missionary work at home and overseas. Thus it was when the minister of the Presbyterian meeting in Poole, Dorsetshire, dared to criticize members of his congregation for taking the Anglican sacrament in order to qualify for public office, and was locked out of his church, (5) the minority set up an Independent meeting and called an evangelical minister. Such a minister and such a congregation could be counted on to respond with enthusiasm to a plea for help from fellow evangelical dissenters, even as far away as St. John's Newfoundland. But first, we must consider the evangelical movement as a whole.

There was nothing particularly new about religious "enthusiasm" in eighteenth century dissent. There had been Levellers and Fifth Monarchists, Seekers and Ranters, and before them, Lollards and Anabaptists. All the teachings of evangelical Christianity can be found in the

5. See below, pp. 42-43.

writings of men like Richard Baxter, Philip Doddridge and John Bunyan. But the movement which was to transform church life in Britain and America was more than a return to Reformation principles and a revival of former zeal: it was a veritable spiritual revolution, involving people as dissimilar and unlikely as Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf and George Whitefield; August Francke and John Wesley; William Wilberforce and Jonathan Edwards; Gilbert Tennent and Lord Shaftesbury; John Newton and William Cowper. It was a movement which crossed continental, denominational, and even theological boundaries to create a new type of Christian, for whom salvation was not so much a matter of right belief, sober dress, attendance at the sacrament, and church membership, but rather an experience - a dramatic, often emotional and very exact moment when the believer is convicted of his sins; convinced of his personal salvation in Jesus Christ, and converted to a new life of grace and righteousness.

This is the way John Jones describes his own conversion in the Journal:

That in 1765 he [Jones] was ordered to this place [St. John's] where for the first five years he more than formerly roll'd in all manner of abominations -

but in the year 1770 the Lord was pleased to say hitherto shalt thou go but no further and then brought him to the sense of his danger and made him cry out what should he do to be saved. That this the Lord did by his own finger, without the least help of the ordinary means, there being not one at that time in the place that apparently sought God. Hence he often looked upon himself as born out of time and touching the means without father and without mother.

His contemporaries, William Black and Henry Alline in Nova Scotia, describe almost identical experiences. (6) It was the common denominator for all evangelicals - an experience they traced from St. Paul through St. Augustine to Martin Luther. It was the demand for and the absolute certainty of such traumatic experiences that became the touchstone for the whole movement. (7)

-
6. See E. Arthur Betts Bishop Black and his Preachers, the story of Maritime Methodism to 1825 (Halifax, Maritime Conference Archives, 1974) p. 5 for the conversion of William Black as set down in his Journal, April 15, 1782; and Armstrong, The Great Awakening, pp. 63-65 for the conversion of Henry Alline, March 26, 1775, as described in his Journal.
 7. It should be remembered that "zeal for the salvation of souls" was not restricted to those outside the established Church of England. See A. Tindal Hart, Clergy and Society 1600-1800 (London, SPCK, 1968) pp. 85-96 for the Anglican roots of the Evangelical Movement and in particular the formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701.

The evangelical movement in America is usually traced to New Jersey and Theodorus Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Reformed minister, deeply influenced by the Pietism of his native Germany, who in 1719 denounced empty religious ceremonies and demanded of his hearers a deep inner transformation. His preaching had a wide following, and helped shape the Presbyterian Gilbert Tennent, who had nothing but contempt for seminary-trained ministers, and in the rough tongue of the people called urgently for repentance and conversion. However, it was the preaching of the scholarly Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) that unlikely apostle of spiritual revolution, which launched the Great Awakening which swept New England during the years 1734-35.

(8)

In the last chapter, something was said of the 'comfortable pew' in which the dissenter of England and Wales sat and of the growing alienation of the poorer classes from both church and chapel. The same conditions prevailed in the colonies. Indeed, the separation of the people from the religious establishment of New England,

-
8. Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode Limited, 1956) pp. 959-963.

which was largely Congregational, was even greater that it was at home. The successors of the Pilgrim Fathers came to the New World for social and economic reasons, not religious ones, and the Half-Way Covenant of 1662 acknowledge that even the descendants of the "saints" were not overly concerned with spiritual matters. By 1750, it was estimated that only 5 percent of New Englanders were church members. (9) Strict Calvinism, with its stress on election and the total depravity of man, coupled with scholarly sermons and formal worship, had little appeal to the self-made, self-reliant men and women of the frontier. Add to this the financial depression that followed the long years of war against the Indians and the French; and the widening gap which divided the governing and commercial classes of the older settlements (who were proprietors of the church), and the debtor classes of the seaboard and the new men of the frontier towns. "By 1740, New England was on the verge of a social revolution". (10) It was in that year the celebrated British evangelist George Whitefield (1714-1770) preached to an estimated 20,000 people on Boston Common. (11)

9. Ibid, p. 954.

10. Armstrong, The Great Awakening, p. 4.

11. Whitefield has been described as the greatest preacher of all time, a man of intense feeling,

The son of a Gloucester innkeeper and a member of the Methodist "Holy Club" at Oxford, Whitefield was to experience his conversion three years before John Wesley. Like Wesley, he was ordained and remained a priest of the Church of England, but unlike him, refused to organize his disciples into a separate church. Many of his followers, often whole congregations, found their way into what, in deference to the new dissent of Methodism, was to be called older dissent. (12)

It was Whitefield's tour of 1739-41 which started the Great Awakening that rejuvenated but also divided the Congregational Church in New England, and later, in Nova Scotia as well. It was an amazing tour. In the

with a voice that could reach thousands. Even such a religious skeptic as Benjamin Franklin was moved. He pioneered open-air preaching and persuaded John Wesley to do the same.

12. The difference between Wesley and Whitefield was doctrinal. Wesley was an Arminian, Whitefield a predestinarian. Although the friendship was patched up, the division remained. One of Whitefield's greatest supporters was Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, (1707-1791) who had been a disciple of Wesley, but also parted from him on doctrinal grounds. The Countess of Huntingdon Connexion or as they come to be called the Calvinistic Methodists, like Whitefield, were able to wed passionate evangelism with Calvinist orthodoxy.

space of seven weeks he preached 175 times in 20 towns, besides granting interviews to hundreds of enquirers. His charisma 'melted' the crowds, and his demand for conversion was carried to all parts of New England. For many it was a return to the old days, the ideal of a New World Christian society and soon, in every centre, there were groups of converted laymen, eager to preach to the unchurched; who found in Whitefield's message a confirmation of the priesthood of all believers understood in terms of American democracy and individualism. But the revival ran into difficulties. While Whitefield's Calvinism made him acceptable to the older ministers, Gilbert Tennent's harsh talk of 'unconverted' ministers (from which Whitefield himself was not entirely blameless) and the emotional extremes that marked so many of the meetings, alienated a large segment of Congregational opinion and the churches of New England divided into two factions - New Lights and Old Lights. The Great Schism was particularly marked in Connecticut where the New Lights became Separatists and eventually Baptists; but even in Massachusetts, where the New Lights were in the majority, there was tension, as the Old Lights sought to regain their ascendancy by means of repressive legislation. This dissent within dissent was to surface again during the revolutionary wars and lead to further divisions and, in the case of Nova Scotia, the

dissolution of the once powerful Congregational Church there. (13)

What was true of New England was true of the Old, where opposition to the evangelical movement was not restricted to the established church. Except for a few large-minded men, older dissenting ministers disdained and dismissed the early evangelical preachers as ranters and ravers (much the same criticism, of course, had been levelled against them a century earlier). If they were suspicious of enthusiasm, they were adamant in their opposition to the theology that lay behind the movement.

-
13. See Armstrong, The Great Awakening, pp. 1-18 for a full description. Also, Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk, A People Highly Favoured of God, The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1972), for the connection between the two Awakenings. "The vast majority of these people, [Nova Scotian Yankees] whether farmers or fishermen, came from that relatively small corner of New England created when a line is drawn from New London, Connecticut, northwards to Brookfield, Massachusetts, and then eastwards to Plymouth. This was the area where, in 1759 and 1760, there was considerable tension and controversy between the "Proprietors" and others over the right to common lands as well as over the high prices being charged by the former for farming land. This was also the region which had been profoundly affected by the Great Awakening - the religious revival that had swept the colonies in the early 1740s." p. xii of Preface.

Whitefield's Calvinism commended him to such influential dissenters as Doddridge, but John Wesley did not fare so well. Wesley did not draw to dissenters any more than they drew to him. Perhaps it was his personality or his background, but more likely it was his theology. Strict Calvinists suspected him of Arminianism; (14) liberal Calvinists felt that he tended to Antinomianism; (15) and of course, no Calvinist worth his salt could accept Wesley's doctrine of perfection. As will be seen in this history of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, older dissent could rejoice and work with new dissent in a common evangelism, but would reject a theology that trespassed on such tenets of The Westminster Confession of Faith as Chapter IX 'of Free Will' and Chapter X 'of Effectual Calling'. (16)

-
14. Arminius, a Dutch protestant theologian who opposed the views of Calvin, especially on predestination.
 15. Named for the "Antinomi" a German sect (1535) who thought the moral law was not binding on Christians.
 16. The Westminster Confession of Faith (The Confession of Faith; The Larger and Shorter Catechisms; A Directory of Publick Worship; and a Form of Presbyterial Church-Government) was hammered out in 1644 by an Assembly of English Divines assisted by commissioners from the Church of Scotland in Westminster Abbey to produce a

We have mentioned leaders of the evangelical movement - John Wesley and George Whitefield- who played a part in the spiritual pilgrimage of John Jones, but there is a third in the triumvirate of early British evangelists, Howell Harris, who may have had an even greater, if indirect, influence on Jones' life. Although not stated in the Journal or in Greateed's Life, John Jones

constitution for a reformed Church of England. Presbyterians outvoted Congregationalists on every major question and it was adopted by parliament in 1645 (with reservations, for parliament, no more than king, wanted an independent church). The "Dissenting Brethren" (conservative Congregationalists from England, Holland and Massachusetts) produced the Savoy Declaration of 1658, which denied the authority of any "synod or ecclesiastical assemblies" other than the congregational 'church meeting', which they deemed was competent to fulfil all churchly functions, independent of all but Christ. "Where Christ is present, there is the Holy Catholic Church". The Congregationalists retained the actual 'Confession of Faith' adopted at Westminster. It was 'a Form of Presbyterial Church-Government' they rejected. John Jones and his congregation were therefore quite consistent with orthodox, evangelical Congregationalism when they declared in their 'Instrument for the preservation of truth and order in the church' dated 1787, "Sixthly, that no person is to be admitted as a Minister, Elder, or Deacon, except he is persuaded of, believes in, and earnestly contends for, the doctrines of Grace, as contained in the Confession of Faith, and the Assembly's two Catechisms, belonging to the present Church of Scotland". Though rejected by England in 1662, the Westminster Confession of Faith was approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1647 and ratified by the Scottish Parliament in 1649 and 1690.

was a Welshman. (17) Dissent in Wales is of long-standing and associated with radicalism and revivalism. The separatist-martyr John Penry (18) and the fiery revolutionary Vavasor Powell (19) cast long shadows; but undoubtedly the decisive influence on the church life of Wales was Howell Harris of Trefeca. Wearied of the unreality and frivolity of Oxford but denied ordination twice by the Bishop of St. David's, Harris left the schoolroom where his "exhortations" angered the trustees,

17. Edmund Violet, Remarks upon the Life and Manners of the Rev. John Jones, formerly pastor of the Independent Church, St. John's, Newfoundland (St. John's, printed by Michael Ryan, 1810), p. 11: "Mr. Jones whose subsequent life forms the interesting subject of these sketches, was born in Wales in the year 1737."
18. A graduate of Oxford and Cambridge, Penry was so upset by the spiritual desolation of his native Wales that he wrote 'Aequity of an Humble Supplication' in 1587 decrying the evils of pluralism, absenteeism and ignorant clergy (facts confirmed by subsequent episcopal visitations) in the Principality, earning him imprisonment from an outraged Archbishop Whitgift. Like Browne and others, he found the Church of Scotland unsatisfactory and embraced separatism. He was put to death, 29 May, 1593, perhaps more as the suspected author of the Marprelate Tracts than for his separatist views.
19. An army chaplain, tinged with Fifth Monarchist ideals, Powell by his evangelical preaching assured a strong Independent presence in Wales, particularly his native Radnorshire. Although considered a radical, he was invited to the Savoy Conference. He died in Fleet prison in 1670.

and began an itinerant ministry in 1737 (the year of John Jones' birth) which was to last twelve years. Like Whitefield, who learned the value of open-air preaching from Harris, he did not forsake the Church of England, although his early allies were all dissenting ministers. The effects of Harris' revival which set all Wales afire would surely have been felt in the pious dissenting home of Jones and may well account for "the devout affections" he records in his Journal as taking place before he enlisted in the army. Again, like Whitefield, Howell Harris embraced Calvinism and his followers became known as the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, the last Methodist body to leave the established Church. (20)

-
20. Michael R. Watts makes the point that Harris, Wesley and Whitefield ensured for themselves the widest possible audience by staying within the establishment. I have already mentioned the tendency within eighteenth century dissent to cut itself off from the rest of the world. Had these evangelicals preached in dissenting pulpits instead of fields and docks and mines when parish churches were closed against them, the results would have been very different. "There is a striking similarity between the spiritual experiences, the personalities, and evangelical zeal of Vavasor Powell and Howell Harris, and a marked contrast in the results they achieved. Powell left behind him a strong Congregational church in his native Radnorshire and perhaps another dozen churches throughout central Wales, but the Independents cannot have accounted for more than 3 per cent of the country's total population half a century later. Harris founded

Newfoundland, of course, was most closely linked with the west country of England, the county of Dorset and the town of Poole. Dissent seems to have been the strongest religious force in the county. The Reverend John White of Dorchester, and a large company of Dorset men, set sail in 1629 for the New World in search of religious freedom. Five years later Archbishop Laud complained that there were puritans in every parish in Dorset. The towns were strong for Parliament in the civil war and in 1662, between seventy and eighty of the clergy of Dorset were ejected from their livings. The wealth, much of it from Newfoundland, flowing into the west country from the sea, had produced a strong merchant class amongst whom dissent flourished. (21) Nowhere was this more evident than in Poole. The town was the "earliest stronghold of

what was to become the Principality's largest denomination.... The English-Welsh Methodists, in the middle third of the eighteenth century, had 'as Anglicans' a potential constituency fifteen times the size of the Dissenting community...." The Dissenters, pp. 436-438.

21. Barbara Kerr, Bound to the Soil - Social History of Dorset 1750-1918 (London, John Baker 1968) p. 171. "Well-to-do citizens of Dorchester, Weymouth, Poole and Bridgeport had the leisure and the security which enabled them to turn their minds to their further advancement in this world and by pruning inessentials from their worship and daily life, in the next". See also J.H. Bettey, Dorset, (Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1974).

Protestantism in the country" thanks to its fiery minister, Thomas Hancock, who championed the cause of the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI, and in exile under Mary became a member of John Knox's congregation in Geneva. Because the parish church of St. James was a royal peculiar and therefore outside the authority of the bishop, the mayor and corporation were able to appoint a Presbyterian to succeed a Presbyterian minister in 1667. The Reverend Samuel Hardy successfully evaded the Act of Uniformity until 1682, wearing no surplice, crossing no baby, and using only those parts of the Book of Common Prayer he deemed to be edifying. (22)

In the eighteenth century there was a strong Presbyterian meeting house in Poole, but the Arian controversy was at length to split the meeting at Poole in 1759. In that year, the Arians gained a majority of the proprietors and proceeded to lock out the minister and congregation. The orthodox might well have taken the matter to court and won, but on the advice of their deacon, Martin Kemp, they decided that the better course was to build a new

22. For a full account of this extraordinary episode, See Derek Beamish, John Hillier, H.F.V. Johnstone, Mansions and Merchants of Poole and Dorset (Poole, Poole Historical Trust, 1976). pp. 158-159.

chapel. Though one of his ancestors had been Archbishop of Canterbury, Martin Kemp became a dissenter shortly after coming to Poole in 1755. That same year he married Mary Welch, whose bachelor brother, George, was a wealthy London banker as well as a devout and evangelical dissenter. Martin Kemp was a strict dissenter, refusing to be an occasional communicant and thus took no part in the affairs of the town. (23) In 1772, Martin Kemp died suddenly, leaving his affairs in the hands of executors, George Welch and John Holden of London, and John Green of Poole, also in the Newfoundland trade. Martin's two sons, George and John,

-
23. The practice of occasional conformity had a long history. While many dissenters found no difficulty in taking the sacrament in the Church of England in order to hold public office, most regarded it as spiritual hypocrisy. In order to close this loophole and effectively to close dissenting academies, An Act to Prevent Occasional Conformity was passed by parliament in 1719. The very day it was to be proclaimed Queen Anne died. Herein, the dissent saw the hand of God. Not only was the damaging legislation nullified, the way was now open for the Hanoverians and their supporters, who were believed to favour a greater tolerance for Protestant dissent. The news of the Queen's death was of such moment for dissenters that it was first announced publicly in the Fetter Lane chapel. The message sent by Bishop Burnet was transmitted to the pulpit by dropping a handkerchief from the gallery. Nothing was said, but in his closing prayer, the minister prayed for "George, King of Great Britain and Ireland". Greatly moved, the congregation rose and sang Psalm 89, "I will sing of the mercies of the Lord".

took over the business in 1785. George also inherited his father's keen interest in church affairs and succeeded him as deacon. Although the firm of G and J Kemp was to become one of the largest houses trading in Newfoundland, in the 1780s it was not listed among the 45 largest Poole merchants operating there. (24)

As minister of the new and orthodox congregation of Poole came a native of Olney, Edward Ashburner. Described as lively and popular, he succeeded through energy and strong evangelical preaching, in doubling the congregation, necessitating the building of a new chapel in 1777 on Skinner Street, at a cost of £1,400. Ashburner was independently wealthy, having married Frances Welch in 1768. He was also generous, and was rumoured to contribute on average £500 a year for religious and charitable purposes. Ashburner was zealous for the cause of orthodoxy, and in great demand as a preacher in the west country and in London. In 1789, he was instrumental in erecting a new meeting at Wareham, when the congregation of his old friend, Simon Reader, fell to the Arians. With his brother-in-law,

24. Keith Matthews, "Who was Who" in the Newfoundland Fishery 1660-1840 Maritime History Group Archives, St. John's.

George Welch, he raised the money to pay for it. The Skinner Street chapel in Poole was noted for having one of the first Sunday Schools in England (1787), and a fine choir. John Dobell published a book of 800 evangelical hymns to supplement the use of Dr. Watt's Psalter there. This hymn book became popular throughout the denomination. Ashburner resigned in 1803 after a stroke, and was succeeded by Thomas Durand, minister at Poole for forty years, "who had his predecessor's fervour without his roughness". (25)

Because of his relations, the Kemps and the Welches, and also, one assumes, because many in his congregation were involved in the Newfoundland trade, Ashburner would have had more than a passing interest in the -spiritual affairs of that island. Already, he had played an indirect part in the calling of the evangelical Laurence Coughlan to Harbour Grace in 1765. (26) It would therefore

-
25. W. Densham and J. Ogle, The Story of the Congregational Church in Dorset (Bournemouth, W. Mate & Sons Ltd., 1899) p. 202.
26. Samuel Greatheed, "The Life of John Jones", Evangelical Magazine, November 1800, p. 442. "An elderly inhabitant of Harbour Grace was accustomed to reading a sermon on a Sunday evening to his family and a few of his neighbours attended. Some young men from Poole in Dorsetshire, who had been accustomed to leading the singing in Mr. Ashburner's congregation, proposed to introduce

be with great satisfaction that he would hear of the founding of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's and the building of the first meeting house there in the same year that his own chapel on Skinner Street was opened. Perhaps men like Nathan Parker and Wallis Lang, the first elders of Jones' congregation, had dealings with Kemps of Poole, or perhaps their captains worshipped with the little society on visits to St. John's. It was natural that when John Jones quit the army to study for the dissenting ministry, he was invited to the west country to train under a group of evangelical ministers which included Ashburner. Whether this was the true sequence of events or not, it is certain that the firm of G and J Kemp, George Welch, and the Reverend Edward Ashburner, had major roles to play in the unfolding story of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's.

* * * * *

this part of the service in addition to the family prayers and sermon. The notice it attracted was general and inhabitants determined to build a church and secure a minister from England".

The establishment of a congregation-like any other institution - does not just happen. There must exist the right set of circumstances. These are, first of all, a group of people desirous of ordinances of religion, not offered elsewhere; secondly, a minister, who will devote himself to the work and inspire the trust and support of his congregation; and thirdly, at least in eighteenth century Newfoundland, the consent of the civil authority. First, the congregation. Although the first members of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's were drawn from the military, a congregation, as distinct from a chaplaincy requires a base within a settled area-townsfolk sympathetic to dissenting principles and ready to risk official displeasure to worship as they might choose. Secondly, a man of single-minded purpose, prepared if need be to abandon a promising career to pursue long-neglected studies in order to become a minister. And thirdly, the consent of the civil authority. Only a duly ordained minister, acknowledged by a recognized ecclesiastical body would have the necessary credentials to receive permission from the governor to exercise his ministry. How important then was the existence of a presbytery of evangelical ministers in the west country of England, knowledgeable

in the laws governing religious non-conformity, for the establishment of a dissenting congregation in St. John's by John Jones in 1775.

John Jones was the first resident dissenting minister in Newfoundland, although a good case might be made for Dr. Erasmus Stourton, chaplain to John Guy's colony at Cupids, 1611-1628, who was noted for his strong puritan views. The honour, however, does not go to the Reverend Lawrence Coughlan, (1) for the "Father of Methodism in the New World", despite his Wesleyan

-
1. Lawrence Coughlan, an Irishman, one of John Wesley's lay preachers, ordained without Wesley's permission by Erasmus, a bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in 1763, settled in Harbour Grace and commended himself to the inhabitants. As I have already noted, it was former members of Ashburner's Meeting in Poole who petitioned the SPG for his appointment as missionary to Conception Bay. Ordained by the Bishop of London, he returned to Newfoundland in 1767. His evangelical preaching, particularly in the Irish tongue, attracted large crowds as well as the opposition of the merchants, whose complaints against him were dismissed by the governor. Coughlan's preaching at St. John's in 1771 was "much to the advantage of John Jones". For an account of Coughlan and his ministry see Naboth Winsor, Hearts strangely warmed; A History of Methodism in Newfoundland, 1765-1925, vol. 1, (Gander, BSC Printers Limited, 1982), and Jacob Parsons, "The origin and growth of Newfoundland Methodism, 1765-1855" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland 1964).

sympathies, (2) remained a priest of the Church of England during his six year ministry in Newfoundland. (3)

Unquestionably, there were dissenters in Newfoundland long before the coming of Jones or Coughlan. There is a tradition that a boatload of separatists landed at Twillingate in Elizabeth's reign, but this story, which may well be confused with a later shipwreck, seems if not impossible, unlikely. (4) The evidence of the seventeenth

-
2. For a different analysis of Coughlan's Methodism See Arthur E. Kewley, "The first fifty years of Methodism in Newfoundland, 1765-1815 - was it authentic Wesleyanism?", Journal of the Canadian Church History Society, vol. XIX, 1977. pp. 6-26.
 3. The first Methodist minister in Newfoundland, the Reverend John McGreary, arrived in October 1785. Arthur Thomey, John Stretton and John Hoskins were all lay preachers.
 4. The Reverend Joseph Thackeray, minister of the Congregational Church at St. John's 1897-1912, is the source of this story, quoted in Prowse A History of Newfoundland, p. 627, who believed that given the isolation of the bays, it might be possible. Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, p. 196, dismisses this out of hand, pointing out that Elizabeth died in 1603 and there is "no evidence of any formal group of settlers in Newfoundland before 1610". However, to do Thackeray justice, he does add that "it is supposed that all perished as a result of hardships they must have endured during the winter following". R. Duder, (editor) History of the Kirk 1842-1942, the history of Presbyterianism in Newfoundland (St. John's, 1942), cites a similar

century, though still not documented, is more solid, and given the puritan sympathies of the west country and New England, suggests that many of the inhabitants of Newfoundland, summer and winter, were dissenters. George Downing, the second graduate of Harvard, on a visit to the island, received an invitation to become pastor of the "Newfoundland Independent Church" in 1645; and a similar invitation was extended to a visiting English divine in 1660. Also, the Commissioners of State appointed by Oliver Cromwell to Newfoundland are known to have included John Treworgie and possibly others from New England who doubtless were Independents. (5)

story, this time about Scots settlers en route to Nova Scotia in 1622 under Sir William Alexander's colonization scheme, who were shipwrecked in Newfoundland. When the relief vessel found them in June, 1623, most, including their minister, had died. That short-lived settlement was possible, even in the sixteenth century, see C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland (Toronto, McClland and Stewart, 1976), p. 32, who, when speaking of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's landing at St. John's in 1583, relates "the few colonists he left behind quickly melted in the migratory mariners and within a few years there was nothing left to show for his efforts".

5. Prowse, History of Newfoundland p. 627. This was confirmed to me in a letter (November 14, 1987) from R.J. Lahey, now Bishop of St. George's, in reply to my question regarding the presence of dissenters in Newfoundland before 1775. He confirmed the visit of George Downing, born 1624 or 1625, of Salem, Massachusetts, but dates it

Turning to the eighteenth century, the Reverend Edward Langman reported to the SPG in 1752 that of the 100 families living in St. John's that year (excluding the garrison), 40 were Church of England; 52 were Roman Catholic and 8 dissenters. (6) Canon Pilot, who wrote the chapter on the Church of England in Prowse's History, observed that "New England was not satisfied with supplying Newfoundland with cattle and grain, she also wished to supply us with ministers. The West Country men clung with tenacity to the old Church of England and refused all religious aid from America". (7) The suggestion is of course, that Englishmen are all Anglicans and that dissent was somehow foreign to eighteenth century Newfoundland. (8)

August 1647 at Caplin Bay (now Calvert). Downing preached on this occasion but would not stay, continuing on to England, where his grandson was to give his name to a very famous street. He quotes as his source Winthrop's History of New England, vol. 2 pp. 242-243 in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection. I am also indebted to Bishop Lahey for the information regarding Cromwell's Commissioners in the 1650s, though no reference is cited for this.

6. Newfoundland Correspondence, SPG "C" Mss., dated St. John's Newfoundland, 5 September 1752.
7. Prowse, History of Newfoundland, p. 580.
8. Senator Rowe also maintains that the only dissenters in Newfoundland in the eighteenth century were American. If New Englanders were

However, it has been shown above that Dorset had a long and still virulent dissenting tradition. The same was true of Devon. Drake and Hawkins were both puritans and in the ejection of 1662, 132 Devon ministers lost their livings. Daniel Dafoe reported in 1714 that there were no fewer than 70 meeting houses in the county. (9) In his exhaustive survey of English migration to Newfoundland, W. Gordon Handcock shows that Dorset led the number of immigrants to Newfoundland, but that the majority of English settlers in St. John's in the eighteenth century were from Devon. (10) While detailed information is needed, even very general histories of the west country give ample proof of a strong dissenting tradition, particularly in the towns and among those who were seamen. Thus it is likely that a substantial number of those engaged in the Newfoundland trade in the eighteenth century, if they were not actually dissenters, were descended from dissenters; and while John Jones and his

dissenters, where did dissent come from, if not from England? History of Newfoundland and Labrador, p. 197.

9. See W.G. Hoskins, Devon and its People (New York, A.M. Kelly, 1968) p. 114.
10. W. Gordon Handcock, "English Migration to Newfoundland" in The Peopling of Newfoundland, (Essays in Historical Geography) John J. Mannion, editor, (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977) pp. 15-48.

army friends (aided and abetted by recently arrived New Englanders like Nathan Parker and Henry Phillips) founded the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's there were among its inhabitants a substantial number of dissenters awaiting the erection of a meeting house where they could worship as their fathers did before them.

The John Jones who sailed through the Narrows in the summer of 1775 as sergeant of a company of the Royal Artillery, was a very different man from the John Jones who arrived in St. John's ten years earlier. (11) Then, he had been a rough and ready soldier, who "vied with

-
11. The short-lived capture of St. John's by the French in 1762, convinced the authorities of the inadequacies of defences built at the Narrows in the 1740s, and of Fort William itself. The Royal Navy alone was not sufficient to guarantee the Newfoundland fishery and the garrison must be continued. Jones was doubtless aware of the activities of Captain Hugh Debbieg, R.E. in 1766 and the plans for Amherst Tower and Fort Townsend. Also, the construction of the new Chain Rock Battery in 1769 and other improvements to the defences of St. John's against the French. See James E. Candow, "The British Army in Newfoundland 1697-1824" Newfoundland Quarterly (79:4, Spring, 1984 pp. 21-28, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 24-25; and James E. Candow, "Structural and Narrative History of Signal Hill National Historic Park and Area to 1945". Manuscript Report Series No. 348 (Ottawa, Parks Canada, 1979) pp. 17-24 for more extensive coverage of this period.

his companions in various kinds of profligacy". (12) And Jones knew better. "Born and bred in Dissenting principles and strictly reared therein, under which at fourteen and fifteen he experienced many devout affections and had much pleasure in religion, though in general thirsted after and committed heinous sins". (13) He enlisted in the Royal Artillery in 1757. Samuel Greatheed gives credit to Jones' mother, "a pious dissenter, whose prayers, example and affection" left him with "a deep reverence for real godliness" and respect for "the office of Minister of the Gospel" which he never lost even in "the most abandoned part of his life". (14)

-
12. Journal. Also, in more picturesque language- "The Ox never drank water more greedily than he drank iniquity". While evangelicals tended to blacken their past in the light of their new-found faith, there is nothing to suggest that Jones was exaggerating. Life in the army was crude. Greatheed links Jones' promotions in the army to his conversion, and lists as a cause for his physical breakdown in the 1790s "his youthful dissipation". Greatheed, Life, p. 447.
13. Greatheed, Life. p. 441. One wonders if the "devout affections" of his teens were a result of the Revival of Howell Harris, the effects of which touched most homes in Wales.
14. Ibid. George Schofield in his "Sketch of the History of Congregationalism in St. John's, Newfoundland", Newfoundland Guardian and Christian Intelligence, 1851, says that Jones' "father died when he was young." p. 87.

In 1770 at St. John's, he experienced a spiritual awakening which changed his life, occasioned, according to Greatheed, by "a fight, where a fellow soldier died blaspheming". (15) Jones could find no one with whom to share the good news of his salvation. (16) As his contemporary and the future Roman Catholic bishop at St. John's, James Louis O'Donel, saw it, Newfoundland was "a howling moral wilderness" for "there was scarcely any part of the world more destitute either of the power or form of Christianity". (17) Jones doubtless repaired to the Church of England mission at St. John's, but found no help from its long-time incumbent, the Reverend Edward Langman. Not highly regarded by either Jones or Greatheed, he is described by them as "a lover of the bottle" and "notoriously immoral". (18) This may be unduly harsh, but it should be remembered that dissenters tended to regard all

15. Greatheed, Life. p. 441.

16. Journal: "Not one at that time in the place apparently sought God". Greatheed also speaks of Jones' "much spiritual distress". Life, p. 442.

17. M.F. Howley, The Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland (Boston, Doyle and Whittle, 1888) p. 188.

18. Langman was appointed to St. John's in 1752 and retired in 1782. Prowse, History of Newfoundland, pp. 581-583.

Anglican parsons as immoral by virtue of their office. To be fair to Langman, he endured much during his thirty years in St. John's, including the French capture of the town, when he was taken prisoner and lost everything, and he was seldom paid by his ungrateful parishioners. He was, moreover, a Justice of the Peace and therefore in a position to thwart the establishment of a dissenting society at St. John's. Comfort came, however, from the other SPG appointee in Newfoundland, Lawrence Coughlan of Harbour Grace, who preached twice in St. John's in 1771. Thereafter they corresponded, but no letters survive. His preaching, however, seems to have stirred others in the garrison, for Jones was able to meet with two or three soldiers for prayer until 1773, when Jones was posted to Chatham in Kent, where, as already noted, he joined a congregation "which went by the name of the Whitfieldites of that place" He was, said Greatheed, "supremely happy". (19)

But within two years, "to his surprise and regret", he was ordered back to St. John's, (20) seeing

19. Greatheed, Life. p. 442.

20. The American Revolution and the need for experienced men may well have occasioned this posting, although the garrison at St. John's for 1775 was small: 59 Royal Highland Emigrants and 38

this posting as a divine directive to bear bold witness in a place where "'tis hard to say there were three people in it that made any conscience of religion or paid any regard to words or actions that were not censurable by Law, or that did not defame their characters" (21) Having already tried his hand (with no success) at preaching and praying aboard ship, Jones again sought out sympathizers within the ranks of his army comrades. Because of his many responsibilities within the company (22) Jones had a room in the barracks,

Royal Artillery (11 at Placentia). Actually, the Americans showed little interest in Newfoundland, but France's entry into the war in 1778 and the presence of American privateers on the Grand Banks the following year caused an acceleration of defence construction and an increase in the size of the garrison (1779 - 426; 1780 -700). It is important to realize how important the army was considered for the security of the town and fishery at this time.

21. Journal, "In short, all seriousness or anything like vital religion were reprobated by all from the Prophet downwards.... a man could not expose himself to ridicule and contempt more than by living soberly, singing praise and making prayer to God". Like the good puritan that he was, Jones was particularly shocked by St. John's total disregard for the Sabbath and the habit of Langman's congregation of going straight from the church service to the nearest tavern.
22. According to Greatheed, Jones held the posts of sergeant-major, quarter-master, pay-master and clerk of his company. Life, p. 442. All writers comment on the poor quality of troops stationed at St. John's. The fact that Jones was literate, sober and conscientious would make him invaluable

which he shared with a pious sergeant and his family. There, twice a day, he conducted family prayers and a more public service on Sunday evening, attended by members of the garrison and, more significantly, some from the town itself. That summer, Jones and five others constituted themselves a religious society, drawing up articles for their own government. (23) A rival congregation to that of the Mr. Langman's was now in existence at St. John's. (24)

to his superiors. His value as a non-commissioned officer may account for the failure of the governor to have Jones transferred to Placentia in 1777. See below.

23. Journal. "The Lord was pleased to work upon the mind of the present Gacler and three soldiers, one of the Infantry and two of the Artillery, who made six in number". It is not clear if they were all military men or whether "the present gaoler" was a civilian. Jones and probably "the pious sergeant" who shared his room made up the six.
24. There had been dissenting families in St. John's for some time. But there was no organization or plan to form a congregation. Indeed, Langman would have maintained that there was scarcely enough support for one church in St. John's. In his report to the SPG that year, he mentions one Garnet, "an imposter" purporting to have been sent to Newfoundland by the SPG, has left because of lack of remuneration. Langman identifies him as a Methodist preacher, invalided home to Plymouth--so Jones was not the first to challenge the Church of England in St. John's. A precis of this letter, written 3 November 1775, is found in The Annual Report of the SPG for 1775, "B" Mss., vol. 6, p. 201.

Encouraged by the attendance at their informal meetings in the barracks, the infant society petitioned the magistrates for use of the Court House during the winter months to hold services on Wednesday and Sunday evenings - purposely avoiding conflict with the morning service at the Church of England. Jones and his friends were careful during this period to attend Anglican services, a fact noted and reported by Langman. (25) The petition for use of the Court House was granted. Langman was powerless to prevent it. The governor had departed and Langman had been struck off the commission of peace for that year. It proved most fortunate for Jones. The little society had now a central location, the use of a building to rival the parish church, and two evenings a week to provide some new diversion in a town where the only alternative was the grog shop. By using the Court House, Jones was following the usual strategy of dissenters, highly successful in England,

-
25. The Annual Report of the SPG for 1775, "B" Mss., vol 6, p. 201. "Mr. Langman writes that there are 'several Dissenting families in his parish, the greatest part of whom report to the church on Sundays and received the sacrament at the usual times of administering it'." I have already mentioned the practice of occasional conformity. While not questioning the veracity of Langman's report, I doubt that Jones would have taken the sacrament under these circumstances, or that Langman would proffer it to "an imposter". Both would have regarded it as spiritual hypocrisy.

where the pluralism and non-residence of vicars, the use of overworked and underpaid curates, and often one small parish church to serve a large, well-populated area made possible a ring of meeting houses with mid-week services.

Some account must be given of St. John's as John Jones knew it. Joseph Banks, who thought it "the Most Disagreeable Town I Ever met with", wrote a vivid description of St. John's in 1766. Built on a hill facing the harbour, reported Banks, St. John's consisted of 300 houses interspersed with an equal number of flakes and smelled eternally of fish. Everything tasted of fish - "the very cows eat the fish offal and thus milk is fishy." There was but one street, better, a path (the future Water Street) and that too was strewn with offal and "the remains of Irish men's chowder." "For dirt & filth of all kinds St. John's.... reigns unrivalled as it far exceeds any fishing town.... in England." (26) Add to this the fact that there were 80 public houses listed for 1775, some of them doubling as brothels, and one understands Jones' lack of enthusiasm for being posted back to St. John's.

26. A.M. Lysaght (ed.), Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1971) pp. 146-147.

The services were simple and Jones, "the mouth of the society", soon gave up reading other men's sermons for his own. Jones noted in his Journal the text of his first extempore sermon - Hebrews 13:22, "Brethren, suffer a word of exhortation". While many came out of curiosity, others joined the little society, including the congregation's first elder, an American with west country roots, newly arrived in St. John's, Nathan Parker.

Parker plays such an important part in the fortunes of the Dissenting Church of Christ during the whole period under consideration, that some account must be given of his career. His family was from Dartmouth, South Devon, and may have had some connection with the Newfoundland trade. Whether business or loyalty to the crown brought him to St. John's in 1775, we do not know. The census of 1794 lists him as the only glazier in St. John's, owning two houses and living in a rented house in the fourth division of the town, near John Jones and other worthies of the Dissenting Church. He was married to Ann, daughter of the planter Andrew Barnes, from whom property was purchased to build the second Meeting House, and had seven children. He rose to be a wealthy and influential merchant. His business associations, as already noted, were all with dissenters. He served on both petty and grand

juries, was a captain in the Loyal Volunteers in 1796, and served on various committees of the town, being chairman of the Society of Merchants in 1816. He retired from business and moved to Boston in 1817, where he died in 1830. He, and his friend and associate in church and business, James Melledge, may have been responsible for sending the "Boston Bounty" for the relief of St. John's after the disastrous fires of 1818. Prowse confirms great wealth, which continued after he left Newfoundland, surprisingly from "the manufacture of peppermint". (27)

The success of the Dissenting Church was perhaps too good to last. In the spring of 1776, a new governor, Rear-Admiral John Montague (28) remembered in Newfoundland history for the capture of St. Pierre and Miquelon, withdrew the right to use the Court House. Services continued in Jones' room, attended by many from the town, but even this privilege was withdrawn and "all townsfolk forbid his room". Undaunted, the congregation,

27. Prowse, History of Newfoundland, p. 628.

28. Charles Pedley, The History of Newfoundland from the earliest times to the year 1860, (London, Longman, Green Longman, Roberts & Green, 1863) pp. 128-130 and Prowse, A History, p. 340.

"like partridges upon the mountains" (29) as Jones wrote somewhat melodramatically, met "the remaining part of the summer upon the Barrens every Lord's day when the weather would permit." The services yielded two recruits, the more important being Wallis F. Lang, "the other present elder". (30)

It has been suggested that the governor's action was linked to the ongoing War of Independence. Dissenters were known to be sympathetic to the American cause, and Montague had been appointed governor specifically to deal with the aggression of American

-
29. I Samuel 26: 20 "for the king of Israel has come out to seek my life, like one hunts a partridge in the mountains". [George Scholfield in "Sketch of the History of Congregationalism in St. John's Newfoundland" p. 88, remarks "These Barrens are now covered with houses and will, ere long, be the centre of the town".]
30. Wallace F. Lang listed in the 1794 census as living in a rented house with 5 children and 3 servants. Described as a carpenter by John Jones, he became the business partner of his fellow elder, Nathan Parker. His children were all brought up in the Meeting House and his son, Thomas was the first child baptised by John Jones (29 July, 1780). An Account of inhabitants residing in the harbour and district of St. John's 1794-1795, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland (originally in Colonial Secretary's Office).

privateers. He may well have seen, in assemblies addressed by a common soldier of dissenting views, a forum for possible sedition. (31) Greatheed, more correctly, attributes it to "the influence of the Clergyman at St. John's" adding, "whose ministry was far from evangelical". (32)

The little society now embarked upon a bold scheme. Conventicles on the barrens of St. John's being impossible in the winter, and townsfolk being unwilling to rent space to dissenters for fear of the governor, they determined to build "some small place of their own in order to worship God". Lang and Parker had the skill, and there was ample wood near St. John's. (33) They

-
31. The nonconformist churches in England tended to be sympathetic to the cause of the Americans, and dissenters in the colonies were often thought to be disloyal. Consider the words of General Massey writing from Halifax to the Secretary of State in 1776.... "If your Lordship will pardon me for going out of my Walk.... I take upon me to tell your Lordship that until Presbytery is drove out of His Majesty's Dominions, Rebellion will ever continue, nor will that Set ever submit to the Laws of England". Quoted by Armstrong, The Great Awakening, p. 56.
32. Greatheed, Life, p. 443.
33. "Some slight trees in the woods, with which most of the Island was covered". It is interesting that 8 years later when the second Meeting House

had little cash ("not a fourth part of the money requisite") but more seriously, no land. A fast day (34) was observed and scripture convinced them of the rightness of their resolve. Meeting that winter in "a chamber belonging to one of the society", they somehow secured a lease of land. The location is unknown, but it was within the town, (35) probably a site "not detrimental to the Fishery nor the defence of the harbour", on the outskirts, as a central location was one of the reasons advanced for building the second meeting house. Greateed describes it as "a very slight building". (36) From the account of the meeting

was planned, it was noted that "Notwithstanding this country is very woody.... a sufficiency of wood of the superior sort is only to be found seven miles away, and would have to be hauled by the strength of men, the roads being impracticable for horses".

34. "A day of fasting, prayer and humiliation" - a long-standing religious practice, particularly within dissent. In their Bibles, Haggai 1:8, "Go up to the mountain and bring wood and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it" proved most helpful.
35. In the Newfoundland Historical Trust A Gift of Heritage (St. John's, Robinson-Blackmore, 1975) it is stated that the meeting house was built at Quidi Vidi. This may be a confusion with a later meeting house. It was certainly not John Jones'. He conducted regular services at Quidi Vidi "the people prevented by distance from attending the Meeting House".
36. Greateed, Life, p. 443.

house riot of 1785, we know it had windows (Parker was, after all, a glazier), shutters and no chimney. It did have a stove, because Jones writes that "Gentlemen (so-called) of the Navy" poured gunpowder down the pipe one night and almost blew it up, whether out of boredom, religious bigotry or inter-service rivalry we are not told.

When Governor Montague returned he was "in a great rage and with many bitter oaths" declared that he would pull it down "stick and stone", but "finding the ground lease good" decided to send Jones to Placentia, believing that without a preacher the congregation would wither and die. Why the governor did not do this is not clear. It was well within his power to order any building, constructed during his absence and without his permission, demolished. The despatches of this period abound with such orders. It is likely that the military (and my guess is that the meeting house was built on military land) would not take kindly to the demolition of a building on their property nor to the transfer of a valued non-commissioned officer on the grounds of religion alone. Jones himself was sure of another explanation. With a nice nautical touch, he wrote "The Lord... who says to the proud waves 'hitherto shall ye go and no further'.... put His Hook in his Nose and turned him back by the way he came". Governor Montague,

alias Leviathan, may, however, have been so taken up with the defence of Newfoundland from the Americans and the French that the small matter of a dissenting chapel was soon forgotten. The dissenters of St. John's were left in peace, and Jones concluded that the opposition of the governor helped rather than hindered the cause, not only teaching them "to fast and pray and live humbly before the Lord and dependent on Him" but giving them an increase of members that year and the next. (37)

However, in August 1778, John Jones' company was posted back to England, to the dismay of the congregation and the obvious delight of the Reverend Edward Langman. In the SPG Report for that year for "The Parish of St. John's", it states that:

some of the most ignorant of his people had been drawn away by the enthusiastic pretensions of a common soldier to more than ordinary gifts of the spirit, assuming to the office of a preacher.... he has been lately removed, there have

-
37. No statistics of the congregation are given until 1785. See the figures sent to the SPG by Edward Langman, 25 November 1772: Garrison 150 (Irish and English); St. John's 1016, of which 527 were Irish. Of the remaining 489 - 203 men, 85 women, 97 boys and 104 girls - only 24 were communicants (and one wonders if in 1772, he was not including those dissenters who, he stated, "regularly took the sacrament").

been no interruptions of that kind, such pretenders being more frequent at Harbour Grace and Carbonear. (38)

After fasting and prayer, the society sent after Jones a "unanimous letter" (in triplicate) requesting him to quit the army and return to them "as their Pastor under God". Jones, after prayerful consideration, accepted their Call and its conditions "notwithstanding some struggles arising from great offers made him in the Army". (39)

Jones' company being stationed in Plymouth, he was instructed by the Rev. Christopher Mends,

38. Newfoundland Correspondence SPG, "B" Mss. vol. 6. Also, Greatheed, "It was only in Harbour Grace and its vicinity on the Western side of Conception Bay that a glimpse of Gospel Light was discernable...." Life, p. 445.
39. How Jones obtained his release from the army in time of war is not told, but he did receive a pension, which he used to pay the school fees of poor children in St. John's. Greatheed (who also quit the army for the ministry) writes that Jones' discharge "was accomplished with some difficulty, during his stay in Plymouth, were the company was stationed". Life, p. 443. He also states that it was "greatly against the inclination of his military patrons, who considered him as entitled by his past conduct to a lieutenancy of Invalids and engaged themselves to obtain for him that promotion, if he would remain in the service. Esteeming the reproached of Christ a greater honour, he persisted in his desire to withdraw". Ibid p. 445.

dissenting minister there. (40) Whether by accident or design, Jones had come within the orbit of a group of evangelical ministers, all of whom would prove good friends and generous supporters of his work in St. John's. His studies lasted less than a year. Jones, of course, had little formal schooling, but his reverence for education, his willingness to learn, his eagerness to please his teachers, and his enthusiasm would carry him far. (41) On the completion of his studies, nine ministers constituted

40. In the possession of St. David's Church is the original communion cup of the congregation inscribed "To the dissenting church at St. John's Nfld., from the dissenting church at Plymouth, 1784".
41. One suspects that Jones was better-educated than he pretended. If he indeed wrote the Journal, it is a beautiful hand and the entries are well composed and expressed. Evangelicals rather played down the academic side of ministry, seeking the common touch. Jones would have been given an intensive short course (no Hebrew or Greek) with emphasis on Biblical theology. Certainly those who signed his certificate were well-trained, and even in their zeal for the work of St. John's would hardly ordain one they considered unworthy. If a man's education is revealed by his library, it is interesting that Jones' will, drawn up in 1799, lists the following books: Matthew Henry's Annotations on the Bible; Stackhouse's History of the Bible; Rollin's Ancient History; the Preceptor; Locke's Essays; Brown's Dictionary of the Bible; Newton's Prophecies; as well as numerous Gospel magazines and tracts. That John Jones valued education is shown by his concern not only for his fee-paying school but for the Free School he established.

themselves a presbytery and ordained John Jones as a Minister of the Gospel and signed his certificate: Christopher Mends of Plymouth; Herbert Mends of Sherborne; John Crisp of Ringwood; Edward Ashburner of Poole; William Gray of Stalbridge; Joseph Wilkins of Weymouth; Simon Reader of Wareham; James Rooker of Bridgeport; and John Berry of Shaftesbury. (42) Many of these divines figure in the later history of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, and all of them provide an interesting insight into west country dissent of the eighteenth century. (43)

Christopher Mends, the dissenting minister of Long Street Chapel, Plymouth, was a kind friend to Jones and keenly interested in the building of the second Meeting House, to which he gave generous support. Always

-
42. Jones uses the word 'presbytery' as he does the word 'elder', both Presbyterian terms. Dissent in the West Country was largely Presbyterian, but beginning with the Arian Controversy at Exeter in 1715 increasingly Presbyterian meetings were becoming Unitarian. The congregations formed from these schisms that were orthodox became Independent and because of the number of congregations lapsing into Arianism, the very name 'Presbyterian' became suspect, so that Presbyterian congregations called themselves Congregational to signify their orthodoxy.
43. All the following information was gleaned from Densham and Ogle, The Story of the Congregational Church in Dorset.

the teacher, the last recorded letter in the Journal from him is in 1789 and written from his sickbed. The old man speaks of sending "Herbert's sermons and a pamphlet on the Slave Trade, in addition to 6 1/2 dozen of Children Sermons", and signs himself "your most Sincere Friend and Brother in Christ". The oldest and perhaps the most distinguished signer of Jones' certificate was the Reverend James Rooker of Bridgeport, who died in 1790. His academy, which produced at least two of the ministers on this list, was justly famous, going back to the 1750s, when dissenting academies rivalled Oxford and Cambridge and were patronized by the wealthy and influential in search of the finest education for their sons. A superb educator and a man of high principles, Rooker was full of evangelical zeal. If he was one of Jones' instructors, there would be little reason to be ashamed. On Rooker's death, the academy moved to Taunton under the care of Thomas Reader, and finally to Plymouth, where it became Western College. Two of Rooker's students were Herbert Mends of Sherborne and John Wilkins of Weymouth, both bright young men, evangelical and orthodox and settled in their first charges in 1778. Wilkins was in addition to being a fine Bible scholar something of a scientist, specializing in hydrostatics and mechanics. It was said that members of the Royal Household attended his meeting with profit and that George III was delighted to

hear that he was prayed for each Sunday at Wilkins' Meeting. Herbert, son of Christopher, was not a success at Sherborne and became co-pastor with his father at Plymouth in 1782. Herbert provided advice and financial support at the time of the second Meeting House, and shared his father's concern that the society at St. John's remain orthodox. William Gray of Stalbridge was young, evangelical and orthodox and turned his Presbyterian meeting into a Congregational one to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Arian party. John Berry was the great-grandson of Colonel James Berry, one of Cromwell's Major-Generals. Shaftesbury was his first charge, which he found uncongenial because of its "corruption" (political rather than theological). Nothing is known of John Crisp but his career probably followed the same pattern. Edward Ashburner has already been mentioned. This leaves Simon Reader. Son of a dissenting minister and older brother of Thomas Reader of Taunton, Simon Reader was noted for his piety and erudition, having studied under the great Dr. Dodderidge and having published many sermons. He was married to one Esther Brown who, one suspects, must be a relative of Jones' "indefatigable friend" Captain Brown of Poole. After ministering to a meeting of 400 hearers at Wareham for 40 years, he was forced to accept an Arian as his assistant, and in 1788 saw his church lapse into Unitarianism. Rather touchingly, he wrote to Jones at this

critical juncture in his ministry, lamenting not for himself but that the controversy would affect the collections taken for the new church at St. John's. He added that his daughters and his niece hoped to send Jones "four dozen candles". In the midst of the schism, Simon Reader died aged 72, exchanging, as Greatheed wrote to Jones, "his ungrateful congregation on earth for the Church of the first born in heaven". (44) Edward Ashburner preached the funeral sermon and together with Thomas Reader and George Welch raised money for the orthodox remainder of Simon Reader's congregation. Jones' studies were short but he sojourned among saints and scholars, who were in reality an unofficial missionary society appointing Jones to his field of endeavour.

In June 1779, "under the favourable providences of a good God" the now Reverend John Jones set sail from England for the last time. He arrived in St. John's on 9 July, much to the joy of his little flock. Under the mistaken belief that the laws of England stretched as far as Newfoundland, he petitioned the magistrates "for a license as a Dissenting Preacher" under the provisions of

44. Journal.

the Toleration Act that had stood for over a century. (45)

To the Worshipful Edward Langman and Nicholas Gill, Esq., His Majesty's justices of the peace for this District. The Memorial of John Jones sheweth that your memorialist being appointed by a Presbytery of Dissenting Ministers in England to be Pastor of a Society of that profession at this place, And being now arrived by the unanimous invitation of the said Society, and having taken counsel's advice on the occasion before he embarked and stated to him the application he heretofore made to your Worships for that purpose; was answered that your memorialist had thereby done his duty according to Law and advised him to reapply to your Worships for a license as a Dissenting Preacher. Your memorialist therefore most humbly hopes that your Worships will be pleased to grant his request, and as in duty etc....

Jones had obviously been coached by his co-religionists in England, stressing the appointment as well as the call, and underlining the legality of his request. Nicholas Gill, who had a dissenting background, gave "a ready and hearty consent" but to the surprise of no one, including Jones, the Journal continues "Mr. Langman was in a great rage vowing there should be no leave granted and that he would send Constables to stop him if he presumed to

-
45. The Toleration Act of 1689 gave the right to all Protestant trinitarian ministers who were prepared to take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration to obtain a license to hold meetings and within certain limits, exercise their ministry.

go any further." (46) Undaunted the little congregation continued to worship in the Meeting House under their newly ordained and, in their eyes, legally appointed minister, "though with daily expectation of receiving orders by the officers of the peace to the contrary". They did not have long to wait. On Sunday, 1 August, 1779, in the middle of the afternoon service, the constable arrived with an order from Governor Montague that Jones "desist from your proceeding in preaching and holding such unauthorized Meetings and Assemblies in this Harbour" or "expect to answer the consequence attending your bold and unlicensed

-
46. Contrast this with neighbouring Nova Scotia, and the second proclamation issued at Halifax by Governor Lawrence, 11 January 1759: Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, whether they be Calvinists, Lutherans, Quakers, or under what denomination soever, shall have free liberty of conscience, and may erect and build Meeting House for public worship, and may choose and elect Ministers for the carrying on of Divine Service and the administration of the Sacrament according to their several opinions, and all contracts made between their Ministers and Congregations for the support of their Ministry are hereby declared valid, and shall have full force and effect according to the tenor and conditions thereof, and all such Dissenters shall be excused from any rates or taxes to be made or levied for the support of the Established Church of England". This so-called "Charter of Nova Scotia" is quoted by Armstrong, The Great Awakening, p. 20 and 21. The difference, of course, was that Nova Scotia was a colony and needed settlers, particularly from the older colonies of New England.

proceedings". Jones immediately stopped preaching and the congregation retired to his lodgings "where they ended the devotion of the day". The order was signed "Edward Langman, J.P."

Two attempts were made to change the governor's mind. On 21 August, John Jones with his two elders, Wallis Lang and Nathan Parker, presented a petition to the governor, rehearsing all the circumstances of the case and underlining Jones' instant obedience to the order, together with character references lest their minister be represented "in an untrue and undeserving light". (47) The sole aim of Jones' preaching, he was assured, was "to convince sinners of their errors and convert them to a state of grace". A further petition was presented on 14 September. This time, Jones was called into the governor's cabin and given a dressing down. He was accused of "taking people's bread off their Trenchers" and distracting people from their work. Both these charges were denied by Jones at some length but to no avail. The governor's final word was "whatever he had a mind to do in his own House he might

47. Major Williams of the Artillery, in whose company Jones had served; John Lees, the Barrackmaster: and "some principal persons residing here".

without interruption, but should have no leave to act in public". Jones was so disheartened that he would have returned to England had it not been for the entreaties of his congregation. It was agreed to apply to their friends in England for relief.

In the spring of 1780, the Reverend John Reader of Wareham reported that the Reverend Dr. Stafford had waited on the governor in London that winter "when His Excellency, after some debate, told the Doctor that it was the fault of the Reverend Edward Langman". (48) Whether indeed the Independents of England possessed enough influence to pressure the government, new instructions were issued that year: "You are to permit a free exercise of Religion to all persons, so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or

-
48. Jones and his west country friends would approve of Stafford, renowned for his rigid Calvinism and zeal for experimental ministries. It is difficult at this distance to tell how influential he was. His name does not appear among the Dissenting Deputies but doubtless he knew (what Richard Edwards may not have known) that new legislation was passed in 1779 entitled "An Act for the Further Relief of Protestant Dissenting Ministers and Schoolmasters" which would make the position of the governor regarding the dissenters of St. John's even more difficult to justify.

scandal to the government." As Dr. R.J. Lahey has pointed out this was a radical departure from earlier Instructions as the phrase "except Papists" was omitted and Governor Edwards could well have granted religious liberty to Roman Catholics in Newfoundland that year if he had been so minded. (49) Richard Edwards was not so minded but now had little choice but to grant "free exercise of Religion" to the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's. Consequently, when the governor returned to Newfoundland in July, a third petition was presented, this one supported by no less a personage than Colonel Pringle, and "free permission to re-enter the Meeting House was granted, which was done the first Sabbath of August with great joy" - one year exactly from the date it was ordered closed.

Dissenters in Newfoundland thus won the right to "a free exercise of Religion" four years before Roman Catholics, though Professor Hans Rollman of the Religious Studies Department of Memorial University has argued conclusively that religious liberty could have been granted to dissenters as early as the first governor, Henry

49. Raymond J. Lahey, "Religion and Politics in Newfoundland - The Antecedents of the General Election of 1832", unpublished lecture to the Newfoundland Historical Society, March, 1979, p. 4.

Osborne, who received identical Instructions as those issued to Governor Edwards, but with the addition of the words "except Papists". Edwards was therefore only changing religious liberty for dissenters from 'de jure' to 'de facto' in the same way Governor Campbell was to do in 1784 with Instructions issued to Governor Edwards in 1779 regarding Roman Catholics. Instructions to governors were, of course, secret and therefore Jones had no idea that Governor Montague was ignoring his own Instructions in 1776-77 in denying him the right to preach and build a meeting house. Perhaps this was the true reason why Montague did not tear down the Meeting House "stick and stone" as he threatened.

John Jones and his West Country allies may well have known of the 1779 legislation before he left for Newfoundland, which would account for his despair at the attitude of Governor Edwards, whose word was Law in Newfoundland, there being no local legislature as in Nova Scotia. The 1779 Act confirmed and extended the privileges granted to dissenting ministers by the Toleration Act of 1689. It also extended the rights of dissenting schoolmasters so that Jones could safely set up a school as well. The additional Declaration of 1779 stated: "'I, A.B., do solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I

am a Christian and a Protestant, and as such, that I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as commonly received among Protestant Churches, do contain the revealed will of God; and that I do receive the same as the rule of my doctrine and practice'". (19 Geo. III, c. 44) (50)

Finally, in May 1781, the official certificate was issued:

THESE are to certify all whom it may concern that at the Court Hall in St. John's, Newfoundland, the 24th day of April last, John Jones took the Oath of Allegiance, Supremacy and Abjuration and also the Declaration against Transubstantiation and against Popery, and also the Declaration which Protestant Dissenting Ministers are obliged to make agreeable to an Act of Parliament made and passed in the 19th year of his present Majesty's Reign,

GIVEN under our hands and seals in St. John's aforesaid, the 10th day of May, 1781.

Signed

Edward Langman, J.P.
Nicholas Gill, J.P. (51)

-
50. Hans Rollman, "Richard Edwards, John Campbell, and the Proclamation of Religious Liberty in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland", Newfoundland Quarterly, Fall 1984, pp. 4-12, especially p. 8, for a scholarly review of all legislation.
51. Journal. The exact wording of the oath obviously did not reach St. John's by this date.

In this chapter, we have seen how the dissenters of St. John's were organized into a congregation by a Welsh soldier turned preacher, despite the opposition of the governor and the Church of England missionary, and how on the return of Jones in 1779 as a duly ordained minister, they endeavoured to secure the rights enjoyed by dissenters in England, for the meeting house they had built with their own hands. When the governor, urged on by the Reverend Edward Langman, J.P. refused, they called upon their friends in London to force Governor Edwards to act on legislation passed by parliament in 1779, granting dissenting ministers the right to preach, perform sacraments and maintain a school. Governors of Newfoundland had always possessed this power, but they had never used it. Unlike the rest of British North America, Newfoundland was not a colony, with a legislature to voice its demands, nor was it ever intended to be. But perhaps the re-opening of the Meeting House in 1780 has significance for the History of Newfoundland. Churches suggest settlement and if people are allowed to settle permanently, then what is it but a colony? And secondly if you grant religious liberty to dissenters, how can you refuse the Catholic majority? But then more churches mean more reasons to recognize Newfoundland as a colony like any other British possession in North America.

*

*

*

*

*

*

The Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, at last recognized by law, had now to learn co-existence, not only with the disapproving Anglican establishment, but, after 1785, with the formidable Irish Roman Catholic church which enjoyed all the privileges denied their counterparts in Britain and Ireland, as well as some still denied to dissenters in Newfoundland. Added to English/Irish, Protestant/Catholic, Dissenter/Anglican tensions were the divisions within dissent itself, divisions which were to create such havoc in Nova Scotia during the same period. This chapter will examine the relationships between the three churches in St. John's and the modus operandi whereby the potentially dangerous Calvinist/Arminian division within dissent was circumvented. But first of all, an in-depth study of the dissenting community at St. John's itself must be attempted.

"This summer they enjoyed much peace."

Thus wrote John Jones of the summer of 1781. After six years of struggle, the work had been established with a resident ordained minister who could lawfully conduct services and celebrate the sacraments in

his own meeting house. (1) There were limitations. He was not allowed to perform marriages or bury the dead. While it could be argued that dissenters in England were even more restricted, the fact that after 1784 Roman Catholics in Newfoundland enjoyed these privileges must have rankled. (2) In 1789, John Jones sought the right of a burying ground for his flock, but this was denied. (3) John Jones did not perform marriages, although his successors did. In September 1816, Governor Francis Pickmore, at the insistence of the Anglican clergyman, David Rowland, ordered the Reverends George Cubit of the Methodist Chapel and James Sabine of the Meeting House not to perform any further marriages when there was a clergyman of the established church resident. Sabine's answer was to perform two marriages, reported in the Royal Gazette. Such defiance

-
1. The first celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was the first Sunday of October 1780.
 2. In 1784, John Jones writes in the Journal - "This year the Romish Priest came to the harbour, got full toleration to marry and exercise his Religion in all respects."
 3. It was not until the 1820s that they were permitted to have their own cemetery. Thirty years later, when the General Protestant cemetery was established at Riverhead, the Congregational Cemetery became the site for the Stone Chapel on Queen's Road.

made necessary a special act of parliament the following year, restricting the privilege almost exclusively to Anglican clergymen. The Act was not repealed until 1833.

These matters notwithstanding, a pattern of usefulness soon emerged for the young Dissenting Church. Jones preached at the Meeting House three times each Sunday, and every other week a fourth time in Quidi Vidi. In later years, he ventured to Portugal Cove and to Torbay (possibly Petty Harbour as well). There was a further meeting in town for prayer and 'religious conversation'. The strength of the congregation is difficult to assess, but it may well have rivalled the Church of England at this period. In 1784, the newly arrived SPG missionary, Walter Price, reported to the Society that "the harbour which I have the pleasure to live in contains betwixt 2 and 3 thousand winter residents, 3/4 of which are Roman Catholic and 1/2 of the remainder Methodists." (4) In the 1790s, the Reverend John Hillyard reported to the LMS that Mr. Jones had "400

-
4. "C" Mss., Correspondence, SPG, (Newfoundland 1752-1858) dated St. John's, Newfoundland, 30 November 1794. Like his predecessor, Price makes no distinctions in the matter of religious dissent. All dissenters are Methodists in his eyes.

hearers" (5) and the Reverend William Black recorded in his Diary (Wednesday 10 August 1792) that "At 6 in the evening I preached in Mr. Jones' meeting house to about 100" (6) Earlier, in 1785, it had been reported to England that the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's had 64 members. (7)

The strength, but also the composition, of the Dissenting Church of Christ is of interest. What sort of men and women made up the congregation of John Jones and his successors? The army provided, as we have seen, the nucleus of the congregation, and although their numbers would not be large enough or their postings permanent enough

-
5. Newfoundland Correspondence, 1799-1815, London Missionary Society. "Hearers" would be all those present.
 6. E. Arthur Betts, Bishop Black and his Preachers, the Story of Maritime Methodism to 1825, (Halifax, Maritime Conference Archives, 1974) p. 41. But we should note this was a mid-week service when attendance would probably be less than Sunday.
 7. Journal.... "member" would be a very precise term, unlike "hearer". It would mean someone who had made a public confession of faith and been acknowledged at a church meeting. Memberships in meeting houses tended to be far smaller, say, than Anglican "communicants". All the above figures suggest a fairly healthy congregation. Certainly there is little in the correspondence of the SPG to make one believe that support for the Church of England was any stronger.

to allow for a continuing congregation, the garrison remained an important component in the life of the church. Indeed, as already noted, the support Jones received from the military may well have proved the deciding factor in his struggle with the governor over the building of the first Meeting House in 1777. The army and dissent had been associated ever since the mid-seventeenth century when Oliver Cromwell raised his Ironsides. The tradition of radical dissent seems to have died out later in that century, but the eighteenth century evangelical movement found a ready response among the military. The preaching of "one of our own" must surely have attracted many soldiers to the Meeting House. Jones seems to have retained his links with the garrison until the end of his life. All, including the colonels, turned out for his funeral and had to be restrained from paying him military honours. That the army continued to play a role in the life of the congregation can be assumed from the following references in the Journal and the correspondence of the Reverend Mr. Hyde. In the winter of 1800-1801, after the death of John Jones, the afternoon and evening services were conducted by one William Torie of the Royal Artillery, "a local preacher in

Mr. Wesley's connection". (8) Again, in 1815, it was reported that 100 Sutherland Highlanders were occupying pews at the Meeting House (for whom Gaelic Bibles and Testaments were required). (9) Later that same year, the evangelical W.J. Hyde founded the Royal Military Missionary Society on Signal Hill, which lasted for nearly two years. Services were held for the soldiers and their families and contributions sent to the LMS. (10) Lieutenants T.G.H. Eaststaff and Richard Vicars were members of the congregation and Colonel Durnford and his family rented a pew at the Meeting House, so dissenters were not always from the ranks.

What of the social make-up of the rest of the congregation? Did dissenters, like Irish Roman Catholics, form a special class in the life of St. John's?

-
8. Journal.... letter to the Reverend Samuel Greatheed, dated St. John's, Newfoundland, 28 March 1800 and signed by the members of the Church Committee.
 9. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, St. John's, Newfoundland, dated 25 July 1814 and signed "Wm. James Hyde".
 10. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, Signal Hill, St. John's, Newfoundland, dated 30 September 1816 and signed "R. Vicars" for the fullest account.

The Reverend Mr. Price assured the SPG in 1784 that "the merchants and principal Inhabitants constantly attend the established church and are sorry to find no legal preference given to its Members". (11) Certainly, it would appear that membership in the dissenting chapel did not carry with it any special stigma or loss of political position. Henry Phillips was High Sheriff of St. John's when still a dissenter, and Thomas G.W. Eastaff and Simon Solomon seem to have found their religious persuasion no barrier to their appointments as Surveyor General and Postmaster respectively in 1805. Thomas Chancey did become an Anglican, it is true, but this was in order to secure the position of schoolmaster from the Anglican SPG. That all the "merchants and principal Inhabitants" constantly attended the Church of England can surely be questioned. Andrew Barnes was a planter; Edward Freeman, Joseph Lowman, James Barnes, property owners; and dissenters like Parker, Melledge, Job and Bulley were prominent merchants of the town. If dissenters kept a low profile (their presence is rarely mentioned in the governors' correspondence) it was not

11. "C" Mss., Correspondence, SPG. St. John's, Newfoundland, dated 30 November 1784, signed "Walter Price". Mr. Price deplores "the paper which the late Governor Campbell left behind" and maintain that the good people of St. John's wanted to be treated as "at home with like liberty of conscience not more".

because their numbers were small and their leaders of no importance. The ideal of "the gathered congregation", and their puritanism, would separate them from others and of course, St. John's had very little to offer for those who had foresworn all worldly diversions, but business and labour. (12) They tended to be clannish. Dissenters married dissenters and associated with one another in business. (13) If the governor chose to consult with the Roman Catholic bishop and the Anglican parson and ignore the ministers of the Dissenting chapel that was, perhaps, as the congregation wished.

While we have made mention of the

-
12. Number VI of the Church Articles, adopted 1781, (see Appendix A for the whole document) states in part.... "We are commanded in whatever we do, do all to the Glory of God.... and we conceive that in promiscuous Dancing, Card Playing and such kind of entertainments God cannot be Glorified.... we are forbidden.... the joining in their Assemblies of public Entertainments.... we conclude such Practices to be unfit for those who profess themselves to be followers of Christ, and Pilgrims and Strangers in this world".
 13. Nathan Parker married the daughter of Andrew Barnes and his daughter married Samuel Bulley and so it went. There were few Meeting House families, for instance, without a Chancey connection. The same Nathan Parker's business partnerships were all with fellow members of the Meeting House:- Wallis Lang, Stephen Knight, Samuel Bulley and John Job.

"merchants and principal Inhabitants" who attended the Meeting House (as well as the Church of England) it must be stated that the great majority of the congregation were poor fishermen, servants and labourers. (14) In 1786, it was reported that there were "not above eighteen (of a total membership of sixty-four) that can afford to pay anything.... and they.... find it exceeding hard to spare from the support of their families £5 or £6 per year". (15) Less than a third of the congregation were wage-earners- and yet this seems a rather good statistic for the St. John's of that day. Except for the very few, life was not easy. The fishery was a precarious trade at best and these were years of dislocation, food shortages and soaring inflation caused by the American Revolution and the wars with France. Fortunes could be lost as quickly as they were made, and those in the trade were cautious, not to say niggardly, with their money in regard to the community. St. John's was still a place to do business, not a place to live, and this sense of rootlessness is evident throughout

-
14. Regarding the congregation, Greatehead reports "a few officers in His Majesty's service and persons of some respectability in the town but it was chiefly the poor to whom the Gospel was made powerful unto salvation". Life, p. 444.
 15. Journal.... Address to the Dissenting Churches, of Poole, Plymouth, Taunton, Wareham, Woolwich, Greenock and Waterford, 1786.

the whole period. There was undoubtedly more money in St. John's than anyone was prepared to admit, and there are strong suggestions that far more could have been done to support the Meeting House and its ministers by the merchants and office-holders. (16) Nevertheless, dissenters, schooled as they were in the voluntary principle, were probably more generous to their church than others.

Then there was the school. It was common enough for clergymen to augment their meagre stipends by taking in pupils, but John Jones' concern seems more akin to the ideas of his contemporary, Robert Raikes, (17) or the dissenting 'ragged schools' of the next century. Appalled by the poverty and ignorance which surrounded him, Jones resolved to do something for the rising generation. His concern was not only for the children of merchants and boatkeepers, but the poor of St. John's. Greatheed tells us that Jones impoverished himself for his school, using what

16. "Poor old Jones, like Langman of the English Church, had to go round like a beggar, whilst at least two of his congregation [Phillips and Parker] were very rich and could have paid the whole cost of the Meeting House without feeling it." Prowse, History of Newfoundland, p. 628.

17. Robert Raikes (1735-1811) the "Father of Sunday Schools".

fees he could collect to pay an assistant master and with his small army pension, subsidizing those whose parents could not pay. (18) This was typical of the man. (19) Besides the "branches of common education" there were family prayers and the shorter catechism. To begin with many of his pupils were Roman Catholic, but doubtless this changed with the arrival of the Reverend James O'Donel. (20) When the second Meeting House was built, provision was made for a classroom and a tenement for the assistant master. At the time of John Jones' death, it was reported to England that the school was full (30 pupils) and under the direction of Lionel Chancey, who was later employed by the SPG as a teacher. In 1792, another school was established. This was a Free School "for the poorest children of St. John's" taught by a member of the congregation, George Brace, whose

-
18. Greatheed, Life, p. 445.
19. Samuel Greatheed writes of Jones "... in a place where every article of provision, except fish, is enormously dear, he subsisted destitute of every convenience, yet parting with the very necessities of life to persons around him, who were in more want than himself". Life, p. 445.
20. The Reverend Walter Price reported to the SPG in 1785 that "there are seven schools in this harbour instructing Youth in the Roman Catholic Faith and the Masters diligently distributing tracts and catechisms". Newfoundland Correspondence SPG, "C" Mss., St. John's, Newfoundland, dated 25 October 1784.

salary was paid by generous friends in London. So highly did John Jones think of the charity school that, in his will, he left all his money to its continuance. The school was well in advance of Governor Gower's charity schools, which were set up in 1804.

Despite tensions, relations between the three churches in St. John's were surprisingly good, in sharp contrast to the period which followed. It was a time of almost continuous war, which may have been a factor; and it was a time of building - the Old Catholic chapel, the second Meeting House, and, at the turn of the century, a new Anglican church. Survival and success both depend on willingness to co-operate, and during these thirty years, the three branches of Christianity learned to live side by side in peace.

First, let us consider the relationship between dissenters and Anglicans. Jones' old adversary, Edward Langman, was now a spent force. In 1783, after thirty years of service, he was dismissed, with, says Jones, "the contemptuous speeches of the public". (21) His

21. The Journal goes on - "It was the general opinion he broke his heart under the indignity cast upon him, however he died very soon after."

successor, Walter Price, who arrived at the end of May 1784, found everything sadly neglected - people married outside the church and without banns; dead bodies in the graveyard left exposed to the mercy of dogs; the library sent to Langman mysteriously disappeared; and for his first celebration of the sacrament, only a glass tumbler and an earthen plate. In short, he reported to the SPG, "the form of religion as established by the Church of England is almost extinct". (22) Price had arrived at a particularly critical time for the Anglican Church. The dissenters were considering building a larger meeting house in the centre of the town to challenge the decaying Anglican church, and the newly emancipated Roman Catholic clergy were busy establishing their control over the Irish population, which constituted, according to Price, three quarters of the inhabitants of the harbour. The SPG missionary's answer was to re-assert the authority of the established church. The governor proved friendly and helpful but what could he do, other than appoint Price sub-chaplain of the garrison at two shillings a day and find money from the public purse for his church? Price addressed himself first to the dissenters.

22. "C" Mss., Correspondence, SPG, St. John's, Newfoundland, dated 4 June 1784; 13 July 1784; 30 November 1784; and 25 October 1785.

He demanded that John Jones obtain "a license to preach" from the Bishop of London. Next, he questioned John Jones' right to baptize. Once again, Jones had to appear before the magistrates and plead his case. Then Price made his views known about the exclusive right of Church of England clergy or their appointees to perform marriages. [It was a poor beginning!]

Of greater concern was the growing power of James Louis O'Donel which threatened "to disturb and subvert the Established Church". In a letter to the SPG Walter Price voiced the disapproval of his flock of "the paper which the late Governor Campbell left behind him" and his fears that "too many will be seduced to the communion of the Roman Church". Although, he informed the Society, "it has been my business by precept and example to sweeten the Temper of both parties, at the same time using the most persuasive arguments to strengthen the faith of my Flock". (23) The Meeting House riot of 17 April 1785 brings this pious sentiment into question.

In its complaint to the Justices of the Peace, the Dissenting Church of Christ stated that on

23. Letter dated 25 October 1785.

Sunday, 17 April, 1785 at 6 o'clock, as the evening service was about to begin at the Meeting House, "a number of seemingly disorderly men, some women and children [appeared], several whereof assaulted the Building with stones on its roof, sides ends and even the windows, after the shutter were closed". A sergeant of the garrison was struck by a rock as he entered the church. The congregation, alarmed, sent for help and the mob was dispersed. (24) One of the magistrates, Lewis Coke, remarked that "Mr. Jones preached much against the Roman Catholics which greatly exasperated that set of people and which ought not be allowed of". John Jones demanded to know his source of information and was told that it was none other than the Anglican minister. (25)

Jones was outraged by such a charge and wrote a letter of protest to Price. It was inconsistent "with true religion to receive and propagate evil reports to the prejudice of our neighbour", and Price "as a gentleman

24. At this distance, it is difficult to determine the cause of the riot. [One tends to side with Jones and disclaim religious reasons. Mischief? Idleness? or the infuriating 'holier than thou' attitude of dissenters?]

25. Journal.

and that of the Gown" should acquit him of this false accusation. Receiving an unsatisfactory reply, (26) Jones made the following solemn declaration to the Court:

The humble Petition of John Jones prayeth... that to the best of his knowledge he never used the word, Roman Catholic or Papist, Pope or Popery, in any of his public preaching at St. John's or elsewhere.... that he wishes not to give offence to any, but to live at peace with all men.... so far from being disagreeable to him that his fellow citizens of the Catholic party should enjoy with himself the full liberty of conscience.... their relief in a toleration of their religious principles is but of equity and justice....

He went on to say that "he has frequently in private conversation admonished those of the dissenting community against any provoking expressions of that kind", and despite repeated efforts of the Reverend Mr. Price to "withstand and oppose the errors of Rome.... he did not think it proper to express himself thus". (27) The court upheld the complaint

-
26. Jones wrote "the polite Reverend gentleman was pleased to send the following answer.... "Mr. Price thinks Mr. Jones' letter to be very insolent and unbecoming, however imputes it to his ignorance."
 27. See also a letter to his "most Eminent and Reverend Lord" (Leonardo, Cardinal Antonelli) from Bishop O'Donel, dated December, 1785, speaks of Governor Campbell "protecting me from the traps of a Protestant Minister who contrived with all his power for my exile. This pseudo-minister did not

of Jones and the meeting house and three offenders were convicted and sentenced to corporal punishment. "At the intercession of Mr. Jones, they were forgiven". (28)

If Jones is to be believed, Walter Price was playing a dangerous game. As Governor Cochrane remarked at a later date of the religious affairs of Newfoundland, it was "a smooth surface covering the seeds of discontent". (29) One is reminded of Ireland, where the Loyalists sought to prevent a union between the disadvantaged Presbyterians and Roman Catholics by appealing to a common Protestantism without sharing any of the political prizes. There were no great political prizes in eighteenth century Newfoundland but even if there were, John Jones would not have been interested. As he remarked in his loyal address to Governor Campbell, "liberty of conscience was the greatest of all

fear to say to military officials and to the magistrate that England now had something it should fear, namely lest the whole island would shortly become Catholic, and consequently in the event of a future war, would be betrayed by me and mine to the French." Quoted from Cyril J. Byrne, editor, Gentlemen-Bishops and Faction Fighters (St. John's, Jespersen Press, 1984) p. 53.

28. Journal.

29. Quoted by Lahey, "Religion and Politics in Newfoundland".

privileges", and he would hardly side with the church which had prevented his enjoyment of the same for the past ten years, even against the Roman Catholic Church. Frederick Jones in his thesis on Bishop Feild rightly credits the deep division between Methodists and Anglicans in the nineteenth century with preventing an Ulster situation in Newfoundland, but Bishop Feild was not responsible for it. (30) Despite the common evangelical spirit which prevailed in St. John's up to the 1830s, there was an ancient antagonism. Happily though, this was the low point in Dissenting-Anglican relations (31) and as we shall see, things were so improved by 1800 that they were conducting services in the same church and Price's successor was asked to preach at the funeral of the man he regarded as "insolent and ignorant". (32)

Support for Jones came from an

-
30. Frederick Jones, "Bishop Feild: A Study of Politics and Religion in 19th Century Newfoundland". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University 1971.
 31. Relations between Anglicans and new dissent, i.e. Methodists, in Conception Bay during the period under discussion were, if anything, worse.
 32. Little is known about Walter Price other than through the eyes of O'Donel and Jones, neither of whom could be described as impartial.

unexpected source. The Reverend James O'Donel (33) publicly condemned the riot and declared his belief in Jones' innocence. As has been stated above the declaration of religious liberty in Newfoundland (14 October, 1784) was regarded as a great landmark by the dissenters of St. John's, but it was not designed with them in mind. In 1778, the British parliament passed an act giving some relief to Roman Catholics in England and Wales. (34) The 1779 Instructions to Governor Edwards reflected this change, although he obviously felt that it was too early for such a radical change, at least in Newfoundland. Since 1713, the Roman Catholic Church had been proscribed in Newfoundland

33. James Louis O'Donel (1737-1811) Born at Knocklofty, Tipperary, he entered the Order of St. Francis and was chaplain to distinguished families on the continent until 1775, when he returned to Ireland. By 1784, O'Donel was Provincial for Waterford (Superior for all Ireland 1779). Appointed Prefect and Vicar Apostolic to Newfoundland, in 1796 at Quebec, he was consecrated Bishop of Thytira, the first Catholic Bishop in British North America outside Quebec. He left Newfoundland in 1807 with a small government pension. See also Cyril J. Byrne's introduction to Gentlemen - Bishops and Faction Fighters pp. 2-21 and Lahey, James Louis O'Donel, for a more critical appraisal.

34. "An Act for relieving his Majesty's subjects professing the popish religion from certain penalties and disabilities imposed upon them by an Act, made in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of King William the Third, entitled, an Act for the further preventing the growth of popery."

and there were harsh penalties for harbouring priests or hearing mass, though little active persecution. Pressure, however, was mounting for an end to the penal laws in the colonies. In 1781, a petition signed by a number of Catholics in Halifax was presented to the governor, asking that they be allowed to own land and have the right to build a church. Relief was granted, though the legislation was consequently disallowed as its terms were more generous than the 1778 act. However, a new bill passed in July, 1784, and the first Catholic church was erected the following year. (35) The American and now the French Revolution alarmed the British government. If they could not hang on to thirteen very English colonies, what chance was there for Newfoundland with its large and growing Irish population? It may well have been a case of "Better Popery than French Revolutionary doctrines." (36)

Bishop O'Donel was admirably suited for his position. The governor was impressed with him, and even

35. See Mason Wade, "Relations between the French, Irish and Scottish Clergy in the Maritime Provinces 1774-1836, CCHA Study Session, 39 (1972) p. 19. Also Terrence Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism 1781-1830", Acadiensis, XIII, 2 (Spring 1984) pp. 30-31.

36. See Lahey, James Louis O'Donel.

the Reverend Walter Price acknowledged that he was "a well disposed and intelligent Person". (37) He managed to organize his church in St. John's, the Southern Shore and Conception Bay, without riot or rancour. And yet life cannot have been easy for one used to the homes of "certain noble families in Bohemia". (38) The rudeness of Prince William and the slurs of men like Captain Pellu caused him to cry out, "I am truly a son of persecution, since I came to this country" (39) - which perhaps would give him sympathy with John Jones, as both of them were on the outskirts of society because of their religious beliefs. Certainly the bishop was an enemy of the French Revolution and its ideals, making him the perfect ally of the British government. The word "ingratiating" is perhaps too harsh a judgement. His was a very delicate mission and the Irish populace not the easiest to rule. Dr. O'Donel would know how distasteful to most Englishmen was Catholic emancipation, and how carefully he would need to tread to safeguard the freedoms won. His celebrated part in

-
37. Newfoundland Correspondence SPG, "C" Mss., St. John's, Newfoundland, dated 25 October 1784, Walter Price.
38. Byrne, Gentlemen Bishops, p. 3, though no documentary evidence exists for this.
39. Howley, Ecclesiastical History, p. 188.

preventing the abortive Signal Hill rebellion was not all that remarkable. It was, under the act, his bounden duty. (40) It mirrored also the attitude of his fellow Irish bishops in the '98 rebellion - rather a Protestant throne than a Godless republic. The alliance between the British government and the Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland, if it did not result in a handsome pension for its first bishop, was an enduring one and ensured for Newfoundland a more peaceful history than his native Ireland.

John Jones was delighted that the future bishop, like the magistrates, did not credit the reports of bigotry against him, and wrote to thank him for his generous support on 27 April, 1785, closing with the words:

It is true you and I differ on theological points but I hope we are jointly influenced by the same pious and benevolent motives so strongly recommended in the precepts and examples of our common LORD. I am happy under our gracious and wise administration to

-
40. "I, A.B., do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them;...."

enjoy a free liberty of conscience and rejoice to see my fellow subjects of every denomination enjoying the like blessing with myself. To endeavour to do unto all men as they should do unto me, is my duty, and what I have hitherto strove to prove, and what by GOD'S grace I intend to pursue. I am, Revd Sir, with cordial regard, Yours etc. John Jones. (41)

Dr. O'Donel replied on 5 May, 1785, apologizing for the delay occasioned by "the great hurry of business that an Assistant Clergyman and I have been crowded with these days". (42) It is a very long letter, containing an elegant defence of the doctrine of tolerance for which the thinking man of the eighteenth century was renowned:

.... I deem myself blameable, both in the eyes of God and man, were I not, as far as my influence can reach, to discountenance the smallest insult offered any denomination of Christians in their mode of worship... for in my notion of the Christian religion, its sacred maxims must be truly reversed before such conduct could be justifiable under any pretence whatsoever....

41. Journal.

42. While not disputing how busy O'Donel and his Assistant were (he reckoned the Catholic population of Newfoundland as 10,000) it is interesting to note regarding the relative strength of the three congregations that in December 1785, O'Donel reported to Cardinal Antonelli, "Here I have seventy Communicants who live here all the time." Byrne, Gentlemen-Bishops, p. 55.

James O'Donel went on the say, in words which clergy of all persuasions can but applaud:

he who is an observant Christian of any denomination is not only a better man, but also a better neighbour, a better subject of his King, and a truer friend, than he who is not... a man's condition must be very unsafe, who deems prejudice a virtue.

The letter ended with the hope that

we may live in such tranquility and good will towards each other in this life as may enable us to attain to every necessary qualification to enjoy the everlasting Bliss for which we have been originally created in the life to come; these are the unfeigned sentiments wherewith I remain - Your most humble and obedient Servant. James O'Donel.
(43)

John Jones replied on 11 May in like vein, and carefully copied the three letters into his Journal. This would appear to be the extent of their correspondence, and it is unlikely that there were many occasions when their paths crossed. However, "tranquility and goodwill" did prevail. The record shows that 2,000 people, nearly the whole population of St. John's turned out to witness the Jones' funeral on 3 March, 1800, and prominent members of the

43. Journal. See also Hans Rollman, "John Jones, James O'Donel, and the Question of Religious Tolerance in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: A Correspondence" Newfoundland Quarterly Vol. LXXX No. 1 (St. John's, Spring 1984).

Meeting House were among the merchants who petitioned the government to grant the aging Bishop O'Donel a pension, and who honoured him with a public reception and presentation when he left the island in 1807.

When the Reverend Laurence Coughlan returned to England in 1773, he left behind him in Conception Bay many who were committed to Methodism. Prominent among them were two Irish merchants, John Stretton and Arthur Thomey, who maintained the society at Harbour Grace. Thomas Pottle, a merchant's clerk, tried to do the same in Carbonear, but met with little success. In 1775, John Hoskins, en route from Poole to New England, settled as a teacher and lay preacher at Old Perlican. Their labours were not confined to these settlements, Hoskins going as far as Bonavista in 1784. Finally in 1785, in response to numerous requests, John Wesley sent the first minister of his connection to Newfoundland in the person of the Reverend John McGeary. His ministry of three years does not seem to have been very productive. There were conflicts between himself and the earlier labourers in the vineyard, and the discouragements of such a large parish, plus the hardships of life in Newfoundland made him almost despair. However, in 1788, he built a church in Carbonear, at the same time as Stretton, who at his own expense, built a church in Harbour

Grace. McGeary returned to England, but came out again for a second tour of duty in 1790. Again, the reports reaching England were depressing, though Methodist societies were to be found at Port de Grave, Lower Island Cove, Blackhead, Brigus and Bay Roberts. John Wesley instructed the Superintendent for Nova Scotia, William Black, to visit Newfoundland and encourage the work, which he did between 9 August and 11 September, 1791. The Methodist cause revived to an amazing degree - 200 converts were reported in Conception Bay following the mission. Before the turn of the century, two more Methodist preachers came to Newfoundland, George Smith and William Thoresby. Their itinerate ministries strengthened and stabilized Methodism in Newfoundland in preparation for the years of growth in the 1800s. (44)

John Jones kept in touch with his fellow evangelical Christians in Conception Bay. There are frequent references to "days of humiliation, fasting and prayer" held in conjunction with the little societies, and Greatheed tells us that Jones was generous with the religious books and tracts he received from England. (45)

44. Winsor, Hearts Strangely Warmed, pp. 24-34.

45. Greatheed, Life, p. 445. "he diligently

Greatheed goes on to say: "Mr. Jones, though himself a decided Calvinist in sentiment, maintained a friendly and useful intercourse with all who loved their common Lord, visited them when possible, and when visited by them gladly admitted to his house, his communion, and his pulpit, all of his brethren in Christ. (46) At the same time, if there appeared danger that sentiments which he regarded as erroneous might take root among his people, he diligently opposed them in an open and candid manner." (47) By Jones' death in 1800, the denominational lines were well fixed. Methodism in its various connections was a recognized branch of the church and "decided Calvinists" were increasingly at home in what were now called Congregational chapels. Many of these Congregational meetings were, of course, formerly Presbyterian congregations who declared themselves Independent to prevent their church from becoming Unitarian.

distributed to remote parts of Newfoundland where the inhabitants were destitute of all means of instruction, and eagerly sought for this advantage".

46. The Journal of William Thoresby records the following: April 29, 1797: "In three and a half hours I reached St. John's, where I was kindly received by the Rev. Mr. Jones. April 30, 1797.... "This day I have preached three sermons in Mr. Jones' Dissenting Meeting House." Quoted by Winsor, Hearts Strangely Warmed, p. 33.
47. Greatheed, Life. p. 446.

The above quotation from Greatheed is therefore interesting. Jones laid down that the pastor and office-bearers of the St. John's Meeting House must subscribe to the Westminister Confession of Faith to prevent it from falling into the wrong hands. Given the history of west country Congregationalism, this probably referred to Arians, but perhaps Jones was also concerned about the Methodists who came to his services. We know, however, that the number of Methodists in St. John's, at least up to 1815, was small. William Black, Methodist Superintendent for Nova Scotia, when he visited St. John's in 1791, held no services apart from those in the Meeting House. He records in his Diary:

(48)

Tuesday (Aug) 9 Through mercy, we arrived safe at St. John's. I waited on Mr. Jones, the Presbyterian minister, who is a kind, friendly, Christian man. He has suffered much for Jesus and has been blessed in his labours. After spending the evening with him I retired to a neighbouring house, where the good man had provided me lodging.

Wednesday 10 At 6 in the evening I preached in Mr. Jones' meeting house to about 100. The old gentleman thanked me for my discourse and added, "It was a good, plain, old Methodist sermon." I left next day for Carbonear.

One can safely assume that Black concluded that the

Methodists of St. John's were safe in Jones' keeping. Certainly from the description of Jones' preaching, the sermons would be sufficiently evangelical to satisfy their tastes. (49) It was not until the end of the Napoleonic Wars that there were enough Methodists, mostly from the outports, living in St. John's to justify a separate chapel.

In conclusion, in 1775, there was one church in St. John's, a mission of the SPG, seeking to minister to a rootless, largely disinterested population. Ten years later, there were three churches - Catholic, Anglican, Dissenting - all eager to propagate the Faith, as they understood it. Despite the tensions, aggravated by war, there was a remarkable degree of harmony among them, especially considering the age-old divisions between English and Irish; Protestant and Catholic; as well as the deep divisions within eighteenth century Protestantism itself. In a later chapter, the religious situation in Nova Scotia

49. Greatheed Life, p. 448. "Without the recommendation of learning or eloquence, his addresses from the pulpit were highly instructive and impressive, the subjects of them being usually adopted from the closest state of his hearers' minds, and their delivery being marked with genuine humility, profound seriousness, and fervent affection. The preacher often seconded his admonitions with tears, and drew them from the eyes of his audience."

during these years will be examined, where New Light evangelical was pitted against Old Light Congregationalist; Methodist against Anglican, to say nothing of Baptists, Presbyterians and Lutherans. There were reasons why the Newfoundland scene was more peaceful. In the first place, Newfoundland Protestants were all English and that from the west country, while Nova Scotian Protestants were German, English, Scottish, American (and American divided between old Yankee and new Loyalist). Secondly, there was little social distinction. The established church always has an edge, but Anglicans and dissenters seem to have been more or less equal in status and wealth. This could not be said for Nova Scotia. Thirdly, dissenters were divided geographically as well as theologically at this time. In the bays, dissenters were predominately Methodist, in town, Independent. Only in the second decade of the nineteenth century were there sufficient families from Conception Bay living in St. John's, backed up by a denomination strong enough to supply both the minister and the motivation, to make possible two dissenting chapels. Nevertheless, the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's 1775-1815 was somewhat unique - a united congregation of non-conforming

Protestants, enjoying religious liberty themselves and content to live at peace with their brethren of different persuasions.

*

*

*

*

*

*

In writing the history of any of the Protestant churches of Newfoundland, it would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of the town of Poole, Dorsetshire. It was from Poole that John Hoskins embarked for Newfoundland and it was to Robert Carr Brackenbury of Poole, a man of wealth and former lay preacher for John Wesley, that John Stretton of Harbour Grace appealed for ministers. And, it was from Poole that George Smith and William Thoresby came to strengthen the Methodist cause in Conception Bay. Again, the Anglicans looked to the parish church of St. James, Poole, for financial aid in building their new church. It is therefore no surprise to learn that the impetus and to a large extent the money to build a second and grander meeting house for the Dissenting Church of Christ in St. John's came from Poole.

It was Captain John Brown, owner of the ketch Hope out of Poole, who encouraged the congregation to think in terms of a new meeting house in the summer of 1785, and who put the matter before his fellow members of Ashburner's chapel on his return to England. George Kemp, merchant, on behalf of the west country congregation, wrote John Jones the following spring to urge him and his

committee (1) to set forth their needs, in order that help might be solicited at home. Consequently, an Address was sent to the dissenting churches of Poole, Plymouth, Taunton, Wareham, Woolwich, Greenock and Waterford, with copies to George Welsh, banker, at London and the Reverend Samuel Greatheed, at Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire.

The Address, faithfully recorded in the Journal, pointed out that the present "slight house" was hopelessly inadequate and badly sited. The lease would expire in five years and a chimney, costing £20 would need to be built. However, the congregation was £60 in debt and of the total membership of 64 only 18 could contribute anything and "that with great difficulty". If help did not come from their friends in England, the little congregation, established in the face of such opposition, would be "destitute of any place in which to worship God." The ideal would be a meeting house with galleries measuring 42' x 32', with an attached tenement suitable for the school (30 pupils) with accommodation for an assistant master, and a vestry for "experimental meetings" (meetings for personal testimony and spiritual support). The perfect location-

1. John Jones, Nathan Parker, Wallis Lang, Henry Phillips, Joseph Lowman, Edward Freeman and James Barnes.

100 feet above the Upper Path (the present Duckworth Street) - "central to the Town" could be purchased from Andrew Barnes, planter, for £100. (2) Building costs would be steep, as a stone retaining wall would be required as well as a chimney, the winters being severe. Wood would need to be hauled to the site from a distance, and wages for masons and carpenters in St. John's were high. The total cost would be between £600 and £700, concluded the Building Committee - "so swells a little work to a large sum". A week before Christmas, 1786, a Day of Fasting and Supplication was held in the meeting house, requesting God that the dissenters of the old country would "stretch out liberal hands for perfecting the designs to His glory."

The replies, received in the spring of

-
2. Andrew Barnes was born in Poole, Dorsetshire, and arrived in St. John's before 1750. He married Mary Mackie or Mackay and had seven children. His daughter, Ann, was married to Nathan Parker and his son, John had children baptized at the meeting house. Another son, James, as we have noted, was a member of the Building Committee but was removed the following year. The oldest son, Samuel (1750-1799) married Grace Warren of Waltham, Mass. A history of this branch of the Barnes family was published privately by Mabel Dorcas (Barnes) Mason in 1958. It may have been for Andrew Barnes, planter, that a tombstone was ordered in 1799.

1787, were mixed. (3) The most encouraging was from Greatheed, who had obtained leave of absence, and the first contribution (one guinea) from the Reverend William Bull of the Church and Academy at Newport Pagnell, to collect for the new building at St. John's. The scheme had also the blessing of the Academy's co-founder, the most famous evangelical churchman of his day, the Reverend John Newton. (4) Already Samuel Greatheed had turned over 50 guineas to

3. Simon Reader of Wareham was fully occupied with renovating the meeting house at Swanage. His most generous contributor had declared himself an Arian (if not also a Socinian) and therefore would not help. Dr. Stafford of London thought that Jones should come himself to plead the cause; as did Mr. Piercey of Woolwich and Christopher Mends of Plymouth. Sergeant Peter Geddes of the Royal Artillery had persuaded his own minister "to help with the pen" and thought that the Whitfieldites "despite our differences" might help. The Address of the church at St. John's would join a list of worthy causes in London but "could not be answered in less than three years". Thomas Crews, Jr. and Captain Brown of Poole urged them to press ahead and suggested the building might be framed at Halifax and brought across cheaper. All letters are found in the Journal.
4. John Newton (1725-1807) was a captain of an African slaver. Self-educated, he was ordained in the Church of England following his conversion and served at Olney in Buckinghamshire and later in London. A friend of Wesley and Whitfield, he was a notable preacher. With William Bull, he founded an Academy at Newport Pagnell (open to students from both the establishment and dissent) from which two of the ministers of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's were to come. Greatheed refers to Newton simply as "the author".

Banker Welsh on their account and it was his opinion that "Poole would do as much". Money was tight in Britain; even Ashburner could only raise between £200 - £300 to build his own meeting house in Poole, but they were to press on regardless.

Cheered by these hopes, the church drew up a solemn Declaration of Intent dated 14 July, 1787, and consisting of 13 Articles, "to stand in full force and unalterable.... from thenceforth during the growth of Oak and Ash.... for and in defence of what we esteem the pure Doctrine, Order and Discipline of the Gospel.... in the Dissenting Profession now existing in St. John's...." (5)

He and his friend the poet William Cowper (1731-1800) were responsible for the Olney Hymn Book, which contains some of the greatest hymns of the Church. Newton is remembered today for such hymns as "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds" "Glorious things of thee are spoken" and "Amazing Grace, how sweet the sound". Alexander MacMillan, Hymns of the Church (Toronto, The United Church Publishing House, 1965) pp. 154-168.

5. This is a very formal legal document, witnessed and sealed (the seals are also affixed in the Journal) beside the signatures of the three witnesses. The English committee, however, was not happy with the Declaration, despite its careful wording. They preferred that the trustees of the Poole meeting house be named in case of General Apostasy rather than a public religious society. In the end, fourteen trustees were

The articles declare the intention of the committee to buy the property of Andrew Barnes for the erection of a new meeting house, the building to be dedicated "to the worship of God, the business of the church and the education of children and to no other business." A committee of six was to be elected by the majority of the brethren "to regulate all matters belonging to the church." Should the committee not agree, "the controverted point" to be settled by a church meeting, the minister having the right "to offer or withhold his vote as appears most judicious to himself." The minister, elders and deacons must be "persuaded of, believe in, and earnestly contend the Doctrines of Grace as contained in the Confession of Faith and the Assembly's two catechisms, belonging to the present Church of Scotland." Only those approved by the church would be allowed to preach, and schoolmasters, ushers, and others would be examined by the committee as to "their principles and moral practice." Should a "general Apostasy" befall the church, the property would devolve to "The Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor which meets at Founders' Hall, London". Lastly, the apartments are to be "the sole right and property of the minister during his term of office." These articles would ensure that the property would not fall into the hands of Arians.

That same month, John Jones drew upon George Kemp, merchant at Poole, for £100 and purchased the two plots of ground "with buildings thereon" from Andrew Barnes. (6) Captain Gower, the future governor, surveyed the

named, so many from Poole and so many from St. John's:		
Richard Miller	William Budden	Wallis Lang
George Kemp	William Budden, Jr.	Joseph Lowman
Thomas Crew	Richard Ledgard	Edward Freeman
John Brown	Nathan Parker	Henry Phillips
James Bayley	John Jones	

6. The Journal states that the Bill of Sale is recorded in the Courts of Session Books, pages 200-202, and dated 12 August 1787 and signed by James Woodmason, Chief Justice. The description of the land previously purchased from John Freeman, reads as follows: "One part of the aforesaid Land joining to the house of the aforesaid James Barnes, the North East End width from the yard aforesaid in the front of the said James Barnes house THIRTY NINE FEET being nearly south East and North West, bounded by the path that leads to the Barrens. In width at the South West End of the said James Barnes house to the field of William Bevil Thomas, bounding the south West End of the said ground SEVENTY FEET; and bounding on the North East End by Elliott William Freeman's Garden and in length from the Path aforesaid (bounding to North East End) to the field aforesaid bounding the South west End) ONE HUNDRED AND SIX FEET bounded on the South East by Elliott Elme's Flake and Joseph Lowman's House; another part by the Path aforesaid nearly North and south ONE HUNDRED AND SIX FEET bounded on the north side by Edward Freeman's Garden nearly North West and South East SIXTY SEVEN FEET; bounded by the Barrens on the North West side nearly North East and South West FIFTY FOUR FEET; the South West side bounded by Mr. Colberts Garden; nearly North West and South East ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY FEET."

property and assured Governor Elliot that "it will not be in any way detrimental to the Fishery". That winter, an Advertisement appeared in England addressed to "All those who love the Gospel", rehearsing the "Case of the people at St. John's, Newfoundland" with a plea for money "so important.... so urgent.... so peculiar.... without parallel.... subscriptions gladly received by Mr. Walsh, Banker in Freeman's Court, Cornhill". (7)

The Building Committee in St. John's (8) held their first meeting on 27 November, 1787, and met thereafter at regular intervals. Supplies were ordered from Poole. (9) Winter servants were sent into the woods to cut and square timber and haul it to town, and summer wages were determined. (10) The firm of Walker and McMinn was

7. Journal.

8. The same Committee as the previous year except George Brace had replaced James Barnes, who had "fallen from grace".
9. 12000 M Brick
20 Hogsheads Lime
30 Pieces Timber 8" square at the top
20 Gallons Linseed Oil
700 White Lead Paint etc.
Various rose nails, spikes and sprigs
4 Boxes of Glass 14" x 10"
10. They were to be allowed four shillings a day. Two winter servants were hired to collect the wood and

commissioned to gather stones and build the foundations and retaining wall. Meantime, Samuel Greatheed continued his collecting in Portsmouth, Isle of Wight and Southampton, crowning his efforts by house-to-house soliciting in Poole, where Ashburner preached a sermon on behalf of the St. John's church. A sum of £144.8.0. was realized, with Edward Ashburner, George Welsh, John Crewe and George Kemp leading the list, Captain John Brown topping them all with a handsome donation of £50. £37 had also been raised by other friends and by the Advertisement.

From Poole, Greatheed went on to Weymouth, Dorchester, Axminster, Heniton, Plymouth, and Gosport with varying degrees of success. Dartmouth, despite its Newfoundland connection, proved disappointing, though "Mr. Newman may give us something". It was slow and irksome work, but money was still coming in at Newport Pagnell and Samuel Greatheed still hoped to raise the promised 400 before the end of the tour. However, he cautioned, it might be a good idea to defer the church galleries "for another season".

Various crises were met and overcome in Newfoundland that winter. Henry Phillips was seriously ill and it was felt that because of the mild winter, the timber

might not be brought out of the woods and urgent messages were sent to Poole via Barbados. However, it was too late in the season to do anything, and in the end Newfoundland timber was used. Captain Brown arrived in mid-June with the lime, paint and linseed oil. The glass and nails were sent from Bristol, but the bricks were to be purchased "on the spot". The English committee, meantime, insured the church for £400 against fire.

The spring brought all kinds of correspondence (all copied into the Journal), including a letter from Greatheed, now at the end of his six week tour. (11) The fruits of all his labours were less than £300 (not the £500 erroneously reported by George Kemp in an earlier letter). Dr. Stafford still would not allow the canvassing of London churches, which Greatheed resented. But there was always next year, and he was an optimist.

By the winter of 1788 the foundation wall was completed and the building framed and closed in.

haul it into town. Wallis Lang would board them at the church's expense (£12.12.0) and a quarter cask of rum left in his care to give to the workmen "as directed by the Committee".

11. Bridgport, Blandford, Totness, Exeter, Salisbury and Rimsey.

Lest no money arrive that year from England, £70 was pledged by committee members. (12) Subscriptions were also sought in St. John's. The names of subscribers as recorded in the Journal are of interest. Some, like Richard and Andrew Barnes had a meeting house connection; others like John Lees, the Barrackmaster, were military men; but most were merchants and interested citizens.

In consequence of an Couragement from many of the Gentlemen of St. John's, the following Address was presented to many of the Inhabitants in the year 1787 and the undermentioned sums were collected -

WE, the undermentioned Committee, appointed to superintend the building of the Dissenting Meeting and School House lately begun to be erected in this Place, finding on Examination the Subscription hitherto advanced considerably inadequate to the completion of so expensive an undertaking, Earnestly solicit the further Contributions of such Disposed Persons as are willing to encourage so useful an Engagement, and what the Committee flatter themselves, may prove advantageous for the Instruction of the rising Generation here in the principles of Religion and Virtue.

At the same Time the Committee beg leave to assure those who please to contribute thereto that their subscriptions will be thankfully received, and faithfully applyd to the purposes abovementioned.

Signed (JOHN JONES
(NATH. PARKER

-
12. Henry Phillips gave £20; George Brace gave £5 as did John Jones and Joseph Lowman, Edward Freeman and Nathan Parker gave £10 each.

(HENRY PHILLIPS
(JOS. LOWMAN
(EDWD. FREEMAN
(GEORGE BRACE"

Andrew Thomson & Co.	£ 5. 5	Dd. Runer	£ 10.6
Adam McGlashan	4. 4	William Long	1. 1
Archd. Henry	1. 1	Jeremiah Crews	1. 1
James Stokes	3. 3	Saml. Henley	10.6
Nathn. Phillips	2. 2		
John Cull	1. 1	Rd. Barnes	1. 1
Marin. Hart	2. 2	Pat Hunter	1. 1
W.B. Thomas	1. 1	D. Sheppard	1. 1
Jona. Ogden	2. 2	William Besusily	10.6
Geo. Williams	18	Geo. Eales	2. 2
John Livingstone	2. 2	Rd. Stokes	10.6
Peter McKee	1. 1	Robt. Robertson	10.6
Alex Stuart	2. 2	William Payne	1. 1
Archd. Buchanan	2. 2	Elias Rowe	2.10
Dewes Coke	2. 2	Andrew Barnes	1. 1
		Walter Black	10.6
John Lees	4. 4		
Capt. Coombes	2.12.6	Arch. Bagg	10.6
John Dexter	2. 2	Thomas Todridge	1. 1
John Sawyer	1. 1	John Dambrell	10.6
William Gaden	2. 2	John Rowe	10.6
William Henley	1.11.6	Henry White	10.6
Geo. Burton	2. 2	John Kemp	10.6
Thomas Dale	1. 1	William Bickford	9
		James Gill	10.6
Robert Tremblett	1. 1	Abra. Holditch	10.6
Timothy Phillips	3. 3	Nick Gill	2. 2
William Ardagh	1. 1	Henry Badford	1. 1
Geo. & Thomas Keough	1.11.6	William Fry	9
Rt. Reid	1. 1		
			£ 80.19.0
			=====

To round off the good news for 1788, intelligence arrived the following spring that Samuel Greatheed had married an heiress with an estate of £20,000. Not only did this bring great happiness to Greatheed, but it allowed him to prove an

even better friend to John Jones and the cause at St. John's. (13)

This news was badly needed as the spring of 1789 saw Jones in despair. The building was virtually complete, chimney and all, except for the plastering and galleries. The School Room was in use, but the fishery had failed and the project lacked £300. The contributions from St. John's were now in doubt. Worse still, Jones seems to have lost confidence in himself. His lack of education, and fears of inadequacy in face of an impressive new meeting house with a growing congregation, made up of rising men in business and government, threatened to overwhelm him. What was a common soldier doing as their minister? However, the summer brought encouraging letters from Captain Brown, Christopher Mends, Thomas Crew and Samuel Greatheed. Greatheed (who cautioned his friend not to spell his name "Greathead" now that he has wealth) chided Jones on his lack of faith. He and Captain Brown had sent off posthaste £100 with the assurance that, thanks to a new Advertisement and a visit by Greatheed to London that winter, all the money for the new meeting house would be forthcoming.

13. The story, as recorded in the Journal reads like a popular romance. As a student at the Academy with only his small army pension, Greatheed purposed

On the strength of this, the Committee set to "to plaster the House", and the following winter built the galleries, dormer windows in the roof to accommodate rooms for a schoolmaster, and a detailed statement of all building costs was sent home to the Committee in England, dated October 1789, showing a total expenditure of £782.9.4 with an additional amount of £129.9.0 needed to complete the building - about 200 above the estimate of 1785. (14) It is believed that the building was a copy of Ashburner's meeting house in Poole but this has never been confirmed. (15) Be that as it may, the St. John's meeting house was well and truly built, lasting

"avoiding any Matrimonial Intention". He did, however, form "a mutual attachment" of some two and a half years standing with a Miss Hamilton, a member of Mr. Bull's meeting, who "entertained some affection" for him. Her wealthy brother hated the church and promised to cut her off without a penny if she married Samuel, and as Greatheed was without prospects, all marriage plans had to be postponed. But just when all hope was lost, Mr. Hamilton died without making a will and "Miss H. was heiress to all his estate".

14. See Appendix B for this statement. Incidentally the money was all collected so presumably the churches of London proved generous, as Greatheed always predicted.
15. A model of the second meeting house was on display for many years in the Newfoundland Museum on Duckworth Street, St. John's (the plans having found their way to the Dominion Archives in Ottawa).

over a hundred years and might be standing still but for the great fire of 1892.

That the second meeting house was a very handsome building, comparing favourably with the Catholic chapel of 1785, can be seen from the correspondence of Sir Richard King, the governor, who wrote in 1792 lamenting "the deplorable and ruinous state" of the Anglican church (16) and the fact that the court house had to be requisitioned for religious purposes. The faithful, he reported, "were attending Divine service at the hazard of their lives". What made this particularly reprehensible, was the fact that "the dissenting meeting house and the Romish chapel are comfortable, well-built places of worship, suitable to accommodate their congregations". Noting that "dissenters build their places of worship by voluntary subscriptions", Sir Richard reminded the principal merchants and inhabitants of St. John's "how disgraceful it would appear in the eyes of the whole world, if persons professing themselves Protestants of the Established Church should not cheerfully step forward on the present occasion and subscribe". (17)

16. Mission founded 1699. Church built in 1759.

17. This is one of the rare occasion when the presence of dissenters of Newfoundland is mentioned in the official documents of the period. See also,

The completion of the second meeting house in 1789 marked the climax of John Jones' career. It was surely with a sense of wonderment he remembered how ten years before, when the little society had but 15 members, the governor closed the church and ordered him never to preach again in St. John's. Now the cause had grown so large as to require a meeting house seating 700, and boasting as members some of the most respected members of the community. (18) To add to his joy, his good friend,

"C" Mss. SPG Correspondence, Thomas Skinner, Captain, Royal Engineers, to the Reverend Doctor Maurice, dated 26 April 1795. ".... On each side of this church are places of public worship. One for the dissenters, warm, comfortable and in great order, which was built partly by subscription at St. John's, but chiefly by contributions from England and a considerable sum from the Established Church". I can find no evidence for this last assertion, which I would think highly unlikely. The trials and tribulations of the Building Committee of the new Church of England, under the chairmanship of the former dissenter, Henry Phillips, will be recorded later in this chapter. Suffice it to say at this point that Governor King's high hopes were not fulfilled. Writing in 1798, his successor, Governor Waldegrave, contemplating the slow progress of the church building programme, concluded that the merchants of St. John's were "the most illiberal and rapacious Men I ever met". Newfoundland Colonial Secretary's Correspondence GN2/1 for the years 1792 and 1798.

18. Henry Phillips became High Sheriff in this year. The census of 1794 listed him as owning his own house with one male and one female servant. He left St. John's in 1810 and the Gazette of 14 June, lists among other items the following

Captain John Brown, together with Samuel Greatheed and George Welsh, the banker, had agreed among themselves to provide him with a pension of £15 per annum "to supply conveniences which are particularly needful". (19) Not that he was ready for a pension - three services on Sunday, midweek meetings, and, of course, the school, of which he was so proud. Jones used his army pension to pay the fees of poor children and the money he obtained from teaching paid the salary of an assistant master.

In 1792, George Brace, "who kept a fishing boat" and was a respected member of the congregation, began to preach at Portugal Cove and Torbay (possibly Petty Harbour as well). John Jones visited regularly, administering the sacraments and catechizing the children. Through "the liberality of pious individuals, chiefly in London" (and chiefly Samuel Greatheed, one

household effects for sale by auction:

2 elegant mahogany side-boards	1 copper warming pan
9 mahogany hair-bottom chairs	1 large marble pestle & mortar
12 mahogany drawing room chairs	1 Gig, horse and harness
1 mahogany tea chest	1 Irish cart and harness
2 elegant tea and coffee urns	1 Sedan chair
3 dozen silver spoons, etc.	1 Brussels carpet
1 silver tea pot and stand	1 Wilton ditto
1 mahogany liquor case complete	Cotton counterpanes
	Feather beds

suspects) a salary was found for Brace, and forsaking the fishery, he devoted himself full time to this ministry and "to the gratuitous instruction of the poorest children at St. John's". This would have brought the greatest satisfaction to Jones "whose compassion had been strongly excited by their wretched state". (20) As already noted, so important did he regard the free school that, in his will, he left all that he had to its continuance. (21)

Thanks to his pension [and, one hopes, a more regular and generous stipend paid by his flock,] "the comforts of his advancing years were doubtless by this help extended to a later period and rendered more useful than they would otherwise have been". (22) He became a property

20. Greatheed, Life, p. 446.

21. ".... after which such Rent, Issues or Profits shall be applied towards the support and furtherance of the Charity School, but be it understood that I do not thereby intend to augment the salary at present allowed the Master of the School; but that a fund may be formed thereof, which in case the charitable contribution that has heretofore supported the School should become inadequate thereto, the deficiency may be made up thereby. And in case the School should be discontinued, then I will and require.... Last Will and Testament of John Jones, entered in Registration Offices, Supreme Court of Newfoundland, 14 March 1836 "Edwd. M. Archibald".

22. Greatheed Life, p. 445.

holder, buying some land (on the present Forest Road) from his old friend, John Lees, the barrackmaster, and receiving a grant of two acres from the governor, Sir Richard King, "at His Majesty's pleasure" (known later as the Allandale property). The church was also prospering. In 1791, the trustees bought additional land, possibly for a cemetery, and the house where Jones lodged near the meeting house. Jones was able to afford servants - one, Thomas Martin, was rewarded for his faithful service of 13 years by the free use of the Lees property for the duration of his life and that of his son. (23) A member of the Building Committee and a neighbour, Joseph Lowman, died, naming John Jones his trustee and charging him with the care of his children. Provision for Thomas and Henrietta Lowman was also made in Jones' will.

However, "other trials arose, the severest of which to his feelings was the declension of some respectable members of his church, whose conduct obliged him, after much forbearance and affectionate remonstrance,

23. All this property still belongs to John Jones' congregation (with little profit) except for the Allandale property which was expropriated by the St. John's Housing Corporation.

to exclude them from communion." (24) This refers to the unhappy case of Eliza Phillips, wife of the High Sheriff and former member of the Building Committee, Henry Phillips. The whole wearisome procedure covered several months and eleven pages of the Journal. It concerned her extravagant mode of dress ("more so than any lady in the place") and her haughty behaviour towards her husband's family ("she would never sit down or eat or drink or speak to them"). Such foolishness might well be a matter of talk, indeed of sorrow to a modern congregation, but this was the eighteenth century and a meeting house. Worldliness and pride in a Christian and in a member brought contempt on the Gospel to their minds, and the purity of a gathered congregation of Christ's people had to be upheld even at the cost of one of the wealthiest and most prominent families. The arguments of Henry Phillips and his wife on one side and those of John Jones, Nathan Parker, George Brace and Dr. Rennell on the other are dutifully recorded. Finally "the Church

-
24. Greatheed, Life, p. 445. This is the only written account of a "case of discipline" in John Jones' ministry, although there were doubtless others, e.g. James Barnes. As church records for dissenting congregations of this period abound with such cases and as doubtless the St. John's congregation had more than its share of backsliders, this silence can be attributed to the quiet pastoral care and peaceable nature of John Jones.

concluded, and on Lord's Day, the 9th. Feby. 1794, Mrs. P. was publicly declared NOT A MEMBER." The prominence of the family and their removal to the Church of England, and the fact that Henry Phillips had been a good friend, must have taken its toll on his pastor. No more entries are made in the Journal, and the last baptism recorded is in 1795.

In his Life, Greatheed speaks of "growing infirmities" attributed to Jones' "youthful dissipation, his military and local hardships and unintermitted labours in the Gospel". (25) William Black, visiting in 1792, referred to Jones, then 55, as "the old gentleman". (26) In 1789, John Brown had noted that Jones was showing signs of age and urged on him the need of an assistant.

In 1797, the newly formed London Missionary Society heard a paper from Samuel Greatheed "on promoting the Knowledge of Christ in the British colonies in North America". Missionaries were sent to Quebec that year, but for the most part, the LMS concentrated on "the Heathen in foreign parts". Though not unsympathetic or at times

25. Greathead Life, p. 447.

26. Betts, Bishop Black, p. 41.

unhelpful to Newfoundland, little was done for fellow Congregationalists within the empire until the formation of the Colonial Missionary Society in the 1830s. (27) However, in 1798, in reply to a petition forwarded by John Jones from "between three and four hundred persons at Twillingate requesting the assistance of a minister to preach the Gospel", John Hillyard, a student at Mr. Bull's Academy and the son of the Independent minister at Olney, was engaged at a salary of £50 per annum for three years plus his passage as missionary to Twillingate. (28) He arrived in St. John's in June, 1799, preaching several times in the Meeting House, where he was received by John Jones "with the affection of a father". Hillyard found Jones much weakened by a paralytic stroke which had occurred the previous year, "the effect of which he will never recover". Nevertheless, the old soldier was well enough to accompany Hillyard to Harbour Grace and arrange his passage for Twillingate. (29)

-
27. General Meeting, 12 May 1797, Minutes of the London Missionary Society (22 September 1795 - 13 May 1813) United Church Archives, Toronto.
 28. Ibid., 7 August and 10 August 1798; 18 February, 11 March, 15 and 22 April, 22 July 1799.
 29. For a full account of this mission, see 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, 1976) chapter 6, III and IV, pages 158-

Jones was clearly a dying man. In April 1799, he handed over the management of his beloved school to Lionel Chancey and on 18 November made his will. (30) It is a touching and revealing document. Besides personal gifts to his wards, his servants and fellow workers Nathan Parker and Lionel Chancey, his estate, valued at a little over £200 was left to the charity school; or failing that, the church; or failing that, "the Poor of St. John's". His condition deteriorated rapidly towards the end of February and on St. David's Day 1800, having sung a hymn and preaching, as it were, a sermon based on the twelfth of the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England, peacefully died. (31)

162. John Hillyard was the first resident minister in Twillingate and the "call" confirms my thesis that there were dissenters in Newfoundland in the eighteenth century, although the number 300 is probably an exaggeration.

30. See Appendix C.

31. Greatheed Life, p. 447, states that John Jones' dearest wish was to die preaching the Gospel. The watchers by his death bed heard him repeat this article of faith. XIII. OF GOOD WORKS. Albeit that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgement; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith; insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

As he had ordered, the funeral was conducted with no military honours and "in the most frugal and least expensive manner that Decency will permit of". The Anglican clergyman, the Reverend John Harries, conducted the service in the meeting house Jones had built and preached a sermon based on the text Job 7:21, extolling the "lively Faith" of a man whose charities made him beloved by the whole community. John Harries was not unfamiliar with the pulpit as his congregation was using the meeting house that winter in preparation for their new church. (32)

Two thousand people (surely the entire population) turned out in a snowstorm to witness the coffin

-
32. The building of this church is not without interest. In the spring of 1796, Governor Waldegrave issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens of St. John's to repair or build a new Anglican church. For this purpose a gift of £400 was obtained from the SPG and a gift of £500 from H.M. The King. The chairman of the Building Committee was none other than the High Sheriff Henry Phillips (former dissenter and member of the building committee for the meeting house). The original estimate for the new church was £1,270 but by 1798, Phillips had to confess to the governor that all the money was gone and the church would cost double that figure to complete. The governor was not pleased to request a further parliamentary grant of £200 towards the church that year. By November 1801, the church was still not finished. The details are recorded in the Newfoundland Colonial Secretary's Correspondence GN2/1 1796-1801.

of John Jones borne by two colonels and four prominent merchants carried to the public cemetery for burial. The following year, a simple tombstone was ordered with this inscription:-

In Memory of the late Revd. John Jones
Minister of the Dissenting Church of
Christ at this Place, who departed this
life

1st March 1800

Aged 63 years

'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord'

Ten years after Jones' death, one of his successors, the Reverend Edmund Violet, published a little work - "Remarks upon the life and manners of the Rev. John Jones, formerly pastor of the Independent Church, St. John's, Newfoundland". (33) The book, which depends almost entirely on the Journal and Greatheed's Life, is lavish in its praise of Jones, "that venerable man" - his talents, his usefulness, his diligence, his modesty and his fortitude. And yet, despite the exaggeration and the elegance of his young eulogist, there shines through a portrait of a most attractive human being - generous, unpretentious, utterly sincere. All that we know about John Jones is good. And while he might think his greatest memorial was the erection

33. Violet, Remarks.

of an "extensive and well-built place of Worship, in the most eligible situation", (34) it was Jones' character which accounted for a strong and united Dissenting Church of Christ in St. John's. Violet was quite right.

His memory deserves to be respected in Newfoundland. To him the whole island is much indebted. (35)

And yet the memory of even the most exemplary minister cannot sustain a congregation for long. A church of the congregational pattern has no bishop or presbytery to which to appeal, but there were friends in England who could obtain a new minister, perhaps a young man from one of the academies. Within a month of John Jones' death, a vacancy committee was writing to Samuel Greatheed to seek a worthy replacement to "our late Venerable and Respected Pastor".

*

*

*

*

*

*

34. Violet, Remarks, p. 15.

35. Ibid, p. 16.

Before we consider the remainder of the period under study, and in particular the disruption of the Dissenting Church of Christ by the erection of a Methodist chapel in 1815, attention should be given to the mainland of British North America, and the history of Protestant dissent there. At first glance, the history of dissent in St. John's would seem to follow the same pattern as in Nova Scotia - the original Congregationalists, divided among themselves between Old and New Lights, overtaken by the more militant Methodists, but, as we shall see, such is not the case. As in all matters pertaining to Atlantic Canada, Newfoundland cannot be lumped in with the Maritimes. Nevertheless, if only for reasons of contrast and to see Newfoundland dissent in the broader picture of Canadian church history, it must now be considered at some length.

With the fall of Louisbourg and the expulsion of the Acadians, the stage was set for the settling of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the interests of the British Empire. Even before the great influx of 1760-1768, New Englanders were playing influential roles in the life of the province. The founding of Halifax and the Church of England parish of St. Paul's in 1749, was followed almost immediately by the erection of a Protestant

dissenting meeting house named for Dr. Mather, a well-known Boston divine. If government officials attended St. Paul's, the merchants of Halifax occupied the pews at Mather's. However, it was Governor Lawrence's second proclamation of 1759, with its promise of full religious liberty for all save Papists, (1) that made possible the peopling of Nova Scotia. 1,800 arrived in 1760 and by 1776, there were 13,374 settlers, over half of whom were American. (2)

The SPG was hopeful that given the support of the colonial government and the social prestige belonging to the establishment, the ascendancy of the Church of England could be maintained, but even among the non-Americans, this proved impossible, for the majority of them were also dissenters. (3) The Rhinelanders at Lunenburg

-
1. Roman Catholics, like their co-religionists in Newfoundland, had to wait until 1784, when the Irish built a church in Halifax.
 2. 6,913 from New England; 3,000 from the Rhineland; 2,000 from Ulster and 1,000 Yorkshire farmers. Also, in 1773, the Hector arrived in Pictou, bringing the first of what was to prove a flood of Highland Scots.
 3. Nevertheless, the Anglican Church commanded the loyalty of about twenty per cent of the population. "The tendency to regard the established Church as being under attack from non-conformists at large should not therefore be allowed to obscure the fact that it was one of the

were either Calvinist or Lutheran and despite the best efforts of an SPG missionary, remained loyal to their religious traditions. In 1770, Bruin Romcas Comingo was ordained in Halifax for German Calvinists and two years later, the Reverend Frederick Shutz arrived for the Lutherans. (4) The Ulstermen were largely Presbyterian and the settlers from Yorkshire, though nominally Church of England, were strongly influenced by John Wesley. (5)

larger denominations in Nova Scotia." Judith Fingard, The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783-1816, (London, S.P.C.K. 1972) p. 197.

4. The ordination of Comingo took place in Mather's Meeting House on 3 July 1770, in the presence of the governor and other officials, by a self-appointed presbytery of two Presbyterian and two Congregational ministers. It illustrates the blurring of the lines that separated Presbyterianism and Congregationalism at this time (Mather's eventually became St. Matthew's Church of Scotland) and also the anxiety of the government to ensure the loyalty of the Lunenburg Germans. The Reverend Mr. Shutz was a German Lutheran from New England. John S. Moir, Enduring Witness, A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, (Toronto, Presbyterian Publications, 1975), p. 39.
5. The Presbyterians, whether directly from Ulster or by way of New England, established churches at Truro, Londonderry, Onslow, Horton, and Pictou, and had affiliations with secession church bodies (Both Burgher and Anti-Burgher) in Ireland, Scotland and America (though the American James Lyon returned to New England at the beginning of the War because of his politics). Solidly established with well-educated and popular

The Americans were for the most part Congregational. (6) Their settlement in Nova Scotia was not individualistic but social. New Englanders would move and by means of proprietors, representing both church and state, seek to re-establish the same life on the frontier that they had known at home. Ministers often accompanied their people and so strong was the pattern that the SPG did not even attempt to change it. And yet it was not a united Congregationalism that established itself in Nova Scotia; the schism between evangelical and non-evangelical, Old Light and New Light, caused by the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, lay just below the surface. Because of the isolation and poverty of the frontier and the indifference

ministers, it is interesting that James Murdoch's ordination in Ireland in 1765 was to "The Province of Nova Scotia and any other part of the American continent where God in His Providence might call him." The Yorkshiremen settled at Cumberland and were well supplied with ministers and schools by the SPG. They continued, however, to have class meetings and to keep in touch with Wesley. S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, (University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. 55.

6. It is estimated that there were only about 50 Presbyterian families among the Americans. Several Baptist churches were established but all had disappeared before 1775. At least three Baptist ministers have been identified as coming to Nova Scotia and Elder Ebenezer Moulton was a divisive force in various Congregational communities during this period. Ibid, pp. 15-17.

of the New England churches, it was not easy to obtain or keep well-qualified ministers. This resulted in the employment of lay preachers and ministers of other traditions. Further, the character and zeal of many of the Congregational clergy of this period left something to be desired. There was much conflict, particularly in the appointment of ministers. Nevertheless, the hold of New England conservatism was strong and despite much dissatisfaction, there was no extensive disruption within Nova Scotian Congregationalism before 1775. At this time, there were at least eight or nine regular Congregational ministers located within the various settlements. (7)

7. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES AND MINISTERS, 1749-1776,
NOVA SCOTIA

Town	Meeting House		Minister
	Settled	Built	
Barrington	1761	1765-66	S. Wood, 1767-70 I. Knowles, 1771-72, 73 Mr. Stearns, 1772
Cape Forchu	1761	1784	N. Porter, 1767-71 S.S. Poole, 1774 A. Bancroft, 1780-83
Chebogue and Argyle	1761	1766	S. Wood, 1761-67 J. Frost, 1767-1770 J. Scott, 1770-93
Chester	1761	J. Seccombe, 1761-92
Cornwallis	1760	1767	B. Phelps, 1765-77
Cumberland	1763	C. Gannett, 1768-71
and Amherst			
Granville	1760	1776	A. Morse, 1770-83
and Annapolis			
Halifax	1749	1750	A. Cleaveland, 1750-54 J. Cotton, 1755 A. Brown, 1766 W. Moore, 1769-70

The year 1775, so important to dissent in Newfoundland, has also significance in the religious history of Nova Scotia. For the summer that Sergeant John Jones sailed through the Narrows at St. John's, saw the arrival at Halifax harbour of the fourteen year old William Black. The son of Yorkshire settlers, he was to become Bishop Black (the only dissenter of the period to be accorded such a title), "the Wesleyan Apostle of Nova Scotia", who was to revive the Methodist cause in Newfoundland in 1792. Also, on 26 March 1775, Henry Alline, born in Newport, Rhode Island, who came with his parents to Falmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1760, was to experience conversion and feel himself called to preach the salvation of redeeming love to the dying churches of Nova Scotia. But 1775 also heralded the start of the American Revolution, which was to strike the final blow to Nova Scotian Congregationalism. As minister after minister departed for New England rather than face charges of sedition, (8) leaving behind them

Liverpool	1760	1774-75	I. Cheever, 1760-82
Maugerville	1763	1775	Mr. Wellman, 1763-64
			A. Briggs, 1770
			Mr. Webster
			S. Noble, 1774-77

Taken from Armstrong, The Great Awakening, p. 59.

8. Only the Reverends Israel Cheever and Jonathan Scott were left to defend the New England Way in Nova Scotia.

congregations set adrift from home and prey to divided loyalties, it was a thoroughly demoralized and disintegrating church that was to face the onslaught of the Great Awakening as launched by the charismatic preaching of Henry Alline the following year.

In the summer of 1776, Henry Alline began his meteoric career as a New Light preacher, which was to convulse an already weakened Congregationalism and practically destroy it. During his eight year ministry he was to visit every important settlement in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, so that no meeting house escaped the disrupting effect of his separatist crusade. Alline's emotional preaching, touched with mysticism, excited an isolated and leaderless people, numbed by the formalism and scholasticism of New England worship; and his insistence upon an inward experience and the saving doctrine of grace appealed strongly to the individualism and independence of the frontier. (9) His ordination as an itinerant New Light

-
9. "Little was left by way of emotional escape for isolated and impoverished settlers but religion, and this backwater of civilization formed fertile soil for spiritual emotionalism. Religious enthusiasm provided a release from a humdrum existence, and was cheaper and less socially divisive than drink. Fingard, Anglican Design, p. 118.

preacher on 5 April, 1779, despite his lack of formal training, the approval of fellow ministers and a Call from a particular congregation, was a direct challenge to the whole Congregational system of government. Although Alline's style and theology, and the excesses of his followers, repelled Presbyterians and right wing Congregationalists, nothing could stop the groundswell of his revival. The first New Light church was formed at Newport in 1776, and two years later, another at Cornwallis. At the time of Henry Alline's death, aged 35, in 1784, only four Congregational churches in the Maritimes could claim to have withstood the storm. (10)

By this time, another revivalist movement had grown up among the Yorkshire English Methodists in Cumberland County. John Wesley had intended sending missionaries to them but the Revolutionary War intervened. Henry Alline, however, visited the area twice, as did his fellow evangelist, the Baptist Thomas Handly Chipman. But revival was to come, not through outside leadership, but from within. William Black, having experienced conversion and receiving his call to preach from God, took charge of

10. Clark, Church and Sect, p. 30.

the movement and starting with his own family in 1779, carried his message in ever-widening circles until by 1784, he had visited all of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. While his mission was primarily to the English Yorkshire settlements, his revival meetings attracted New England Congregationalists and, with the coming of the Loyalists, a whole new constituency of hearers.

Although the Methodists and New Lights had much in common, and Black endeavoured to maintain an uneasy truce with Alline and his preachers, (11) they were quite separate movements. Methodists were suspicious of Alline's mysticism and repelled by Chipman's antinomianism but the main difference was Wesleyan discipline, the all-important class meeting and circuit. "It was this well-tried and closely-knit system which from the beginning welded the Methodists into a corporate unity, which wrought havoc among the undisciplined New Light Congregationalists". (12) In 1785, Black went to the States to recruit

11. Alline's theology was drawn from the same English writers, principally William Law, who influenced Wesley and Whitefield. Therefore, he could appeal "beyond the Yankees to the Yorkshire Methodists." Rawlyk, A People Highly Favoured, p. 80.

12. Armstrong, The Great Awakening p. 63.

missionaries from the Methodist Episcopal Church to add to his growing number of local preachers. The revivals continued and at times it looked as if not only the Congregationalists but the beleaguered Anglicans and Presbyterians might be forced to give way to churches organized on the New Light plan.

The coming of the Loyalists in 1784 doubled the population of Nova Scotia and while supplying both Methodists and New Lights (as well as Baptists) with many recruits, strengthened the Church of England and, to a lesser extent, the Presbyterians. Although revivalism continued to be the principal force in the religious life of the Maritimes, the established churches fought back. In 1786, the first Presbyterian presbytery was erected at Truro and the following year, Charles Inglis was appointed Bishop of Nova Scotia. By 1800 the religious situation stabilized. There seemed to be a desire now for order, even among the "enthusiasts". That year the Methodists, now numbering 850 class members and 3,000 adherents, broke with the more radical American Episcopal Methodist Church and affiliated with the Wesleyan Conference of England, and the New Light churches formed the "Nova Scotia Baptist Association" - with strict adherence to the London Confession of 1687 as

adopted by the Association of Philadelphia in 1742. (13)

Only a remnant of the Congregational Church remained. Its eclipse was almost complete. (14) The reasons we have already explored but let this be a final word - a quotation from a nineteenth century divine, quoted by Dr. E. Arthur Betts in his book The Congregational Churches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1749-1925:

In Nova Scotia where scattered settlements along the coastlines were small, and often as much as a hundred miles from each other by water, and entirely isolated by land, Congregationalism fought a losing battle against time and distance. If there had been some strong hand of a larger Church-body to support and supply the weaker churches, if there had been an outgoing Missionary effort among the Mother-churches of England or New England, if there had been some vision

-
13. "Ecclesiasticism had triumphed; the cycle of the Great Awakening was completed; the revolt against the "forms of Godliness" was ended, and the Protestant Dissenters of Nova Scotia, after their brief but spectacular flight, laid aside the wings of the spirit and settled down to orderly and unexciting growth." Armstrong, The Great Awakening, page 138.
14. A congregation, under the Reverend John Payzant (1792-1838) remained at Liverpool; and the church at Sheffield (formerly Maugerville) continued to flourish. There was still a cause at Chebogue; but the congregation at Cornwallis & Horton was bitterly divided. Halifax could almost be considered Presbyterian even at this time.

of the scope of the Gospel so that every outpost would have felt the impact and the significance of the Church Universal, then if even one of the potentialities had been realized, the Church would have been sustained. (15)

The above quotation would seem to apply as much to Newfoundland as it does to Nova Scotia. But as already noted, the differences between Newfoundland and the rest of British North America are many, and often quite basic. Within the Congregationalism of St. John's there was no division between Old Light and New Light. It was solely the product of George Whitefield's revival. Despite the presence of Americans such as Nathan Parker, there is no evidence of any link with Congregationalism in the United States. The links are all with England. Indeed, the little society at St. John's was a replica of the Independent churches of the west country - orthodox and evangelical with none of the excesses of spirit that marked the revival of Henry Alline. One feels that John Jones and his elders would view with much suspicion that zealous young man's theology and methodology. Unlike the Congregationalists of Nova Scotia, who lacked "some strong hand of a larger Church-body to support and supply", that close-knit circle of Independent ministers and laymen in England stood ready

to support the continuation of the congregation and supply them with pastors in succession to John Jones. Here also there was undoubtedly "an outgoing Missionary effort" and, particularly in the person of Samuel Greatheed, "some vision of the scope of the Gospel." For Greatheed is the key figure in all the help John Jones received from England. As we know, Greatheed was part of that remarkable group of evangelicals, founding fathers of such institutions as the London Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society, influential in the affairs of the many religious, philanthropic and reform societies that met at Exeter Hall, who, unlike moderates in all churches of the eighteenth century, caught the vision of the world-wide mission of the Church. While the concern was mainly for 'the perishing heathen', a man like Greatheed, with his experience of life in the colonies, would not let his fellow evangelicals forget that mission lay also in such places as Quebec City, St. John's and New South Wales. (16) So it was to the

-
16. For an account of the first missionaries to the South Seas and Australia (in which Samuel Greatheed played a part) see Niel Gunson, Messengers of Grace, (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1978). Of men like Greatheed, Dr. Gunson writes, "Despite their very considerable impact on English church life, the Calvinistic Methodists are still neglected by serious social historians", p. 3. Calvinistic Methodists are those who look to Whitefield rather than Wesley; a term that might not find favour with men like John Jones!

Reverend Samuel Greatheed that the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, still mourning the death of John Jones, turned to find his successor.

The Vacancy Committee was in correspondence with Greatheed less than a month after the death of John Jones, seeking a new minister from England. The letter as recorded in the Journal states three qualifications:

Firstly "a deep and experimental knowledge of God in his own soul, a zeal for His glory, and the conversion of sinners"

Secondly "orthodoxy in the evangelical doctrines of the Gospel" and "a liberal catholic spirit towards all good men".

Thirdly "as we are surrounded by errors, and those of a most dangerous kind, and supported by men of apparent ability.... a man of a classical learning.... who would greatly increase the reputation of the school".

The Committee hardly felt it necessary to add that they required an Englishman of the "Independent or Congregational persuasion". (17) The stipend offered was £50 per annum

17. It was felt that a Scotsman would not do - "a broad accent will not be approved of" particularly in the School.

plus a house. They hoped by reason of "subscriptions, schooling and other means" this might be doubled. They realized that this would be insufficient to support a married man in wartime, although they suggested his income might be increased by "a godly, discreet woman of ability". (18) Meantime, they reported that both the schools were in "a very flourishing state" and that the Church minister continued to occupy the pulpit on Sunday mornings. (19) The afternoon and evening services were conducted by lay preachers - the Wesleyan William Torie of the Royal Artillery, and George Brace, who also took the week-day

18. Food was reported as scarce and costly in St. John's that year and the usual warrants for the import of food were issued the same month the letter was written, one of which was to the firm, Parker & Knight. Correspondence GN2/1 1800.
19. The Anglican Church was still not ready, much to the disgust of the governor and the chagrin of Henry Phillips. That year, Governor Pole records the receipt of the parliamentary grant of 200 for the church but the building was still not completed as late as November 1801. Governor Gambier launched an appeal for bells and the erection of a steeple in 1802. Surprisingly enough, Bishop O'Donel promised a special offering from his chapel the following Sunday for this worthy purpose. However, it was abandoned in 1803 and the money returned to the subscribers. All of which suggests a continuation of the good relations described in chapter four of this thesis. An Anglican and a Methodists sharing the same pulpit in a Congregational meeting house with a Roman Catholic bishop anxious to contribute to a Protestant building programme.

meetings and, as health allowed, continued his work in the outports. They concluded by reporting that all the members of the church exhibited "a spirit of perfect unity" and that they hoped there would be a speedy and successful settlement of the vacancy. (20) Although the Committee did not hear from Samuel Greatheed until the following year, he had not been idle on their behalf, having secured a candidate, Mr. Rutton Morris, a second year student at the Newton Pagnell Academy. (21) James Melledge and Stephen Knight, partners of Nathan Parker, were in England on business at the time and approved Greatheed's choice, attending Rutton Morris' "solemn and affecting" ordination on 26 February 1801. Remembering the "difficulties which Mr. Jones had sometimes

20. Journal. Letter dated St. John's, Newfoundland, 28 March 1801.

21. Mention has already been made of this Academy, which became part of Cheshunt College in 1850. Its Principal was the Reverend William Bull, assisted by his son, the Reverend Thomas Palmer Bull, who succeeded him in 1814. Its famous founder, the Reverend John Newton, had drawn up the curriculum, which was strictly Biblical. The Academy was intended to train evangelical ministers for both the free and established churches of England. Rutton Morris would learn logic, history and some polite English literature but not rhetoric, classical languages or science, which may explain why he seems to have had little to do with the school at St. John's, although his fellow graduate, the Reverend John Hillyard taught at Twillingate and later considered being a schoolmaster with the SPG.

suffered", the canny Greateed took the precaution of drawing up a guarantee of stipend, which was duly signed by James Melledge and witnessed by the Bulls, father and son. It was reported that Rutton Morris, "the peculiar gift of God to His Church here", arrived safely in St. John's on 23 June, 1801 and was found to be "a person taught of God, whose desire is to promote the Redeemer's kingdom among men". (22)

During the ministry of Rutton Morris the population of St. John's increased dramatically, the proportion of Irish Catholic and English Protestant remaining fairly constant. (23) Although the fishery

-
22. Journal. Letter dated St. John's Newfoundland, 16 July 1801.
23. The census for the winter of 1801-02 lists 3420 inhabitants in the St. John's area which includes Portugal Cove, Torbay, Petty Harbour, Bell Island and Quidi Vidi, of which 1139 were Protestants. The census for the winter of 1804-05 lists 5554 inhabitants, of which 2092 were Protestants. It should be noted from above that the ratio of Protestants to Roman Catholics increased slightly during this period. The census for 1804-05 is more detailed - of the 5554, 688 were heads of families; 702 were listed as servants; and 792 were 'dieters'; the rest women and children. These figures, one presumes, did not include the military, from whose numbers the congregation drew heavily. Of the outports, only Portugal Cove was overwhelmingly Protestant.

prospered, food was scarce and expensive and life exceedingly hard. (24) Perhaps the best description of St. John's during these years is found in a petition sent by the merchants in 1812 to the Prince Regent:

We beg leave further to state to your Royal Highness that the town of St. John's, with the exception of one house, is built of wood; that the principal street is in one place not more than six feet wide, that all our streets are narrow, unpaved and unlighted; that during three months of the year, owing to the severity of our climate we are shut out from all intercourse from our neighbours. Imagination could not portray a more dreadful picture of human misery than could be realized were this town, in the depth of winter, to become a prey to conflagration. In addition to these circumstances, which we are sure will forcibly impress themselves on the benevolent mind of your Royal Highness, we have to state that we are without a police, without a public establishment for the education of our youth, without a market-place, and without any legal provision for the poor. (25)

-
24. Shannon Ryan, "The Newfoundland Salt Cod Trade in the Nineteenth Century" Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, (University of Toronto Press 1980). p. 41. "The resident fishing flourished in war time when the migratory fishermen were unable to travel across the Atlantic either because of the dangers of the passage or because of impressment".
25. Quoted by David G. Pitt, Windows of Agate (St. John's, Gower Street United Church, 1966), p. 12, giving as his reference Edward B. Foran, "St. John's City: Historic Capital of Newfoundland" in the Book of Newfoundland, vol. ii, p. 1 ff. It should be pointed that the same merchants were slow to contribute to the improvement of the town. Governor Gambier was concerned about the filthy condition of the narrow streets but his plan to

But life was improving, as Governor Gower pointed out in a letter written in 1804. There were the beginnings of town planning and some civic amenities; Governor Waldegrave's Charity Schools pointed the way to some form of public education; and 300 acres of land were released for much needed housing and growing of food. Nevertheless, poverty, disease, drunkenness and violence were commonplace; there was no resident governor; the winters were long and bitter; (26) and over all the fear of fire and starvation. (27) The

tax the inhabitants (2s and 6d a fireplace) to clean up the town was strenuously resisted. And it was the Phoenix Fire Office that presented St. John's with a fire engine and the garrison which donated 35 buckets.

26. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, W.J. Hyde, letter dated St. John's Newfoundland, 9 June 1815.... "Our winter commenced I may say November 29th, for then there was a great snow that continued, the face of the ground generally continued to (be) covered with many feet thick till the beginning of May. The harbour and sea frozen many feet thick also, the mode of getting vessels out or in is by a great number of men sawing a channel and then it is warped in or out. It has been a sickly time altho' so very severe, some say there has not been such a winter for twenty years. The thermometer was frequently in the house 15 degrees below and extreme cold."
27. That these fears were not unfounded, witness the letters of W.J. Hyde and James Sabine to the LMS. February 22, 1816 "... on Monday night 12th instant.... an alarming fire broke out about 10 at night, the wind blowing a strong gale, and a little water being able to be procured, destruction seemed to threaten the whole town. It

Anglican clergy, whose stipends were considerably higher and more secure, found it difficult to survive, and reading the governors' despatches of this period, one can but concur with Governor Waldegrave's reply to the Reverend John Harries that "a winter residence on this dreadful Island can scarcely be too highly rewarded." (28) No wonder the ministries of this period were short. The ministers were:

raged till 4 the next morning, when by great exertion and the Lord staying the wind it was got under, but not till it had destroyed 120 Houses, happily none of the provision stores were materially destroyed.... The dreadful appearance of the devastation cannot be conceived. Men, women and children in all directions running and shrieking, at the same time more than a thousand of the Irish Catholics not only refrained to hand the water but committed the vilest depredation. The soldiers of the Newfoundland Regiment were many of them as bad as those mentioned, a court martial is to be held on some of them...." 27 July 1817 ".... Nothing at present can save the island from a repetition of the horrors of last winter but the removal of seven or eight thousand of the poor.... A settlement among the Irish papist colonized as they are in Newfoundland I think must be attended with dangers equal to any among the heathen, nothing but the greatest vigilance saved us from being burnt in our beds last winter, they threatened again and again to burn the town...." This letter written in July, well before the fires of 7 and 21 November 1817.

28. See Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, W.J. Hyde, St. John's Newfoundland, dated 35 May 1814.... "The Minister of the Church is a frugal and single man, who told me that his income was beneath his Expenses. It is £450 per. an." Hyde received £200.

Rutton Morris	1801-1805
John Hillyard	1805-1807
Edmund Violet	1807-1810
John Sanderson	1811-1812
W.J. Hyde	1813-1816

Some account must be given of each of them.

Rutton Morris seems to have been a steady enough minister. He made no entries in the Journal except the record of his baptisms and marriages, and the only references to his work are found in the letters of John Hillyard to the LMS, which are brief and unhelpful. He married in Newfoundland, his wife coming from Port-de-Grave (29) and he is known to have preached there as well as elsewhere in Conception Bay, although it is evident that his ministry was almost exclusively to St. John's and its immediate outports. There are no references to Morris or his congregation in the official records of the period. Unlike his ecclesiastical counterparts he did not serve on any town committees, nor does his name appear among the "Merchants and Principal Citizens of St. John's", nor did he

-
29. Rachel Butler, probably the niece of Richard Barnes, a member of the meeting house. The Morris'es' elder daughter, Eunice Alice, later returned to Newfoundland as the wife of her cousin, Richard Barnes MHA, promotor of the 1843 Education Act and first President of the Native Society.

receive any grant of land from the governor. Indeed, from reading the governor's correspondence of these years, one would assume that the only Protestant church in St. John's was the Church of England. This seems odd as the meeting house numbered some of the more prominent citizens of the town - John Rennell was a J.P.; Simon Solomon, jeweller, was the first postmaster; T.G.W. Eaststaff was town surveyor; Parker, Knight and Melledge were prominent merchants; and the names of Lionel Chancey, John Barnes and other known dissenters figure in the records of the day. Rutton Morris, like his predecessor, maintained a low profile, seeking and receiving no favours from the governor. The schools in connection with the meeting house seem to have disappeared at this time. Lionel Chancey set up a school in his own home under the auspices of the SPG (30) and with the establishment of Governor Gambier's charity schools, more or

-
30. The Gazette of October 1807 contains an advertisement for Mr. Chancey's school. The notice informs the public that the younger classes begin and end with reading, for which parents will be charged 10s and 6d a quarter. The syllabus for the advanced class includes reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar, for which the charge is 15s a quarter, besides "the customary allowance for fuel". In later editions of the Gazette, there are many private schools or seminaries advertised - including one held "adjoining the meeting house". The daughters of the Reverend Mr. Harries attended this school.

less at public expense, George Brace's school may have outlived its usefulness. Rutton Morris and his family returned to England October 1805. (31)

His successor was John Hillyard, now on his second tour of duty in Newfoundland under the London Missionary Society. From 1799 to 1802, he had been missionary at Twillingate and had built a church and opened a school there, though it is plain that the life of a settled pastorate was not to his liking. Much to the displeasure of the directors of the Missionary Society who paid his salary, he had taken a wife, the niece of the Reverend John Stretton of Harbour Grace. His second three-

-
31. The following notice appeared in the Congregational Calendar for 1843:- "March 29, 1842.... Died, very suddenly, the REV. RUTTON MORRIS, in the 67th year of his age. This amiable man was educated at Newport Pagnell Academy, under the venerable and reverend William Bull, and was ordained at his Meeting House, 26 February 1801, for the ministry of the gospel at St. John's Newfoundland. He was subsequently engaged in some missionary labour in France, and being a respectable French scholar, translated into English a volume of sermons of the celebrated Massillon, and some other pieces. As his style of preaching was not popular, he obtained an appointment at the Bible Society House, Earlstreet, Blackfriars, where he pursued his unobstructive labours for several years, and where he was smitten by that awful stroke under which he suddenly expired." Surely a rather bleak obituary!

year appointment was "to assist in promoting the Gospel in Newfoundland":- a recognition by the Society that there were dissenters living in Newfoundland looking for evangelical ministers, yet lacking the means to support them. His work in Conception Bay was done more or less in co-operation with the Methodists, although it is evident that denominational rivalry was growing, particularly on the Methodist side. Now a separate church with a distinctive polity and theological emphasis, there was an impatience with older dissent and a growing feeling that only a Methodist conversion experience guaranteed eternal salvation. Hillyard was often in Harbour Grace, Carbonear, Bay Roberts, Brigus and the settlements scattered around Conception and Trinity Bays, as well as Fogo, Bonavista and, of course, Twillingate. Given the lack of manpower, funds and organization, there was plenty of room for itinerant ministers to preach and administer the sacraments and everywhere he visited there were pleas for a more permanent ministry. However, the London Missionary Society showed little interest in assisting their brethren in the colonies. Unable to take passage to Twillingate in the winter of 1805-1806, John Hillyard became "the occasional minister" at St. John's. The previous winter he had assisted Rutton Morris at Torbay, Portugal Cove and Petty Harbour and thus knew the people and situation. No minister being available from

England, he stayed for another year although his salary continued to be paid from London. With no encouragement or perhaps no interest in becoming the settled pastor at St. John's, he moved on to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in the summer of 1807. (32) Ill-health, particularly on the part of his wife, marked the ministry of John Hillyard in St. John's - a common complaint of almost all the ministers of this period and indeed, all of the nineteenth century. (33)

Edmund Violet was 23, fresh from Hackney Congregational College, and a minister who made at least some entries in the Journal helpful to an historian. He was

-
32. Historical Account of this Church (Chebogue Congregational), (now the Beacon Church, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, p. 4. "Mr. Hillyard. Mr. H. had been a missionary from the London Missionary Society at Newfoundland; He arrived in Yarmouth Aug. 12th., 1807. The records of the Church kept by him reach to February 26th., 1808.... Rev. Abel Cutlen arrived Yarmouth on 17th. day of July 1816- a long interval elapsed between Mr. Hillyard's removal and Mr. Cutlen's settlement. During this time the pulpit was only occasionally supplied." Citation provided by the Reverend Ray A. Francis, minister, Beacon Church, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 16 October 1970.
33. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, St. John's Newfoundland, dated 24 October and 28 November 1806, Hillyard reports on the illness of his wife Jane (her life was despaired of for some weeks) and the death of two infants, Samuel, born 8 April 1806, and Thomas, born 8 May 1804 - after lingering illnesses.

well regarded as a preacher, and from the entries to do with church discipline, a conscientious and not unfeeling pastor. (34) His ministry was marked by a growing division within the congregation between older dissenters and Methodists from around the bay who had joined themselves to the church. This will be considered at greater length later in this chapter. Meantime, it should be noted that the dispute occasioned new Articles of Religion for the congregation, re-enforcing Calvinistic tenets in the face of what was considered Wesleyan Arminianism. (35) It was decided that

34. Journal. On 26 March 1808, a member of the congregation was excommunicated for "his scandalous and diabolical practices" after repeating efforts to secure his repentance failed. Violet wrote.... "you are impelled by a brutal lust which you say you cannot help.... and have been unmoved by the admonitions of the Bible, the brotherly reproofs of the church, the solicitations of a wife and the anxious looks of your children...." The door was not closed, however, and the letter ends with an eloquent plea that the offender may yet see the error of his ways and return. A second meeting, dated 2 February 1809, dealt with a lady, frequently admonished, guilty of "slander and evil speaking" (she is mentioned on the same charge in a church meeting held five years before). She was suspended from membership for 3 months, but later re-instated, though many disapproved.
35. The Journal records that the reason for the 1810 Articles of Religion (replacing those adopted in 1781) was "gross improprieties of the Arminians in the Church". The Articles designed to refute the Wesleyans were Article VIII "On Election" and Article XII "On Man's inability to do that which is Good".

all must subscribe to the new Articles of Faith "with all their minds". Those who in conscience could not, were "not legally and properly members" though there would be no break in "fellowship" as long as they lived "regular and decent lives". The minute closed with this significant sentence: "No undue advantage is to be taken on either side, but everything conducted with Christian candour and humility".

(36) What this really meant was that the Methodists were not strong enough as yet to form their own congregation. The Methodist John Remington visited St. John's at this time and found that "our people here are weak although willing to do what they can towards erecting a place". (37) The 'gentlemen's agreement' arrived at by Bishop Black and John Jones in 1792 seems to have worn thin, and one can almost forecast the withdrawal of Wesleyans to build their own chapel in 1815. As noted already, Violet wrote an elegant,

36. Journal.

37. See Winsor, Hearts Strangely Warmed p. 36. The following year, Remington pressed for recognition and support of the cause at St. John's. It was felt that £500 would be needed to build a chapel (half to be raised locally). Nothing came of this. A previous attempt at organizing a society by Mr. Pickavant in 1803 ended in failure, although it may have lasted as long as 12 months (Ibid., p. 42).

if not very original Life of John Jones. (38) He was drowned off the Isle of Man while returning to England in 1810. (39) Of his successor, John Sanderson, almost nothing is known except that he was young, a student at Hoxton Academy and stayed only a little more than a year. He was considered a good preacher. (40) During the short vacancy between Violet and Sanderson, it was reported in the Gazette that a service was taken by Nathan Parker, underlining that gentleman's importance in the life of the meeting house. (41)

-
38. Remarks upon the Life and Manners of the Rev. John Jones, formerly Pastor of the Independent Church, St. John's, Newfoundland, 1810. This eagerly sought after work turned up recently, having been found in the New York Historical Society Library. Until that time, the only known copy was thought to be in the corner stone of Queen's Road Church.
39. Evangelical Magazine, February 1811: "We are concerned to hear that the Rev. Mr. Violet, who had been preaching for the past few years at St. John's Newfoundland and was on his passage to England was, in one of the late dreadful storms, wrecked on the coast of the Isle of Man. Mr. Violet with most of the crew were drowned. His body was afterwards found and decently interred. His property was afterwards taken care of and information sent to his friends in London."
40. Only entries of baptisms and marriages appear in the Journal. The baptisms include Samuel Bulley (16 October 1811) grandson of Nathan Parker.
41. Gazette April 15, 1813. "A sum of £30 was collected at the meeting house in aid of the Society for improving the Condition of Poor (£77

The Reverend William James Hyde is a more interesting man. We possess 22 of his letters written to the Secretary of the London Missionary Society, the Reverend George Burden, which provide insights into life in Newfoundland at this period as well as information about his church activities.

In his mid-thirties, a product of Gosport Independent Academy in Hampshire, Hyde was deeply committed to the high ideals of Christian mission. Although called to be the settled minister of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, Hyde saw himself as "a Missionary of the Cross" under the direction of the LMS and commissioned to preach and spread the Gospel to all who would hear. Herein lay the main reason for his difficulties, and his eventual dismissal. Men like Nathan Parker saw Hyde as first and foremost a servant of the meeting house. His first letter (42) gives evidence of what was to come. He found St. John's by reason of its wooden buildings of "a singular appearance", and made the first of

was collected at the Anglican church) after an appropriate discourse read by Mr. Nathan Parker in the absence of a minister."

42. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, W.J. Hyde, dated St. John's Newfoundland 25 June 1813.

many sweeping statements - "almost the whole of the Inhabitants are Catholic". While finding David Rowland, the Church minister, not unfriendly to dissenters, he had heard of a visit by Mr. Bushby, a Methodist minister, who "endeavoured to separate the Interest at St. John's. But I feel confidence that Christ will not desert His own Cause."

(43) While conscious that the demands of his own congregation and its almost nightly meetings and services demanded his attendance, he was already aware of the surrounding outports "destitute of the Gospel, to which Mr. Parker has observed I can not go, as my Duty calls me to St. John's."

But duty, that stern daughter of the voice of God, also called Hyde to form an Auxiliary Missionary Society that summer in conjunction with the London Missionary Society with branches at Carbonear, Brigus, Port de Grave, Grates Cove and Twillingate. (44) By

43. Actually the Reverend Samson Busby, ordained by Dr. Coke, who arrived at St. John's 25 May 1813 and was stationed for 3 years at Carbonear. See Winsor, Hearts Strangely Warmed, p. 38.

44. The committee comprised Messrs. Furneaux, Lilly, Stentafor, Master, Nurse, Eaststaff and Fry, with corresponding secretaries:-
Carbonear G. Tullock Grates Cove J. Hoskins
Brigus G. Couzens Twillingate J. Moors
Port-de-Grave J. Black

year's end "the first fruits" were forwarded to London, to be followed in December 1814 by a sum of £200, raised as follows:

St. John's	£ 126.12.6	Lance Cove	£ 2. 0.0
Quidi Vidi	5.17.0	Trinity Bay	12.6
Carbonear	51.14.6	Twillingate	7.16.0
Brigus	31. 0.0	Portugal Cove	1.10.0
Port-de-Grave	7. 3.0	Collection	
Grates Cove	3. 9.0	after sermon	25. 5.0
		£ 261. 6.6	

The Auxiliary Missionary Society was not only the first to be formed in Newfoundland but also the first to send money to a parent association. Unfortunately it did not produce missionaries from the London Missionary Society, much to the sorrow of Hyde and the weakening of what should now be called the cause of Independency in Newfoundland. (45) The

None of these names are old "Meeting House" names. James Furneaux and John Masters were Deacons who turned Methodist after the departure of the Reverend James Sabine and the closing of the meeting house. T.G.W. Eaststaff was a Lieutenant in the Newfoundland Regiment and Surveyor General. These men would represent perhaps the "evangelical wing" of the church.

45. The need for a second minister at St. John's is a recurring theme. In his first letter home, Hyde writes "There is a large field of usefulness and if an Assistant Missionary could be sent, there does not appear a more desirable station." As previously noted in a letter dated 26 June 1788, Captain George Brown wrote to John Jones that he and Welsh were of the opinion that Jones needed an assistant "as you begin to be infirm.... and life is uncertain.... a young man of good learning to

success of the Auxiliary Missionary Society encouraged the Methodists and then the Anglicans to follow suit.

That summer, Hyde had made an extensive tour of Conception Bay, visiting Harbour Grace, Carbonear, Freshwater Bay, Crockers Cove, Clowns Cove, Bay Roberts, Burnt Head, Cupids, Brigus and Port-de-Grave. Interestingly enough, some of this tour was undertaken in the pleasure boat of George and John Kemp of Carbonear and Poole, original trustees of the second meeting house at St. John's, bearing witness to the fact that dissenters, other than Methodists, lived and traded in Conception Bay and that ministers such as Hillyard and Hyde were acceptable to many Christians there. "At all places," wrote Hyde to England, "the people have raised money to build places of worship and have requested me to stay.... If dissenters cannot be prevailed upon the places will fall into the hands of the

be assistant to you in the school and to preach occasionally.... if there is but one House in Bay Bulls, Torbay or Petty Harbour or any place near St. John's so that the young man may attempt to spread the name of Jesus.... that the Gospel may increase". From this distance, such a plan sounds good. Rather than the settlements in Conception Bay where Methodist preachers had been active for nearly 50 years why not consolidate the work in the surrounding outports perhaps even in co-operation with the "friendly Church Minister"?

Methodists". But "the people of St. John's express dissatisfaction of my absence". (46)

On 28 July 1814, the newly formed Missionary Committee of the Methodist British Conference passed the following motion: "Our missionaries in Newfoundland shall be instructed to pay particular attention to St. John's". (47) Newfoundland was now considered an ecclesiastical district and John Pickavant, appointed to Port-de-Grave, was sent by the Chairman, the Reverend William Ellis, to St. John's instead, where he arrived 3 September. He immediately began to raise money for a new chapel door-to-door. Many contributed, including the Roman Catholic priest, and £100 was realized. Irish Catholics attended Sunday evening services and a class meeting was started. (48) The chapel, which may or may not have been completed, was opened 26 December 1815 and was located 120

46. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, W.J. Hyde to George Burden, 22 December 1815.... He goes on to say "our Missionary Society will not be very productive as the Methodists... stirred by our success.... have established one to compass the whole Island. The Church Minister has also established one in aid of the Society for the Propagating the Gospel."

47. Winsor, Hearts Strangely Warmed, p. 42.

48. Ibid., p. 42.

feet from the meeting house. (49) Hyde's only comment - "By the Methodist interference about 6 or 7 pews are vacated." (50)

The separation of the Methodists to build their own chapel would come as no surprise to the older members of the Dissenting Church of Christ. The differences in theology and temperament which marked George Whitefield and John Wesley had divided old and new dissent from the very beginnings of the evangelical movement. As we have noted, a Methodist cause in St. John's was contemplated as early as 1792, and before 1815 there were at least three attempts to form a separate society. (51) But there were never enough Methodists. Indeed, despite the action of the British Conference, it was only "the arrival of several families from Conception Bay" which made possible the erection of the chapel that year. (52) Even then, the cause was not large - Hyde speaks of "six or seven pews" and

49. See Pitt, Windows of Agate, p. 20. Dr. Pitt locates the first chapel on Prescott Street which would be a very long 120 feet!

50. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, W.J. Hyde, dated St. John's, Newfoundland, 4 October 1815.

51. 1803, 1810, 1813.

52. Prowse, History of Newfoundland, p. 617.

Pickavant reports only 15 in the class (four of whom were converts). Yet despite its humble beginnings, (and David G. Pitt may be right in suggesting that St. John's looked down on Methodism because of its outport origins), (53) the future lay with them, and not with the meeting house. Hyde's congregation was to remain just that, a congregation; but Pickavant's chapel was to become known as the "Mother of Methodism" - the progenitor of many congregations in the St. John's area, and the premier church of Newfoundland's third largest denomination. (54)

What conclusions are we to draw from this? We have seen how William Black and his followers made tremendous gains at the expense of Congregationalists in the Maritimes. In fact, until the 1830s, Methodism, with its emotional appeal, its ample supply of preachers, its superb organization, seemed to carry all before it in British North America, outdistancing every other denomination. (55)

53. Pitt, Windows of Agate, p. 6.

54. The present Gower Street United Church, St. John's.

55. The Reverend William Proudfoot, pioneer Presbyterian minister in London, Ontario, wrote in 1832 that the religious destitution of Canada had been remedied in part "by Methodist preachers, who have spread themselves over all the province, and

Nevertheless, we must be careful. As we have noted earlier in this chapter, the Congregationalism of John Jones and his successors bears little resemblance to the Congregationalism of Nova Scotia, either before or after Henry Alline. If John Jones indeed can be thought of as a New Light, it is only as a Whitefieldite one, filtered through the conservative evangelism of Edward Ashburner and the Congregationalists of the west country. Those who formed the Methodist chapel at St. John's in 1815 were not disenchanted Congregationalists but committed Methodists, firmly persuaded that theirs was the only true expression of the faith, demanding the right to worship God as they saw fit. It was the same spirit which compelled the young Nathan Parker to defy an all-powerful governor by building the first non-conformist chapel in St. John's 38 years before. And just as the Gospel preached by Edward Langman was unacceptable to him, so the Gospel preached by W.J. Hyde, however evangelical, would not do for the Wesleyans of St. John's. Though to be fair, it should be remembered that Hyde desired Congregational places of worship built around the bay just as fervently as those from around the bay

who, owing to the efficiency of their mode of operation, have penetrated into every township." Quoted by Clark, Church and Sect in Canada p. 99.

desired a Methodist chapel in St. John's. The Dissenting Church of Christ had become too comfortable. Its members complacent. They lacked the zeal even to supply the outports near St. John's with lay preachers and to support their minister in establishing new congregations elsewhere. While nothing could have stopped the Methodists, a more evangelical spirit among the more established Congregationalists would have divided Dissent in Newfoundland more evenly. For the evangelical spirit is an important factor in the church history of Newfoundland. Just as the Salvation Army was to make significant inroads on a more mature Methodism later in the century, so the Pentecostalist of this century have done to all the churches of Newfoundland.

Hyde's annoyance at the rupture with the Methodists was softened, however, by the success of another missionary venture, this time on Signal Hill. Weekly visits to the soldiers and their families led to the formation of what was known as the Royal Military Missionary Society. Prayer, exhortation, hymn-singing and a collection for the LMS, all due to "Mr. Hyde's zeal and love for others". But things were not well with his own congregation, particularly with such worthies as James Melledge and Nathan Parker. They were both powerful men in the meeting house, by reason

of their wealth and in the case of Parker, long association with the congregation. Parker and Hyde did not get on from the very beginning, quarrelling over stipend, manse furnishings and, as has been mentioned, Hyde's duty to confine himself to the work of the St. John's congregation.

"The Missionary Society is still opposed by Mr. Parker. He says the money ought to be kept for Sunday Schools here, and part only transmitted. I am also surprised that Mr. Durant being a director expresses the same opinion. Should it not be sent to the parent society, many people say they will not afford it their support. The people here (are) not poor but the contrary. The merchants clearing many thousands every year". (56)

Clearly there were grounds for compromise here. In a letter addressed to the Reverend George Burden, William Durant points out that in cases like this the local body is able to determine more wisely where the missionary funds should be spent, subject to the approval of the Society in London. However, knowing the situation in St. John's as he did and the principal characters involved, it was his opinion that another minister should be found and that Mr. Hyde "whose piety and general character" (if not his "ardent

-
56. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, W.J. Hyde St. John's Newfoundland dated 28 October 1814. This letter perhaps collaborates Judge Prowse's remarks about the stinginess of Nathan Parker. But as Governor Waldegrave remarked the merchants of St. John's were "the most illiberal and rapacious body of Men" he ever met.

disposition") was "highly regarded" be sent to Twillingate or some other sphere of usefulness. (57)

In the end, Nathan Parker took matters into his own hands and sailed to England and there appointed the Reverend James Sabine minister in place of Hyde. The Sabines and their seven children arrived before the Hydes left, and the Hydes had to be sheltered in the home of T. Williams, merchant, until arrangements could be made to send them to England. Many within the congregation felt that Hyde had been shabbily treated and said so in a letter written to the LMS by Lieutenant Richard Vicars. (58) There was clearly a division within the church between the evangelicals on one hand and the older dissenters on the other. While regretting the division, the speed with which James Sabine united the congregation and re-established friendly relations with the Methodists testifies to the fact that it indeed would have been unwise for William J. Hyde to remain as minister. Nevertheless, he left behind an example

-
57. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, William Durant, dated Poole, 26 July 1815.
58. Newfoundland Correspondence, LMS, Lieutenant Richard Vicars St. John's Newfoundland dated Signal Hill, 30 September 1816.

of missionary endeavour that was to revive the fortunes of the congregation many times in the future.

In September 1816, the newly appointed governor, Admiral Francis Pickmore, on complaint of the Reverend David Rowland, Church of England minister at St. John's, decided to enforce the law that no marriage service was to be performed by any dissenting minister at any place in Newfoundland where there was a clergyman of the established church resident. Two ministers appeared before him in St. John's, the Reverend James Sabine and the Reverend George Cubit. The days of one Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's were over.

In conclusion, what shall we say of the years 1800-1815? Writing in 1842, the Reverend D.S. Ward, minister of the Congregational Church in St. John's, himself a west country man, lamented the lost opportunities for his denomination, which followed the death of John Jones in 1800.

Since his [Jones'] decease, it has suffered many vicissitudes in consequence of its peculiarly isolated situation.... [particularly the loss of]

several other places of worship, situated in different parts of the district originated with them [Congregationalists] and were mainly erected by their exertions, viz. the old places of worship at Portugal Cove and the place of worship at Petty Harbour, now Episcopal.... (59)

Certainly, one wonders if a greater effort had been shown, whether a larger harvest might have been reaped, but the Meeting House did but follow the pattern of Congregationalism everywhere in Canada. Even with the revival of interest by British Congregationalists later in the century and the formation of the Colonial Missionary Society in 1836, Congregationalism remained the smallest by far of the main Protestant denominations in British North America. Addressing members of the Congregational Union of Canada, meeting at Guelph, Ontario, in 1871, its chairman, one of the founders of the Union, spoke of the

'Hindrances to our progress in Canada' arising from the smallness of the percentage of immigration among Congregationalists, the losses suffered by removal of members to places where we have no church, and also the failure of many to join us who have 'an eye to business', and unite with some larger church of another denomination; our lack of an 'ism' around which our people can

59. Quoted in Philip Tocque, Newfoundland: As it was, and as it is in 1877, (Toronto: John Magurn, 1878), pp. 400-401.

rally; and the defectiveness of our service, both in ministry and the membership, common, unhappily, to all churches.... (60)

The fault lay within Congregationalism itself. A fault many came to praise - the self-effacing, ecumenical spirit which would rather co-operate than compete. Evangelical fervour, unaccompanied by denominational aggressiveness, was not enough. Nevertheless, when the Colonial Missionary Society turned its attention to British North America in the 1830s, the St. John's congregation was one of a very few Congregational churches still in existence.

* * * * *

60. William Archibald Wood, Something from our Hands, the 19th Century Memoirs of Rev. John Wood, 1828-1905, (Hudson Heights, Quebec: Wood Family Archives, 1988), p. 100.

EPILOGUE

In conclusion, some account must be given of what happened to the congregation of John Jones and his successors, which had been the sole representative of Protestant dissent in the harbour of St. John's for 40 years. The Meeting House and congregation survived (but just) the fires and economic woes that marked the closing of the Napoleonic Wars. In 1818, the Reverend James Sabine followed his patrons, Messrs. Melledge and Parker, to Boston and the remaining deacons having turned Methodist, the Meeting House became a cooperage. It appears that no services were held until a new minister arrived from England in 1820, who proved less than satisfactory. However, a new day dawned for the congregation with the arrival of the Reverend Daniel S. Ward and his wife Sarah on 14 June, 1824. Ward had come on the recommendation of the Reverend William Durand of Poole and was to stay in St. John's until his death nearly 20 years later. Under his vigorous leadership, the Meeting House (now called the Independent or Congregational Chapel) was renovated and the congregation rejuvenated. New names were added to those of Barnes, Brace, Bulley, Calver, Chancey and Job. Men of the calibre of Judge Lilly, the Honourable Joseph Noad and the brothers Winton, Cornelius and Henry. Daniel Ward regretted the loss of Petty Harbour, Portugal Cove and Torbay, which, for lack

of supply and teachers had fallen into other hands, but in 1834, he was instrumental in reviving the work at Quidi Vidi, building a unique church that would be shared equally by Anglican, Congregational and Wesleyan ministers. Co-operation seems to have been the keynote of Ward's ministry. The Dorcas society, the Bible Society and later in the century, the General Protestant Cemetery and YMCA, to say nothing of the Temperance Movement, all witness to Congregationalist support and, in many instances, initiative. A member of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Charity School, Factory, Mechanics Society, Board of Education, Daniel Ward re-established in the life of St. John's the influence of its second oldest and now smallest congregation. The year before his death, he travelled to England and raised £1,200 to replace Jones' meeting house "now greatly dilapidated". (1)

Opened on Sunday, 19 July 1853, the Stone Chapel, built on Queen's Road on the site of their former cemetery, produced a succession of able ministers and

-
1. The meeting house became a Temperance Hall and was still standing in 1892. After the great fire of that year, it was rebuilt and is now the LSPU Hall on Victoria Street. It would be interesting to examine its foundations and see if the expensive retaining wall of 1787 remains.

good preachers, perhaps the most notable being the Reverend Charles Pedley, who wrote an early history of the colony. (2) However, the depression of the 1860s again threatened the existence of the congregation and there was talk of closing. But 1868 saw the appointment of an evangelical, missionary-minded minister from Dublin (interestingly enough the minister of Sarah Ward) the Reverend Thomas Hall. During his ministry of 12 years, the congregation blossomed into a denomination again. Through the efforts of a Home Missionary Society, founded by Hall in St. John's, and the Colonial Missionary Society of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, to which the Stone Chapel belonged, missions were established at Twillingate, Random Island, Smith's Sound, Trinity Bay, Pool's Cove and Belleoram, Fortune Bay, and briefly in the 1880s, work at Bonne Esperance, Labrador, in co-operation with Canadian Congregationalists. Schools were built, as well as churches, and staffed by teachers trained by Matilda and Emily Good at their St. John's Training School on Monkstown Road, under the supervision of a Congregational Board of Education. However, by the beginning of World War I only the Pool's Cove charge remained and by the end of the war,

-
2. The History of Newfoundland from the earliest times to the year 1860 (London, 1863).

the St. John's congregation itself was in trouble.

Emigration was always a problem. So many sons and daughters leaving for Canada and the "Boston States" - to say nothing of those who remained at home but married into the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. Few Newfoundlanders, if any, were Congregationalist, and immigration from Canada and Britain was sparse. In both countries, the Congregational Church was not strong. The congregation continued to decline. In 1925, the last English minister sailed for home and the Queen's Road Church realized that they could not afford another.

The obvious answer was the newly formed United Church of Canada, which the Congregational Union of Canada joined, but the congregation showed no interest. (3)

-
3. This may seem strange, particularly as the Reverend Hugh Pedley, D.D., considered one of the three "Fathers of the United Church" and son of a former minister, had occupied the Queen's Road pulpit for 6 months with great acceptance as recently as 1920 and had preached persuasively on the Union Movement. In 1925, the congregation instructed its solicitor to examine the proposed United Church Act, then before the Newfoundland Legislature, to make sure their property was safeguarded.

Since 1815, the relations between the three branches of Protestant dissent (4) in St. John's were remarkably good. To the four Methodist churches (Gower Street, George Street, Wesley and Cochrane Street) were added the Kirk (1842) and until 1875, the Free Church of Scotland on Duckworth Street. Methodist and Presbyterian ministers supplied the Queen's Road pulpit on numerous occasions; Congregationalists, although preferring a public system of education, sent their children to the Methodist or Presbyterian Colleges; and through philanthropic and religious societies, to say nothing of church sociables, ministers and congregations alike forged strong bonds of Christian fellowship and common concern. Relations with Anglicans tended to be somewhat remote and frosty; the church/chapel division of England having transplanted itself quite nicely in Newfoundland. And yet, in 1925, neither the Presbyterians nor the Congregationalists entered Church Union. It was perhaps the overwhelming size of the Methodist Church in Newfoundland, (5) or perhaps the close proximity of the Kirk, Queen's Road

-
4. Scots Presbyterians rightly found the term 'dissenter' unacceptable as the established Church of Scotland was Presbyterian. A sore point in Presbyterian/Anglican church relations throughout Canadian history.
 5. The Presbyterian cause in Newfoundland was only slightly larger than Congregationalism.

and Gower Street churches (one of which would have had to close). More probably it was the old dividing line of English Protestant dissent, which, after forty years truce, resulted in two dissenting congregations in 1815. It is interesting how deep and how long historical roots run.

After six years of short ministries (the ministers coming from the new denomination they would not join) Queen's Road called the Reverend Joseph Thackeray, a man in his 70s, now retired in Canada, who had served the congregation so successfully for 16 years at the turn of the century. Thackeray realized that only affiliation with a Canadian church would ensure the future of the congregation and together with his good friend, the minister of the Kirk in St. John's, he worked to that end. Finally, in 1938, eight months following the death of Joseph Thackeray, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada gave its assent, and after 163 years of Independency, the congregation of John Jones became Queen's Road Presbyterian Church. (6)

The congregation did not grow, because

-
6. If not the polity, the theology of the original meeting house, with its insistence on "the Assemblée's catechisms" was thus re-established.

it was so close to the Kirk, and so in 1956, they proposed to move again - this time to be neighbours of the new Memorial University on Elizabeth Avenue. (7) St. David's Presbyterian church, which celebrated its bicentennial in 1975, (8) is a modern church of 350 members, a good mix of many nations and backgrounds, and yet proud to be the successor congregation to the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, Newfoundland.

To sum up, religious dissent in Newfoundland has been associated almost exclusively with the Methodist Church, as has the evangelical movement with the names of John and Charles Wesley. Just as the Whitefieldites, erroneously called Methodist Calvinists, are also heirs of the evangelical movement, so too the congregation founded by John Jones in 1775 and existing without a rival until 1815, deserves its place in Newfoundland history. The fascination of this study for me has been the tight cord that bound the congregation to the

-
7. Principal J. Lewis Paton of Memorial College was a much respected deacon of Queen's Road Congregational Church.
 8. Patron saint of Wales. John Jones died on St. David's Day, 1 March 1800.

west country of England - a tie not of the fishery but of the Faith - and the almost complete lack of contact with fellow religionists on the mainland, (the only contact being the Methodist William Black). The history of the forty years of undivided religious dissent in St. John's - a period of ecclesiastical peace amid the tumult of war - affords an interesting study of the many changes, social and political, as St. John's grew from fishing station to the capital of the soon-to-be colony of Newfoundland. As minister of that congregation for over twenty years, one felt, even in the setting of a modern church a sense of history, as each Communion Sunday one held John Jones' cup and where three elders were the direct descendants of Lionel Chancey, John Calver and Richard Barnes, members of the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's. (9) For that experience and for the opportunity of telling its story, I will ever be most grateful.

* * * * *

9. Namely Frederick G. Chancey, Louis B.J. Calver, and Cyril W. Barnes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- | | |
|---|--|
| <u>John Jones Journal</u> | Kirk Session, St. David's
Presbyterian Church St. John's,
Newfoundland |
| <u>Evangelical Magazine</u>
1800-1815 | United Church Archives, Toronto |
| <u>Minutes, London</u>
<u>Missionary Society</u>
1795-1815 | United Church Archives, Toronto
Microfilm Copy |
| <u>Newfoundland Colonial</u>
<u>Secretary's</u>
<u>Correspondence</u> GN2-1
1765-1815 | Provincial Archives of Newfoundland
and Labrador, St. John's |
| <u>Newfoundland</u>
<u>Correspondence, LMS</u>
1799-1815 | Reference Library, St. John's
Microfilm Copy |
| <u>Newfoundland</u>
<u>Correspondence, Society</u>
<u>for the Propagation of</u>
<u>the Gospel in Foreign</u>
<u>Parts, 1765-1815</u> | Provincial Archives of Newfoundland
and Labrador, St. John's
Microfilm Copy "C" Mss. |
| <u>Royal Gazette</u> 1801-1815 | Provincial Archives of Newfoundland
and Labrador, St. John's
Microfilm Copy |

SECONDARY SOURCES:

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Anon. | "Brief History of the Union Church
in Essex Street, Boston, its first
pastor and deacons" Congregational
Library, Boston, undated. |
| Anspach, Lewis Amadeus | <u>History of the Island of</u>
<u>Newfoundland</u> (London: 1819) |
| Armstrong, Maurice W. | <u>The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia,</u>
<u>1776-1809</u> (Hartford, Conn.: The
American Society of Church History
1948) |

- Beamish, Derek; Hillier John; Johnstone, H.F.V. editors Mansions and Merchants of Poole and Dorset (Poole: Poole Historical Trust, 1976)
- Betty, J.H. Dorset (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1974)
- Betts, E. Arthur Bishop Black and his Preachers, the story of Maritime Methodism to 1825 (Halifax: Maritime Conference Archives, 1974)
- Betts, E. Arthur Congregational Churches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 1749-1925. (Sackville, N.B. Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada, 1985)
- Brockett, Alan Nonconformity in Exeter (London: University of Manchester for the University of Exeter, 1962)
- Byrne, Cyril J. Ed. Gentlemen-Bishops and Faction Fighters (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1984)
- ✓ Candow, James E. "The British Army in Newfoundland, 1697-1824" Newfoundland Quarterly, Spring, 1984, Vol. 14, No. 2.
- Candow, James E. "A Structural and Narrative History of Hill National Historic Park and Area to 1945". Manuscript Report Series No. 348 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979)
- Cann, K.J. Archives, British and Foreign Bible Society, London, "Rutton Morris"
- Clark, S.D. Church and Sect in Canada (University of Toronto Press, 1948)
- Dale, R.W. History of Congregationalism (London: 1907)
- Davies, Horton The English Free Churches (London: Oxford University Press, 1963)

- Densham, W. and Ogle, J. The Story of the Congregational Church in Dorset (Bournemouth: W. Mate & Sons Ltd., 1899)
- Duder, R., editor History of The Kirk 1842-1942, the history of Presbyterianism in Newfoundland (St. John's: 1942)
- Fingard, Judith The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783-1816 (London: S.P.C.K., 1972)
- French, G.S. "William Black" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. VI, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) pp. 62-68
- Garner, John "The Enfranchisement of Roman Catholics in the Maritimes" Canadian Historical Review Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, September 1953.
- Gilbert, A.D. Religion and Society in Industrial England (Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914) (London: Longman, 1976)
- Greatheed, Samuel "The Life of John Jones" Evangelical Magazine, November 1800)
- Gunson, Niel Messengers of Grace (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978)
- Halevy, Elie England in 1815: A History of the British People in the 19th Century (New York: P. Smith, 1949)
- Hart, A. Tindal Clergy and Society, 1600-1800 (London: SPCK, 1968)
- Harvey, Moses and Hatton, Joseph Newfoundland, the Oldest British Colony: its History, its Present Conditions and its Prospects in the Future (London: 1883)
- Head, C. Grant Eighteenth Century Newfoundland (Toronto: McClland and Stewart, 1976)

- Hill, Christopher Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London: Panther, 1969)
- Hill, Christopher The Century of Revolution 1603-1714 (London: Nelson, 1961)
- Hoskins, W.G. Devon (London: Collins, 1954)
- Hoskins, W.G. Devon and its People (New York: A.M. Kelly, 1968)
- Howley, M.F. The Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland (Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1888)
- Jones, Frederick "Bishop Feild: A Study of Politics and Religion in 19th Century Newfoundland" Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge University, 1971
- Jones, R. Tudor Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962 (London: Independent Press, 1962)
- Kewley, Arthur E. "The first fifty years of Methodism in Newfoundland 1765-1815 - was it authentic Wesleyanism?" Journal of the Canadian Church History Society, vol. XIX, 1977
- Kerr, Barbara Bound to the Soil - a Social History of Dorset 1750-1918 (London: John Baker, 1968)
- Latourette, K.S. A History of Christianity (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode Limited, 1956)
- Lahey, Raymond J. "Religion and Politics in Newfoundland - The Antecedents of the General Election of 1832"; unpublished lecture to the Newfoundland Historical Society, March, 1979.

- Lahey, Raymond J. James Louis O'Donel in Newfoundland 1784-1807: The Establishment of the Roman Catholic Church (St. John's : Newfoundland Historical Society Pamphlet, No. 8, 1984)
- Luff, Alan "250 Years of the Welsh Revival" Expository Times Vol. 97, No. 12 (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh) September 1986, pp. 364-368.
- Lysaght, A.M., editor Joseph Banks in Newfoundland & Labrador, 1766 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1776)
- Mannion, John J. editor The Peopling of Newfoundland (Essays in Historical Geography) (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977)
- Matthews, Keith "Who was Who" in the Newfoundland Fishery 1660-1840, Maritime History Group Archives, St. John's
- Matthews, Keith "A History of the West of England-Newfoundland Fishery." Unpublished D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, 1968
- Moir, John S. Enduring Witness, A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1975)
- Moncrieff, W. M. "A History of the Presbyterian Church in Newfoundland" unpublished B.D. Thesis, Knox College, Toronto, 1966
- Murphy, Terrence "The Religious History of Atlantic Canada: The State of the Art" Acadiensis XV, 1985 pp. 152-174
- Murphy, Terrence "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism, 1781-1830" Acadiensis XIII, 2 (Spring 1984) pp. 29-49

- | | |
|--|--|
| Murphy, Terrence and
Byrne, Cyril J.,
editors. | <u>Religion and Identity (The
Experience of Irish and Scottish
Catholics in Atlantic Canada)</u> (St.
John's, Jespersen Press, 1987) |
| MacMillan, Alexander | <u>Hymns of the Church</u> (Toronto: The
United Church Publishing House,
1965) |
| Newfoundland Historical
Trust | <u>A Gift of Heritage</u> (St. John's:
Robinson-Blackmore, 1975) |
| O'Flaherty, Patrick | <u>The Rock Observed: Studies in the
Literature of Newfoundland</u> (Toronto
1979) |
| O'Neil, Paul | <u>The Story of St. John's,
Newfoundland</u> , Vol. I The Oldest
City (Erin, Ontario: 1975) |
| Parker, Irene | <u>The Dissenting Academies in England</u>
New York: Octagon Books, 1914,
reprint 1969) |
| Parsons, Jacob | "The Origin and growth of
Newfoundland Methodism, 1765-1855"
(unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial
University of Newfoundland, 1964) |
| Payne, Ernest A. | <u>The Free Church Tradition in the
Life of England</u> (London: SCM Press
Ltd., 1944) |
| Pedley, Charles | <u>The History of Newfoundland from
the earliest times to the year 1860</u>
(London: Longman, Green, Longman,
Roberts & Green, 1863) |
| Perlin, A.B. | <u>The Story of Newfoundland</u> (St.
John's 1959) |
| Pitt, David G. | <u>Windows of Agate</u> (St. John's:
Gower Street United Church, 1966) |
| Pitt, David G. | "Wesleyan Methodism in St. John's"
Part I. Antecedents and Beginnings
<u>Newfoundland Historical Society St.</u>
<u>John's 29 November 1984</u> |

- Prowse, D.W. A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896)
- Rawlyk, G.A. Ravished by the Spirit, Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984)
- ✓ 0 Rollman, Hans "John Jones, James O'Donel, and the Question of Religious Tolerance in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: A Correspondence" Newfoundland Quarterly vol. LXXX no. 1 (St. John's, Spring, 1984)
- ✓ 0 Rollman, Hans "Richard Edwards, John Campbell, and the Proclamation of Religious Liberty in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland" Newfoundland Quarterly, Fall, 1984
- Rothney, G.O. "Newfoundland - A History" Canadian Historical Association Booklet No. 10 (Ottawa: 1964)
- Routley, Erik The Story of Congregationalism (London: Independent Press, 1961)
- Rowe, Frederick W. History of Newfoundland and Labrador (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson Limited, 1980)
- Ryan, Shannon "The Newfoundland Salt Cod Trade in the Nineteenth Century" Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (University of Toronto Press, 1980)
- St. David's Church The Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's, 1775-1975 (St. John's: Creative Printers, 1976)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Schofield, George | "Sketch of History of Congregationalism in St. John's, Newfoundland" in <u>The Newfoundland Guardian and Christian Intelligence</u> St. John's, 1851, Joseph Woods, editor |
| Stewart Gordon and Rawlyk George | <u>A People Highly Favoured of God, The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution</u> (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972) |
| Surman, Charles E. | "Biographies of Ministers" Archives, West Midland Province, United Reformed Church of England |
| Thompson, E.P. | <u>The making of the English Working Class</u> (London: V. Gollancz, 1963) |
| Tocque, Philip | <u>Newfoundland: As it was, and as it is in 1877</u> , (Toronto: John B. Magurn, 1878) |
| Trevelyan, George M. | <u>A Shortened History of England</u> (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946) |
| Violet, Edmund | <u>Remarks upon the Life and Manners of the Rev. John Jones, formerly Pastor of the Independent Church, St. John's, Newfoundland</u> (St. John's: printed by Michael Ryan, 1810) |
| Wade, Mason | "Relations between the French, Irish and Scottish Clergy in the Maritime Provinces 1774-1836 <u>CCHA Study Session</u> , 39 (1972) pp. 9-33" |
| Watts, Michael R. | <u>The Dissenters</u> , vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) |
| Winsor, Naboth | <u>Hearts strangely warmed: A History of Methodism in Newfoundland, 1765-1925</u> , vol. 1, (Gander: BSC Printers Limited, 1982) |

- Wilkinson, John T. 1662 and After, Three Centuries of English Nonconformity (London: Epworth Press, 1962)
- Wood, William Archibald, Editor Something from our Hands, The 19th Century Memoirs of Rev. John Wood, 1828-1905 (Hudson Heights, Quebec: Wood Family Archives, 1988)

DOCUMENTS

I

Church Articles

St. John's, Newfoundland
in the year of our Lord 1781

The Preface

WE, whose Names are hereunto Subscribed Being in some degree made sensible of the many and the great spiritual advantages we have received from Almighty God by hearing of the Word, and other Means of Grace; and Believing the Discipline in use in this Dissenting Church to be agreeable to the Institution of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles, without any addition of will, Worship, or known and wilfull omission of Gospel Commands (Revelations 22:18,19) as we find it well pleasing to God for his People to enter into Covenant with each other to serve him (II Chron. 15:12,13,14,15) do, for our private and mutual agreement and the Preservation of Order and Purity in the Enjoyment of our Privileges, make and Sign the following Articles, solemnly engaging ourselves (with a humble Dependence on divine Grace) Strictly to observe the same excepting any unforeseen Case wherein the Glory of God shall render it expedient to dispense with the Observation thereof —

I. Concerning Qualifications of Admission

THAT no person is to be admitted without evident Holiness of Life in obeying the Truth; that being a visible Sign of the new Birth (I Peter 1:22,23) and Soundness of Truth in respect to the Trinity & our justification before God, namely that in the Unity of the Godhead there are three Persons, One in Substance, Power & Eternity (1st. John 5:7) and that by Grace we are saved, through Faith in the Atonement, Righteousness and Intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ. (Ephesians 2:8).

II. Order of Admission

THAT each Candidate must be proposed and recommended by the Minister, from such Authority as he shall judge sufficient, he being the Steward of the Mysteries of God (1st. Corinth. 4:1) consequently it is his duty to examine into such matters. And for the Satisfaction and approbation of the Church he shall declare the Experience of such Candidate from his own writing if it may be convenient before the Body of the Church, at least fourteen days before the Administration of the Lord's Supper, during which time each Member has liberty to make what inquiry or objections he thinks necessary, and there be no objections made such Persons to be admitted are to subscribe to these Articles. (1st Corinth. 1:10, Phil. 3:16).

III. Opportunities of Public Worship

WHEREAS the Public Preaching of God's Word has an immediate tendency to the enlarging of Christ's Kingdom in this world, and consequently for the

universal Benefit of Souls, and we find it was the practice of our Lord and his Apostles to preach and teach upon convenient Seasons on working days (Mark 14:49, Acts 5:42) and as this pious method is still continued more or less in almost all Christian communities, we agree to continue the usual opportunities of public worship, namely on the Sabbath forenoon, afternoon and Evening and on one other Evening in the Week; at which Seasons it is expected that each Communicant will attend, except a lawful Reason can be produced to the contrary.

IV. Church Meetings

As there are unforeseen occurrences of Business belonging to the Church which ought to be settled by the joint Consent of the community and are (as we judge) necessarily included in the Fellowship of the Saints (1 John 1:7) such Business having a Spiritual tendency and it having been the practice of this Society to meet one Night in the week to adjust any necessary Matters and also to fill up a certain Space of Time agreed upon with experimental Conversation which the example of those that feared God in former Ages (Psalms 66:16, Matthew 3:16, Hebrews 10:25), we judge the continuation of these Meetings to be expedient and profitable. Howbeit since pious People may differ in modes of Worship, as we find in the Apostles' Day (Romans 14), yet without censure, so our method of Conversations may be disappointed by some through Scruple of Conscience, nevertheless this, if apparently sincere, shall not be a bar to the Communion of the Lord's Supper (Romans 14:13) provided always that in their respect they demean themselves according to the Precepts of the Gospel, and acknowledge themselves to be Members of this Church by Signing and Submitting to the Rules contained in these Articles. Such Persons are notwithstanding to attend meetings upon Church Business when requested, or if anything shall of Necessity be settled by the Body of the Church in the stated meetings the absent Persons shall consent thereunto (anything contrary to God's word or the good of the Church excepted). Neither shall it be allowed for such Persons at any time or in any Place to ridicule or speak lightly of those who think it their duty and find it their Privilege to practise this Godly Conversation nor shall any that do attend repeat to any of those without — what they hear, it being our Lord's Command not to cast out Pearls before Swine (Matthew 7:6).

V. Political Conduct

THAT no Member shall by actions or Words endeavour to Subvert the Constitution of the Realm to which we belong (Proverbs 24:21, Jeremiah 29:7 and 1st. Peter 2:13).

VI. Worldly Diversions

NOTWITHSTANDING dancing and other moderate Recreations were practised (as we conceive) in former ages by pious and good Men and are not condemned in some Places of Scripture where they were mentioned, yet we find that when these things were used in an unholy Manner the Lord expressed his Displeasure thereat, and threatened the Partakers of them with his Judgements (Isaiah 5:11, 12 and Amos 6:5). We therefore judge according to St. Paul — that all things which are lawful are not expedient (Corinthians 6:12) — that to be found in the Practice of such Exercises or even wilfully to be present at them, as public or promiscuous Worldly Diversions, in this day of great dissipation must be contrary to the will of God, prejudicial to his Cause, and hurtful to the Soul, for the following Reasons:—

(1) WE are commanded whatever we do all to the Glory of God (1 Corinth. 10:31) and we conceive that in promiscuous Dancing, Card Playing and such kind

DOCUMENTS

of entertainments God cannot be Glorified, inasmuch as the generality of those whom we should thereby associate, and join in practice, are Strangers or Enemies to God, and therefore cannot do it in His Name (1 Thess. 5:22).

(2) THE conscience is liable to be defiled thereby, consequently the Soul endangered — hence we are commanded to come out from among them that fear not God lest we are Partakers of their Iniquity (Isaiah 52:11, 11 Corinthians 6:17 and Revelation 18:4).

(3) WE are forbidden to be near the Company to walk in the Councils, to stand in the way or sit in the Seat of the ungodly or Scornful, which certainly includes the joining in their Assemblies of public Entertainments (Psalm 1:1 and Proverbs 4:14,15). From all this we conclude such Practices to be unfit for those who Profess themselves to be followers of Christ, and Pilgrims and Strangers in this world.

VII. Watchfulness, Reproof & Church Censure

THAT the Members shall carefully watch not only over their own hearts and Actions but over the Conduct of each other for good, and upon apparent Occasion shall with meekness and tenderness Reprove — AND should the offenders refuse to hear the Brother or Sister that in such manner reproves them, he or she is to speak to him before one or two more; and if they refuse to hear them, they are to be brought before the Church, and should they continue inflexible such Persons shall be excluded from Christian Fellowship pursuant to the Commands of our Lord and his Apostles (Matthew 18:15 and 1 Corinthians 5:5).

VIII. Restoration of Penitent Offenders

IF it shall please God to give the offender Repentance to the Acknowledgement of the Truth then is he or she to be restored, and their fault not to be mentioned in accusation against them lest they Should be swallowed up with overmuch Sorrow, and the ways of Christ be reproached with Severity (11 Corinthians 2:7,8,11).

IX. Church Expenses

AS it is very evident from St. Paul's Doctrine in 1st Corinthians 9:9-14 and Galatians 6:6 — that all necessary Expenses are to be supplied by the Members of the Church, it is therefore agreed upon that every Member contribute according to his Abilities, and in such method as the Church shall think expedient for the furtherance of the Gospel.

X. The Purport & Authority of the Foregoing

THAT no master of Family shall be admitted into or continued a Member of this Church if he does not keep the constant practice of Family Devotions in his House morning and Evening at such hours as the nature of his business will admit of according to Jeremiah 10:25 nothing hereby being meant to burden the minds of those whose occupation call them abroad before their Families can be called together.

A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE BUILDING AT ST. JOHN'S—SENT
HOME TO THE COMMITTEE IN ENGLAND—LAST OCTOBER 1789

To Paid

for the Ground		100. 0. 0
requesting the Papers	13. 6	
Labourers	3. 5. 0	
Winter Man's Slides	1. 1. 0	
Ropes, Shovells & Axes	1. 2. 9	
191 Lbs. Nails	4. 7. 1	
12 pr. Hinges	1.17. 0	
27000 Shingles	16. 0. 4	
139 lbs. Carr. Iron	1.14. 9	
3 lbs. Tarr	3. 0. 0	33. 1. 5

11 Hhds. Lime	15. 1. 0
11000 Bricks	32. 5. 11
Cartage of Sand	3. 6. 6
A Wintermans Diet	27.14. 0

To Paid

damage done to a dwelling house and garden in erection of the Meeting House	5. 5. 0
Masons Work	45.13. 1
building a wall & Chimney	

	Blacksmiths Bill	13.10. 0	
	1240 days - Carpenters 4/	248. 0. 0	
	84 do do 5/	21.10. 0	
B	200 Labourers	30. 0. 0	442. 5. 6
	181 do	22.12. 6	
	220 do	22. 0. 0	
	6 sacks	1. 7. 9	
	1 Gro. Screws	3. 0	46. 3. 3
	8 Latches	9. 0	
	2 Files	1. 6	
	27 lbs. Horse Hair	4. 0	
	109 lbs. Putty	2. 11. 3	
	12 lbs. Glue	4. 0	
	Sawing Boards	15.15. 0	
C	Gumheads, etc.	4. 0	
	Laths	4. 18. 0	
D	36209 feet Board	122. 5. 8	
	14 lbs. whiting	3. 6	
	900 sprigs	8. 6	
	1200 brads	6. 0	
	1 Gall. Spirits Turpentine	9. 0	
	3 lbs. lead Paint	2. 0	
	1 Boat for collecting Stones	5. 9. 0	
	99 Gals. Rum expended on the	6.10. 0	
	Carpenters & Labourers		160.19. 2
			782. 9. 4
A	Employed in cutting and collecting the Frame of the Building, attending on the Carpenters and gathering Stones for the Foundation.		
B	The hawling the Frame Seven to nine Miles, and transporting upwards of 200 & 50 Tons of Stone—and Hhds. Sand ha'mile, was in a great measure done by the poorer sort of the Peopl belonging to the Church but as they could not attend to it in the summer, Labourers were obliged to be empold to finish the Business, and likewise to attend the Mason and Carpenters, which accounts for so large a Sum being expended on that head.		
C	Exclusive of Gumheads and other principles Stikes given by Mr. Thomas Crew and George Penny.		
D	Eclusive of 5000 feet Board given by Mr. Thomas Crew and Geo. Penny.		
	By Sundry Subscriptions collected here	102. 0. 0	
	Cash received from Capt. Brown	53.11. 0	
	2 letters of exchange drawn on Mr. G. Kemp	200. 0. 0	
	3 letters of exchange drawn on Brown on Crew	181. 0. 0	

20 Empty Lime Hhds.	7.10. 0	
Sales of an old Building on the Ground	4.14. 0	548.15. 0
		<hr/>
Balance		233.14. 4
		<hr/>
		782. 9. 4
Wanting to compleat the Building, viz.		
400 lbs. assorted Nails	8. 0. 0	
7000 feet Board - for Galleries, etc.	21. 0. 0	
Carpenters and Labourers, agreeable to a survey	100. 9. 0	
		<hr/>
		£ 129. 9. 0

Please to note:

- I. That the work would not have been persued last Winter so as to incur the Debit of £ 233 - had it not been for the following reasons: First, that through mistake we are given to understand ther was more money collected than what there was, 2ndly, that Capt. Brown of Poole, when here last fall, out of his good weal for the cause and from a persuation of money collected last Winter, advised us to persue the Building with all vigor, 3rdly that a few of us of the Members of this Society proposed to do alike toward it themselves.
- II. That instead of having the account for £ 88 balanced as expected, we this spring found ourselves £ 90 in debt, and the Trustees in England could do nor more than clear that Sum.
- III. That the unpresenteded failour of the Fishery this year has so reduced the Members of this Church and in general all the Fish catchers that not three of them will be able to clear their Merchants or lay in a little Provisions for the Winter, in consequence whereof they will not be able to give anything, as they proposed.
- IV. That as nothing can be obtained from the Church and as there is no proborility of borrowing Money upon the Premisses, the cause is in a suffering State, for want of money to pay the Workers and such it is hoped will be considered by the Lovers of the Gospel.
- V. Carpenters of the Church have worked one Shilling per day less than other People, and less than what they themselves do get from their Customers.

(original spelling)

The Last Will And Testament Of The Reverend John Jones

IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN.

I, John Jones of Saint John's in the Island of Newfoundland, Pastor of the Dissenting Church in that place, being weak in Body but of a Sound Mind and Memory, do hereby make and ordain my Last Will and Testament in Manner and Form following, that is to say, FIRST I will and request that my funeral may be conducted and concluded in the most frugal and least expensive Manner that Decency will permit of, and that in no wise any Extravagant or extraordinary expense be incurred there on, but that the utmost simplicity and plainness be observed.

ITEM. If the Effects of which I may at the time of my Decease be possessed of, should be sufficient to pay off or discharge my just Debts and Funeral Expenses, then it is my Will that no charge whatsoever be made unto Thomas Lowman or Henrietta Lowman for or on account of any Sum or Sums of Money which they might owe or be indebted unto me (for their Board or Diet) at the time of my Decease, in conformity to a Promise made by me to my good Friend, their Deceased Father.

ITEM. I give and bequeath unto the said Thomas Lowman as a token of my regard for him, the following Books, viz. Stackhouse's History of the Bible in Six Volumes; Rollin's Ancient History in Ten Volumes, The Perceptor in Two Volumes, Locke's Essays in two Volumes; the best copy of Brown's Dictionary of the Bible in two Volumes; Newton on the Prophecys in two Volumes; Watt's Logic, and all the Gospel Magazines I may die possessed of.

ITEM. I request my Friend Nathan Parker will accept (as a small token of my love for him) my Silver Rimmed Spectacles.

ITEM. I give & bequeath unto Lionel Chancey (as a compensation for sundry services which he has done for me, and as a mark of my regard for him) Mr. Matthew Henry's Annotations on the Bible in Six Volumes.

ITEM. In consideration of the faithful services of my former Servant, Thomas Martin, and his great affection and Friendship manifested towards me during a servitude of Thirteen Years, and as a token of my regard for him, I give and bequeath unto him my best suit of Wearing Apparel; and in case the Debts due of me at the time of my Death can be paid off and discharged out of my other property, then I do hereby further give and bequeath unto him, All that Garden or space of Ground which I heretofore purchased of Mr. John Lee's, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same unto him and to his Assigns for and during the Term of his natural life — And after his Death unto his Son Tom Jones Martin for the Term of Twenty Years, then and from that time this Bequest shall cease and determine, and the Garden or space of Ground hereby given, and the Rents, Issues and Profits thereof shall be disposed of in manner hereinafter directed.

ITEM. I give and bequeath unto them the said Nathan Parker and Lionel Chancey all that space of Ground or Plantation heretofore granted unto me by His Excellency Sir Richard King situated and lying near unto Colonel Thörn's Plantation and now in the possession of Charles Power, as my Tenant, together with the

DOCUMENTS

Privileges and Appurtenances therunto belonging; ALSO the Reversionary Right and Title in and to the space of Ground or Garden hereinbefore bequeathed and devised unto Thomas Martin and his son Tom Jones Martin after the bequest and Devise beforementioned shall cease and determine; ALSO all and all manner of Interests, Incomes, Rents or Profits which arise or accrue unto me from certain Leasehold Property held by me and more particularly mentioned in a List annexed herunto TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the Plantation, Garden and other Property with the Appurtenances, unto them the said Nathan Parker and Lionel Chancey or their Assigns for ever, UPON TRUST that they do as soon as conveniently may be after my Decease convey and make over the same unto such Person or Persons as shall be elected and chosen a Committee for that purpose by the Members of the aforesaid Dissenting Church (Provided always that no Minister or Deacon of the said Church be of the Committee) which said Assignment or Conveyance is by the said Nathan Parker and Lionel Chancey to be made upon the SPECIAL TRUST and for the express USES hereinafter mentioned, viz. FIRST, that out of the Rents, Issues or Profits thereof, shall be paid any Sum or Sums of Money which may have been applied to my use out of the Income of Lowman's Estate, or may be requisite to reimburse the Children for any charge made to them for their Diet or Board — after which such Rent, Issues or Profits shall be applied towards the support and furtherance of the Charity School, but be it understood that I do not thereby intend to augment the Salary at present allowed to the Master of the School; but that a fund may be formed thereby; And in case the School should be discontinued, then I will and require that the aforesaid Rents, Issues, and Profits be applied towards the support and for the continuance of the Preaching in the aforesaid Dissenting Church, and in case both the said School and Church shall cease and discontinue, that then during such cessation and discontinuance the Rents, Issues and Profits aforesaid are to be given to the Fund for the maintenance of the Poor of Saint John's aforesaid; but upon a Revival of either or both of the aforesaid Institutions, the said Rents, Issues, and Profits are again to revert to their first intended use. All the rest and residue of my Books, Goods, Chattels, Effects or Estate whatsoever I hereby give and bequeath unto them the said Nathan Parker and Lionel Chancey (whom I hereby appoint to be joint Executors of this my Last Will and Testament) requiring that the said Books, Goods, Chattels, Effects or other Property may be by them my said Executors Sold and Disposed of in the most advantageous manner, and the proceeds thereof be applied towards paying off or discharging all my just Debts and Funeral Expenses; and I hereby revoke and disannull all and every former Will by me made. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this Eighteenth day of November in the Year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-nine.

Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared by the Testator, to be his Last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who in his presence, and in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as Witnesses.

Signed "John Jones" (L.S.)

"James Dickers"
"Daniel Newell"

I, JOHN JONES, do hereby give, grant and Assign unto Nathan Parker and Lionel Chancey, the Executors named in, and appointed by my annexed Will, all the Right, Title or Interest which I have in or to the Estate of the late Joseph Lowman as Executor of his last Will — together with the Guardianship and Management of Thomas Lowman and Henrietta Lowman, his Son and Daughter, whom I hereby recommend to their Care and Attention; and that in placing out the said Henrietta a preference may be given to Mr. and Mrs. Guzwell. I wish her to be kept in School 'til She has some knowledge of Writing and Arithmetic. Mrs. Guzwell is to instruct her in Housewifery and such other knowledge as it might be in her power that might be advantageous. I wish her to be fully taught all manner of Needle-work that is commonly used. I have the terms on which she is to be taken by Mrs. Guzwell to be agreed on by my Executors, only noting, it is not to be considered as an Apprenticeship and if necessary to extend until she attains her Eighteenth Year. I do hereby appoint, that the Books which I gave or bequeathed unto the said Thomas Lowman by my beforementioned Will, be carefully kept for him until he is twenty four years old, and then given him, only he may be permitted an occasional perusal of them.

This Writing is to be considered as a Codicil to my aforesaid Will. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this 23rd day of November in the Year 1799.

"John Jones"

Sealed and Delivered
in the presence of us

"Thomas Dunn"

"Sarah Knight"

SCHEDULE or List of the several Leascholds held by me of different Persons and refer'd to in my Will

Premises	Of whom taken Rent	To Whom Let	Rent	Remarks
		£ s.	£ s.	
A House & Garden	Power, a cooper	2.2	Chas. Power 3.3	
A House & Garden	Power, do.	2.10	Fias. Obey 5	Mr. H. Phillips has part of the ground belonging to this Lease, having pur- chased the Term.
A Garden	Mrs. Cahill	2.10	Healey John Croucher 2.2 2.10	A small space of this Ground not let.

A meadow of Mr. Livingston's, this place I recommend my Executors to make the most of, either by taking the Crop the ensuing Year; or by selling the Interest as may be most advantageous.

Memorandum. The cow which is almost White belongs to Mr. Stretton. And the other Cow is Mr. Parker's property.
The horse I have not yet paid for.

St. John's
19th Nov. 1799

"John Jones"

DOCUMENTS

INVENTORY of sundry Goods and the Property of the late Reverend John Jones
taken 5 March 1800:

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1 Old Walnut Bureau	1 11 6	
6 Old Leather Bottom'd Chairs 9/	2 14	
1 Easy Chair 21/ 3 Windsor Chairs @ 5/	1 16	
1 Round Mahogany Table	12	
1 Small Mahogany Folding Table	12	
1 Small Mahogany Folding Table	9	
1 Book Case (fixture)	2 2	
1 Set of Shelves for Books	5	10 1 6
1 Settle	7 6	
2 Window Curtains	5	
1 Swing Looking Glass	5	
1 Bedstead and Curtains	2 2	
1 Cot and Curtains	1 11 6	
1 Cot	10 6	
2 Feather Beds and Pillows	5	
4 Blankets	10	10 11 6
5 Sheets	10 6	
2 Quilts	8	
2 Old Trunks	2 6	
2 Bread Chests	3	
1 Harness Cask	2 6	
1 pair Fire Dogs	7 6	
1 set Fire Irons	3 6	
1 Fender	2	
1 pair Bellows	1	2 0 6
1 Crane and Cheeks for the Grate	7 6	
1 Iron Coal Shuttle	2 6	
1 Iron Tea Kettle	3	
1 Copper Kettle	4 6	
1 Frying Pan	2 6	
1 Gridiron	1	
1 Footman	2	
1 Poorman's Jack	1 6	1 4 6
1 Old Lantern	1 9	
4 Tin Kettles	6	
1 Old Bed pan 1/ 1 Night Stool & Pan 12/	13	
3 Decanters	4 6	
2 Large Tumblers	2	
8 Rummers	5	
1 Vinegar Cruet & Mustard Pot	2	
1 Salt Cellar	1	
5 China Egg Glasses	2 6	

DOCUMENTS

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
3 Coffee Pots	4 6	
1 Tea Pot & Cups and Saucers	2 6	2 4 9
3 Jugs	4	
1 Sugar Bowl	1	
1 Turcen	5	
12 Dishes	12	
2 Wash Basins	1 6	
4 Dozen Plates	10	
2 Quarts & 2 H. Pints	1 6	
2 Bowls	1	
2 Stone Jugs	1	
2 Pudding Pans	1 6	1 18 6
1 Dutch Oven	3 6	
1 Old Fish Kettle	1	
1 Gallon Measure	1 6	
6 Tin Pots	3	
1 Sugar Canister	2	
2 Saucepans	1	
2 Brass Candlesticks	4 6	
2 Jap'd Candlesticks	2	
2 Jap'd Waiters	9	
1 Old Calender	6	
1 Spit & Skewers	1 6	
1 Pestle & Mortar	4 6	
4 pair of Snuffers	1	1 6 9
1 Hair Sieve	1 6	
2 Wire Sieves	3	
1 Coffee Mill	2	
1 Tea Caddy	4 6	
1 Tea Cannister	1	
1 Knife Box	6	
5 Shoe Brushes	1	
2 Brushes	2	
1 Hammer	6	
1 pair Lemon Squeezers	1	
1 old Soup Ladle	1 6	
2 pair Sugar Nippers	9	
15 old Knives and Forks	7 6	
4 Silver Tea Spoons	2 18	
6 Silver Tea Spoons	18	
1 pair Tea Tongs	2 6	
1 Silver Watch	2 10	
1 pair Silver Sleeve Buttons	1 6	
2 old Penknives	1	
1 old Snuff Mill	2 6	
Gold weight and Seals	1	

DOCUMENTS

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
2 Bottles Daffet's Elixir	3	
2 pair Creepers	2	
3 Spurs	1 6	
4 old Brass Cocks	2	
1 Spy Glass	15	9 3 9
1 Carpet	1 1	
1 Tea Tray	4 6	
2 Cloaks	1 10 6	
2 pair Breeches	12	
1 Suit of Clothes	2 2	
1 Suit of Clothes	2	
2 pair Boots	15	
2 pair Shoes	4	
3 pair Goloshes (?)	7 6	
1 Blue Coat	7	
4 pair Drawers	4	9 7 6
3 Hats	3	
6 Pictures of the History of Joseph	12	
1 Old Water Pot	3 6	
2 Scythes and 6 Rakes	9	
1 Hot Bed Frame and Glasses	5	
1 Keg 10 gallons	3	
Old Harness (not complete)	10 6	
1 Sleigh Harness	2 2	
1 Saddle and Bridle	15	
1 Pitch Fork	1	
2 Currie Combs	1 6	
2 Hatchets	2	
10 Bushels (?) Hay	5 5	
4 Hundredweight Coals	1 16	
1 Catamaran	1 1	
1 Horse Whip	4 6	
1 Umbrella	7 6	
1 Water Bucket	1	
3 Night Gowns	15	
5 Flannel Waistcoats	5	
2 pair Cuffs	1	
12 Gravats	12	
8 Shirts 5/6	2 4	
2 Night Caps 2/-	2	
2 Pads for Neck Handkerchieves	1	
7 pair Stockings	14	
4 Pocket Handkerchieves	4	
3 Pillow Cases	3	
1 Large Table Cloth	10 6	
3 Breakfast Table Cloths	7 6	
1 Coarse Table Cloth	2	
4 Black Waistcoats	12	

-210-
DOCUMENTS

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1 pair Black Breeches	5	
1 pair Cotton Coat	4 6	
Books	20	
2 Sets of Bills	8	
Sundry small Articles	5	
Outstanding Debts	10	64 5 0
	<hr/>	
Brought Forward	£112 4 3	
Interest of the Lease of Power's Garden)		
)		5 5
Interest of the Lease of Obey's Tenement)		
Interest of the Lease of Mr. Livingston's Meadow	40	
The Garden of the late Mr. Lees	10	
A Plantation Leased to Chas. Power	35	
	<hr/>	
TOTAL ESTATE	£ 202 9 3	
	<hr/> <hr/>	

