

**Community and the Colonial Church: An Examination of the Church of England's
Establishment of its First Missions in Southern Labrador, 1848-1876**

By

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Abstract

In 1849, Tractarian Anglicanism appeared on the coast of Southern Labrador with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary Rev. Algernon Gifford. Gifford was sent by Bishop Edward Feild to the fishing hub of Forteau to service a territory of approximately seventy miles. The purpose of building missions in Labrador was rooted in Bishop Feild's (the second bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda) desire to fulfill his colonial role of expanding and reinforcing Anglicanism in British North America. The communities of Southern Labrador were actively integrated culturally into the British Empire through the Church of England. Inhabitants wanted the services of a minister and especially schools for their children. This study explores the nature of the Anglican Church's colonial identity in relation to the social and economic situation in Southern Labrador. It seeks to contextualize the establishment of the Labrador missions. By exploring the rich archival collection of S.P.G. records held at Rhodes House Library, Oxford University, as well as materials from the Maritime History Archive, The Rooms' Provincial Archive of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Archdeacon Buckle Memorial Archive, this thesis recovers the stories of life in the Anglican missions of Labrador. Through focusing specifically on the missionaries' narratives, this study will explore the multiple colonial relationships that formed between inhabitants and the church and how these relationships shaped social bonds affecting the nature of community. Building on the discussion about relationships through evidence in the missionary correspondence and academic literature, this study will examine how factors like the Tractarian theology of Bishop Feild and colonial political considerations further

affected communities in Southern Labrador. Through a historical analysis of missionary correspondence, this study will open a window on Southern Labrador and colonial Anglican history by demonstrating how and why the Church of England established itself in communities and how that integration affected the lives of Labradorians.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview and Chapter Outline

In 1848, the fourth year of his tenure in Newfoundland, Bishop Edward Feild, the second Anglican Bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda, visited the coast of Labrador in the Anglican church-ship the *Hawk*.¹ In 1849 and 1850, Bishop Feild established the missions of Forteau (Mission of the Strait of Belle Isle) and Battle Harbour. Upon arriving in Southern Labrador, the bishop visited over twenty-two communities along the coast and noted the inhabitants' enthusiasm for the services of a minister.² Bishop Feild was motivated by his own intense desire to expand and establish the Church of England in the colony of Newfoundland according to his Tractarian³ convictions.⁴ Feild's

¹Bishop Feild, unlike his predecessor Spencer, had four church ships. The first was the *Emma Eden*, a brig that was donated by the Primus of Scotland, who later became the Rector of Leigh in Essex. This ship was deemed unsuitable and sold, and the *Hawk* was purchased with the profits. Feild's other ship was the *Star*. This ship was built through the efforts of Rev. M. K. S. Frith, of Allesten, to replace the aging *Hawk*. The *Star* sank off the south coast of Newfoundland in a storm. The third church ship owned by Feild was the *Lavrock*, donated by Lieutenant Joseph J. Curling, a member of the Royal Engineers. He had been stationed at Bermuda, and donated the ship after he heard about the wreck of the *Star*. Curling reportedly "admired the Apostolic Bishop." M. Price, "Missionary Life in Newfoundland," *American Church Review* (January, 1891): 156-181. Accessed June 2014, <http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/pricenf.html>.

²E. Feild, "A visit to Labrador in the Autum of MDCCCXLVIII by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland," *Church in the Colonies* 19 (London: S.P.G., 1849), Accessed June 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg19.html>. In his report Feild indicated that both a Roman Catholic priest and a Methodist minister had visited Labrador previously; however, neither of these individuals stayed and set up missions in Labrador. The Moravians in the late 1770s established a missionary presence and later fully serviced missions in Northern Labrador. These missionaries confined themselves primarily to the North coast and to the Inuit population. For more information on this subject see H. Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador: Studies from a Symposium held in Makkovik and Hopedale Labrador* (St. John's: Faculty of Arts Publications, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2009).

³Tractarian is another name for the Oxford Movement. The Oxford Movement developed in the mid-eighteenth century and espoused the apostolicity and sacramental life and tradition of the Church of England; this movement will be discussed in chapter three.

⁴S. Sanderson, "How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876)," (Master's Thesis, Department of Religious Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2007), 3-5. Also for a more biographical and historical work, F.

establishment of Church of England missions in Southern Labrador happened for three reasons: first, he was informed that the territory was within in his diocese;⁵ second, British imperialism placed the territory of Labrador under Newfoundland's administrative control; and third, the Tractarian movement had asserted a need for missions theologically.⁶ After his initial visit, and with the encouragement of the Bishop of London and support of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), Feild began to send trained missionaries to Labrador. This event marked the first administrative manifestations of a British Anglican ecclesiastical infrastructure in Southern Labrador.

This study will be an exploration of the first twenty-seven years of these missions based on the missionaries' own writings, S.P.G. published reports, and relevant historical-critical literature about Labrador and the Church of England. By using these sources, this study will carry out a thorough historical contextualization in an effort to understand the missions and the nature of the Church of England in the nineteenth century, specifically the actions of the Labrador missionaries. This study will contextualize the missionaries' writings and so construct the history of the Labrador missions from the missionaries' perspective and study the life experiences of missionaries and their congregations. From the beginning, the theological and colonial outlook of the missionaries would shape their conduct and relationships between the Church and the community. The Church of England integrated itself into the communities of Southern Labrador through building an

Jones, "Bishop Feild A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland," (Phd. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1971).

⁵ In fact, Feild was unsure if Labrador was part of his diocese and wrote the S.P.G. to confirm, before visiting.

⁶J. Hiller, "Eighteenth-Century Labrador: the European Perspective," in Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings*, 37-52.

ecclesiastical infrastructure and by providing social and religious services. To understand this process and its effect on the communities of Southern Labrador, the specific actions and experiences of the missionaries need to be seen in the wider colonial context of Labrador, Newfoundland and British history. This study will also focus on the economics of the Labrador missions to understand the financing and building of an infrastructure in these communities. Therefore, this study will ask: *How did the Church of England establish itself in Southern Labrador, and what can be learned from that process about the church, missionaries, communities and the inhabitants of Southern Labrador?*

To address the nuances of and answer the above research question, this thesis will proceed in the following order. After the introduction, the next chapter will be a brief exploration of the history of Labrador, specifically of Southern Labrador. This chapter will address Labrador's relationship with British imperialism and how it shaped its communities and inhabitants' lives. The colonial economy dominated the lives of Labradorians, and neglect on the part of colonial administrators, who were one-sidedly focused on economic profits, left Labrador void of the typical colonial infrastructure. Specific attention will be given to the concept of community and the importance of mobility in the lives of Southern Labradorians. This will lead to an understanding of the geographic and historical context in which the two Anglican missions were built and lay a foundation for understanding the actions of the missionaries related to travel and the building of an ecclesiastical infrastructure.

Building on the second chapter, the third chapter will explore the Church of England and its role in colonialism, with specific attention to the Tractarian movement and its manifestation in Newfoundland. This chapter will provide further historical

context through an understanding of Bishop Feild and the politics of colonial Tractarian Anglicanism in Newfoundland. Focusing on understanding how Tractarianism's relationship with colonialism manifested itself in a sense of duty and zeal for missionary activity will aid in understanding how the Labrador missionaries interacted with other denominations. The discussion of these themes and issues will set the stage for understanding the specific actions and motivations of the missionaries.

The fourth chapter will be an examination of the travel narratives present in the missionaries' letters. These types of narratives contain the majority of stories of encounters between missionaries and the inhabitants of Southern Labrador. Through discussing the travel practices of the missionaries, this chapter attempts to demonstrate three things. First, it will show that travel was necessary because of the environment and economic context of Southern Labrador. Second, through travelling, missionaries integrated themselves into the community of Southern Labrador and formed social bonds with inhabitants. Third, analysis of the travel narratives will show that the Southern Labrador missionaries were indeed Tractarian Anglicans who carried out their colonial duty as prescribed by Bishop Feild and the S.P.G.

The fifth chapter will further explore social integration and the relationship between inhabitants and missionaries as representatives of the Church of England. Drawing on both the second and third chapters' historical contextualization of Southern Labrador as an exploited colonial locale and the Church of England as an important colonial institution, this chapter will reconstruct the building of churches, schools and the effort to make the Labrador missions self-sufficient. Through analyzing the narratives about building and finances, this chapter will explore John Kennedy's theme of the lack

of economic agency in Southern Labrador, and try to understand its impact on church efforts and missionary life.⁷ Through investigating these narratives, this chapter will also demonstrate the existence of a colonial network that built up missions and integrated inhabitants into the British imperial religious community by putting into place an ecclesiastical infrastructure.

This study will conclude with a reflection on the relationships that existed in the Southern Labrador missions, and how their exploration demonstrates how and why the Church of England integrated itself into Southern Labrador.

1.2 Historical and Scholarly Context

Currently, the one substantial work on the Church of England in Labrador is a semi-popular book titled *The Church in Labrador 1849-1998*, written by Francis Buckle, a former Archdeacon of Labrador. The book focuses on the missionaries and features a patchwork narrative that employs well-chosen textual excerpts from missionary letters. Buckle's treatment of the missions under Bishop Feild is mainly contained within the first sixty pages, but is void of any discussion of the details that shaped the scope and activities of the missionaries. Buckle's book also lacks historical context of the colonial situation of Labrador. Rather than being an analytical history of the Labrador missions, it represents a popular chronicle of the Anglican Church in Labrador. It highlights the struggles of the early period by describing the nature of travel, health and the financial struggles through selected examples. This is done by providing lengthy quotes, thus

⁷ J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays and Headlands: An Anthropological History and Fate of Communities in the Unknown Labrador* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1995), 12-46.

letting the missionaries speak for themselves in the older documentary style of historiography. While this book provides insight and access to limited primary sources in its text and in its appendices, the narrative that Buckle has constructed is incomplete. Most critically missing is an awareness of the inner workings of the S.P.G., Bishop Feild's aims and motivations, and the significance of the bishop's Tractarian guiding interests as well as the texture and quality of missionaries' actual life experiences in Labrador.

Several studies exist that critically address Feild's diocesan goals and his theology, most notably Sherri Sanderson's MA thesis, "How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876)." Feild's political goals and activities are well discussed by Frederick Jones in his Cambridge PhD dissertation, "Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland."⁸ Peter Nockles' book *The Oxford Movement* explains how the Tractarian movement came to be a dominating force within the Church of England and how it ties in with the intellectual climate in the Church of England. Peter Coffman's book *Newfoundland Gothic* helps bridge the gap between Feild's theology and the actual church buildings by exploring the Tractarian architectural influences on specific churches built in the Labrador missions, such as St. John the Baptist, consecrated in 1853, at St. Francis, Labrador. Coffman's focus, however, is on architecture and does not take into account the financial dimension and actual building of

⁸S. Sanderson, "How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876)," F. Jones, "Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland".

these churches at the local level. Understanding the importance of local activities and participants like the merchant firms Hunt & Henly, DeQuetteville or Slade is critical for reconstructing the specific regional history of the missions, which is a gap in the extant literature.

To address this lacuna, it will be necessary to consider a number of issues and factors discussed in the literature and archival materials about Southern Labrador. First to consider is the historical situation of Labrador as an “exploited” territory because of its colonial relationship with England and Newfoundland. This colonial relationship is well explored in the literature since Gosling’s 1910 book, where it is already thematized.⁹ The stage was set in the eighteenth century for Labrador to be viewed and treated as a territory for exploitation. James K. Hiller, in his recent article “Eighteenth-Century Labrador: the European Perspective,”¹⁰ and John Kennedy in his book *People of the Bays and Headlands* address this theme. Kennedy’s book fits into this discussion by demonstrating that Southern Labrador, while a colonial locale during the nineteenth-century, developed without an adequate colonial infrastructure. Kennedy’s main argument is that the people of Labrador lacked economic agency, and that their lives were primarily shaped by outside economic forces. These forces, combined with the environment, created a mobile, regional type of community, which practiced seasonal transhumance for economic survival.¹¹ The inhabitants of Labrador were effectively left

⁹W. Gosling, *Labrador, Its Discovery, Exploration and Development* (London: Alston Rivers, Ltd, 1910).

¹⁰J. Hiller, “Eighteenth-Century Labrador: the European Perspective,” in Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings*, 37-52.

¹¹J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays and Headlands*, 12-46. For seasonal transhumance, see G. Cartwright, *Journal Of Transactions and Events, During A Residence Of Nearly Sixteen Years On The Coast Of Labrador: Containing Many Interesting Particulars, Both Of The Country And Its Inhabitants, Not Hitherto Known* (Newark: Allin and Ridge, 1792). Captain George Cartwright’s journal contains immense details of

to fend for themselves. In fact, even into the twentieth century, most laws made in Newfoundland were directed toward extracting tax money from Labrador.¹² Although Kennedy touches briefly on the Anglican missions,¹³ his book does not provide a detailed examination of missionary agency and what the letters of the missionaries reflect about the nature of the communities in which they ministered and provided their services. While Kennedy's book is quite comprehensive, the ecclesiastical area has yet to be examined in depth for what it reflects about the nature of the community within the region's two missions. What is important for this study is Kennedy's understanding of community as synonymous with mobility and, therefore primarily, influenced by the economic forces that created seasonal transhumance in Southern Labrador. But Kennedy does not consider the impact that social infrastructure played until the Grenfell period. The Church of England can be seen as an important organizer in nineteenth-century Southern Labrador, in that the Anglican missions shaped the nature of community by filling a gap in the absence of any other social and cultural infrastructure.

The other areas of Southern Labrador that are well discussed in the literature are the environment and economics. In particular, Patricia A. Thornton in her 1979 doctoral dissertation, "Dynamic Equilibrium," focused on understanding the population of the Strait of Belle Isle from 1850-1950. Thornton's conclusions are that the environment and economics, namely the seasonal fishery, dictated the flow of people in and out of the

the main economic activities of settlers and Aboriginal peoples in Labrador and how they negotiated their existence to profit from the local environment.

¹²J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays and Headlands*, 113-119.

¹³*Ibid.*, 83-87, 119.

Strait of Belle Isle.¹⁴ In his pioneering book *Cain's Land Revisited* from 1975, David Zimmerly focuses on Lake Melville, and examines the relationship between the environment, economics and cultural change. He concludes that the role of environment is deeply important since the physical geography of a place shapes economic activity and influences culture. Culture is shaped by the nature of shared life experiences, which are primarily defined by economic pursuits in the geographical context of Labrador that caused people to be mobile.¹⁵ From the studies of Zimmerly, Thornton and Kennedy, the role of the environment and outside economic factors can be seen as major factors that dictated how communities formed. The Church of England, however, is another institutional factor that requires consideration when studying people's lives and the effect of outside institutions, which shaped culture and way of life in the specific geographic areas of the two missions.

Community histories are sparse as far as Battle Harbour and Forteau are concerned, and considerations of the church's activities are limited.¹⁶ Both Robert Pitt's and Jannett Miller Pitt's essays on Battle Harbour, which draw heavily on Bishop Feild's reports, only touch on the missions briefly and almost entirely omit the role of schools and churches. Given the shortness of the essays, neither author can address in depth the church's role. Neither of the community histories of Battle Harbour or of Forteau draw

¹⁴P. A. Thornton, "Dynamic Equilibrium Population and Ecology in the Strait of Belle Isle, 1840-1940," (PhD. Thesis University of Aberdeen, 1979), 128-175, 252-253, 511-513.

¹⁵D. Zimmerly, *Cain's Land Revisited: Culture Change in Labrador, 1775-1972* (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975).

¹⁶J. E. Miller Pitt, "Battle Harbour," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol I (St. John's: Newfoundland Publishers, 1984), 145-147; J. E. Miller Pitt, "Forteau," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Vol II (St. John's: Newfoundland Publishers, 1984), 333-337; R. D. W. Pitt, *Battle Harbour 1848-1900* (St. John's: Canning & Pitt Associates, 1982).

upon the extensive collection of missionary letters held at the Bodleian Library at Oxford University. What is known about the early history of these communities is limited to a brief discussion of merchant firms, conflict over land and fishing posts, history of the local fishery, possible name origins, and how economic factors caused the two communities to grow. Aside from these short community histories there is little else written. The publication *Them Days* mentions both Battle Harbour and Forteau, however most articles are concerned with twentieth-century oral history.¹⁷

This thesis fits into the scholarly discourse about community in Labrador as it will consider social and religious structures in relation to the economic context. In my analysis about establishment and development of the missions in Labrador, I will draw heavily on the notion of a mobile community as developed by John Kennedy. Since the mobile dimension of community in Labrador was a key challenge faced by missionaries, this thesis will demonstrate that their response of travelling constantly and building in multiple smaller centers created a network between people that was motivated by necessity and theology and had the purpose of integrating the inhabitants of Labrador into a larger colonial religious community.

1.3 Method & Approach

Colonial history, and especially colonial religious history, is a diverse field that

¹⁷While some articles in *Them Days* have useful information for this thesis, no article specifically addresses early Anglican Church history. One important article reprinted contains a detailed account of members of the Church of England in the many communities of the Battle Harbour Mission, written by Rev. G. Hutchinson. George G. Hutchinson, "Mission of Battle Harbour Winter of 1863-1864 [list of inhabitants]," *Them Days* 16, 2 (1991): 50-54.

requires examination from a variety of disciplines, such as history, religious studies, anthropology and geography. The benefit of carrying out this type of multi-disciplinary study lies in its paying attention not only to the historical-critical approach but also addresses religious phenomena with the methodological tools of religious studies, anthropology and geography. Such methodological pluralism will enable the contextualization of primary sources and a fuller understanding of the meaningful actions of historical agents as well as their personal and communal relationships. Special attention will be paid to nineteenth-century Anglican theology and the Church of England's relationship to colonialism, in particular the Tractarian intellectual horizon of Bishop Feild, who was exposed early to the Tractarian movement at Oxford University. First, it is important to note the institutional ecclesiastical infrastructure of the Church of England and how the church built itself up in communities and shaped their geography and integrated them into its ecclesiastical network.¹⁸ This is of particular importance because Tractarian theology was rooted in an assertion of the Church of England's divine authority and apostolic legitimacy. The movement was unyielding in its conviction of its own normative theological posture and Christianity's role in society. This gave Tractarians a clear argument for asserting and developing the Church in England and the colonies according to their own theological and architectural principles.¹⁹

¹⁸G. J. Levine, "On the Geography of Religion," *Transactions of British Geographers* 11, 4 (1986): 228-240; A. Ivakhiv, "Toward A Geography of "Religion": Mapping the Distribution of an Unstable Signifier," *Association of American Geographers* 96,1 (2006): 169-175; James Corrigan, "Spatiality and Religion," in Warf and Arias, eds. *The Spatial Turn, Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2009): 156-172.

¹⁹P. Nockles and Stewart J. Brown, ed., *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2-8; R. Strong, "The Oxford Movement and the British Empire: Newman, Manning and the 1841 Jerusalem bishopric," in Nockles, and Brown, ed., *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930*, 78-98; A. Porter, "Church History, History of

While there is respectable secondary literature, this study will pay particular attention to primary source material from the period, especially the vast S.P.G. archival collection at the Bodleian Library located in Oxford University.²⁰ This collection holds the letters of many missionaries, other Church of England members involved in foreign missions, instructions from the Secretary of the S.P.G. and the Society's printed reports. I will also examine church records, reports and journals deposited at such archives as the Maritime History Archive, the Archdeacon Buckle Memorial Archive of the Anglican Diocese of Eastern Newfoundland and Labrador, the Provincial Archive at The Rooms and the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University. Analysis of archival materials in this type of study will be rooted in the historical-critical method.

The backbone of the method employed in this study is historical-critical work on the basis of the archival and printed materials; so that groups and individuals can be understood, in particular their intentionality within the relevant institutional, social and intellectual contexts.²¹ I intend to carry out an analysis of the missionary letters and reconstruct the life world that they address. With Richard Evans, I seek to discover the "the truth about patterns and linkages of facts in history" and "establish facts and recreate the past in the present."²² Therefore, the key focus of this study will be a historical contextualization through scholarly literature and appropriate primary sources. This will enable me to develop an understanding of the Church of England's integration into

Christianity, Religious History: Some Reflections on British Missionary Enterprise since the Late Eighteenth Century," *Church History* 71,2 (2002): 553-584.

²⁰W.W. Manross, *S.P.G. Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library: Calendar and Indexes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974).

²¹R. Evans, *In Defense of History* (London: Granta Books, 2000), 224-253.

²²*Ibid.*, 252.

Southern Labrador Society and shed light on life in the Anglican missions for both the inhabitants and missionaries.

Chapter 2

Setting the Stage

2.1 Introduction

From the beginning, the relationships that Labradorians had with Europeans crossing the Atlantic were shaped by a focus on resource exploitation. The inhabitants of the geographic area that became Labrador were originally Aboriginal groups, the Inuit and the Innu who were commonly referred to as the “Mountaineers.” The major early resources exploited were fish, seals, whales and fur. Early settlers and explorers stayed in Labrador primarily for the fishing season, establishing rocky trade relationships with the Aboriginal population and other trading posts that often resulted in violence. From the beginning, a pattern of economic exploitation developed that was characterized by disorganized economic competition, as discussed by John Kennedy in his magisterial study of the early period.²³ This disorganized economic competition caused sporadic settlements to occur around specific seasonally available resource bases. In relation to Labrador, the British government had no long-term settlement or occupation plans. Labrador was not intended to become a colony, but from the beginning it was viewed as a source for resources. This chapter will briefly sketch the early narrative of Labrador’s colonial history and develop an understanding of the significance and implications of the nature of colonial resource exploitation in Labrador.

²³J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays and Headlands*, 24-28; J. Hiller, “Eighteenth-Century Labrador: the European Perspective,” in Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings*, 37-52.

2.2 Environment, Economics and Community: Exploring Mobility and Dependence in Southern Labrador

According to John Kennedy, the lives, economy, and communities of Labrador's inhabitants were shaped by "seasonal transhumance," a pattern of life where people migrated with seasonal resources.²⁴ The environment of Southern Labrador is best described as harsh, yet teeming with life. A formative feature of the environment of Labrador is the Labrador Current. This current brings cold water filled with ice down from the north and affects the outer coast of bays and islands by bringing harsh weather in the winter months and seals and other wildlife in the early spring and summer. Although there was limited agriculture in Labrador, its most profitable species exploited by Europeans were seals, whales, salmon, fox and beaver.²⁵

Europeans began to arrive in increasing numbers from the sixteenth century onward, with the biggest waves of population increase occurring in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century. This increase in Newfoundland's population correlated with a pattern of population that swelled in the summers due to visiting fishers along the coast.²⁶ People had to travel from inland to the coast during the spring and summer. The development of mobile communities in Southern Labrador during the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century is well documented by John Kennedy

²⁴J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 11-15, 24-29; P. Thornton, "Dynamic Equilibrium Population and Ecology in the Strait of Belle Isle, 1840-1940," 128-175, 252-253, 511-513.

²⁵Ibid, 12-15.

²⁶P. Thornton, "Dynamic Equilibrium Population and Ecology in the Strait of Belle Isle, 1840-1940," 128-175, 252-253, 511-513.

and Patricia Thornton. Important in relation to this notion is Kennedy's understanding that mobility was caused by dependence upon outside economic factors as well as Labrador's geography and cyclical availability of resources. This pattern of mobility combined with the development of trading posts, and created multiple small communities based around economic activities, which were rooted in seasonal migration. Both Kennedy and Thornton documented and explored the role of exploitative economics in driving settlement and shaping the regionalism that characterized Southern Labrador. Kennedy notes, however, that Thornton's theory of environment and fishery economics requires three amendments for Southern Labrador: "a) the disorder and competition which characterize the early British era; b) the transient trade, especially with the American traders; and c) the presence of Inuit women as potential spouses."²⁷ Thornton's theory and Kennedy's amendments provide a working model for the factors that shaped life in Labrador and explain the regionalism and mobility of the population.

In his pioneering book *Cain's Land Revisited*, from 1975, David Zimmerly focuses on Lake Melville and examines the relationship between the environment, economics and cultural change. While Zimmerly studied Central Labrador, his findings about the interconnection between environment and economy as being influential in shaping a community's culture are also valid for Southern Labrador. Such interdependence shaped inhabitants' lives around economic activities and survival.²⁸ Therefore, drawing on Zimmerly's understanding of the relationship between culture and economic activity and Kennedy and Thornton's theory of exploitative economics, this

²⁷J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays and Headlands*, 74.

²⁸D. Zimmerly, *Cain's Land Revisited: Culture Change in Labrador*.

study argues that the local environment and economic dependence upon outside forces can be understood as the defining elements of life and community development in Southern Labrador.

2.3 Beginnings: British Imperialism and Labrador

During the eighteenth century, according to Gosling, “Europeans’ considered Labrador... [to be]... an undisputed ‘no-man’s-land.’ ” Theoretically people were able to use land here and establish trading posts. In 1752, a petition to the Lords of Trade and Plantation was blocked by the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) concerning merchants wanting to start up activity in Labrador.²⁹ In fact, in 1669 the HBC was granted a charter for exclusive trading privileges by King Charles II of England for Rupert’s Land, which included all lands from where bodies of water emptied into the Hudson Strait or Bay. Labrador fell under this wide description of the HBC’s territory. The HBC was able to exert some control over the territory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This had no real impact on Labrador in terms of actual administration of the territory, and the practice of seasonal exploitation of coastal resources continued much in the way it had before, with the exception of some intervention by the HBC.³⁰ It is also worth noting that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the HBC post at Cartwright became an increasingly important economic centre, as did its post at Sandwich Bay and North West River. While the HBC is an important British institution in relation to

²⁹W. Gosling, *Labrador, Its Discovery, Exploration and Development* (London: Alston Rivers, Ltd, 1910), 129-130. During this time the French exerted control over Labrador and Quebec.

³⁰J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 19.

Labrador, it did not shape the pattern of life in the same way that the many smaller mercantile activities did throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³¹ Rather, the HBC must be seen as characteristic of British treatment of the region in that the trading company saw Labrador as a place from which to extract resources.

The first major imperial power to start carving up Labrador and exploiting the territory in a systematic way were the French, who, beginning in 1702, granted a seigneurial concession to Augustin La Gardeur de Courtemanche. This concession marked the beginning of over half a century of French explorers on the coast of Labrador. French adventurers conducted seasonal and year-round operations that employed settlers from Europe as well as local Aboriginal peoples. These explorers faced many hardships and frequent raids on their trading posts from both the Innu and Inuit. The French established a precedent of competition between firms, friendships and conflict with Aboriginal peoples and the key locations that would be important trading posts throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³² Localized competition developed in the eighteenth century in Labrador between individual merchants. While this local competition was developing, international competition was ongoing and Labrador became a disputed territory between Britain and France.

In 1763, at the conclusion of the Seven Years War, New France fell. Under the Treaty of Paris Labrador returned to British control, beginning an era that continues into

³¹Ibid., 100-102, 140. In his 1849 report, Bishop Feild indicated that he wanted to establish a third mission at Sandwich Bay, but due to finances and the search for necessary personnel, it was not established until 1885, which is after the period of this study. E. Feild, "A visit to Labrador in the Autumn of MDCCCXLVIII by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland," 1849, Accessed June 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg19.html>.

³²J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 20-23.

the period of this study. The roots of British Imperialism in the region of Southern Labrador had already been established in 1669; now British adventurers followed the patterns established by the French. During this time (the 1760s and early 1770s) control over Labrador was given to Newfoundland.³³ Governor Hugh Palliser asserted his authority over Labrador on 8 April 1765 by having Labrador unilaterally declared to be Crown property in response to a move by Quebec Governor Murray that attempted to grant Quebec merchants permission to establish a seal fishery at Cape Charles.³⁴ Palliser made several attempts to establish control over Labrador for the purpose of facilitating trade, and his attempts to exercise authority over Labrador included building Fort York at Pitt's Harbour, Chateau Bay. The fort had limited use and was abandoned in 1775, one year after Quebec assumed jurisdiction over Labrador.³⁵ Palliser also developed a relationship with the Moravian missionary Jens Haven and others in an attempt to establish peaceful relations with Inuit and create conditions for peaceful trade as well as confining Inuit to the north so that they would not interfere with the development of a ship fishery of the British in Southern Labrador.³⁶ Desire on the part of the Moravians to obtain proper land grants from the British crown caused a lengthy delay. The Moravians, the oldest Protestant church in Europe, were in 1749 by Parliament recognized as an

³³Ibid., 24. Following the Seven Year War Labrador was administered first by Newfoundland from 1764-1774, then by Quebec from 1774-1809, and finally, from 1809 onwards to present day, Labrador is a part of the province of Newfoundland.

³⁴Ibid., 26.

³⁵Ibid., 25-27.

³⁶H. Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador: Studies from a Symposium held in Makkovik and Hopedale Labrador* (2002). It took until 1771 for the Moravians to establish their first mission (Nain). This was due to extensive negotiations about land grants. The significance of the persistence of the Moravians in obtaining land grants was to ensure the necessary space for Inuit to secure their subsistence as well as to have enough space to keep the Inuit isolated from other colonists. For more specific information about the Land grants, see H. Rollmann, "The Labrador Land Grants of 1769 and 1774," in *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador*, 104-131.

“Ancient Protestant Episcopal Church.” Their desire to establish a mission in Labrador was related to their successful establishment of missions among the Inuit in Greenland. The significance of the establishment of the mission in northern Labrador was twofold: first it marked the beginning of over two centuries of Moravian presence on Labrador’s north coast, and second, it was demonstrative of the role religion would play as a tool for furthering imperial economic policy. Given the specific colonial context of the Moravian missions, it is significant that the British government supported them. Palliser’s actions reflect the ability of religion to be used as a social organizer and shape the identity of the Aboriginal population by integrating people into a wider colonial community. The British support shows that the colonial government saw Christianity as instrumental in forging a colonial community amenable to trade.

During the 1770s, Labrador was administered by Quebec, whose merchants, “calculated Labrador’s worth primarily in seal oil... .”³⁷ These merchants knew that success in Labrador depended upon the pattern of year-round settlement and was connected to the pattern of resource availability. Beginning in the 1770s, British citizen Captain George Cartwright followed the French pattern and stayed on the coast year-round for the purpose of exploiting the seasonal resources as well as protecting his trading operation. Cartwright left behind an extensive journal detailing his activities on the coast for seventeen years (not consecutive).³⁸ The journal highlights the competition that

³⁷J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 25-26.

³⁸G. Cartwright, *Journal Of Transactions and Events, During A Residence Of Nearly Sixteen Years On The Coast Of Labrador: Containing Many Interesting Particulars, Both Of The Country And Its Inhabitants, Not Hitherto Known* (Newark: Allin and Ridge, 1792).

characterized settlement in Labrador and also sheds light on how the population that formed in Southern Labrador was being made up by settlers from Britain, Ireland and Newfoundland. In his journal, Cartwright wrote about the practice of intermarriage between Inuit women and European men. He also indicated that many sexual relationships were taking place outside of marriage and resulted in numerous children.³⁹ The significance of this early stage of British imperialism is that the British roots in Labrador were economic in nature because the impetus for settlement was based on gaining profit from the colonial resources. Community formation was driven by the need to exploit resources and the lack of available European women in Labrador.

Kennedy frames the early British period as a tale of explorers who competed for resources and manpower to make a living on the coast of Labrador.⁴⁰ From its earliest period, British imperialism was concerned with resource extraction. Despite alternating jurisdictions from Britain, to France, to Britain, the treatment of the territory remained the same, since the settlement pattern was rooted in the economics of resource exploitation. Merchant firms were key drivers of settlement as they actively imported men for labour.⁴¹ Labrador's place in the empire, as a source for resources, was not that different from Newfoundland. But Newfoundland developed a social infrastructure and had a naval

³⁹M. P. Stopp, *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 24-33. Stopp indicates that research into Moravian sources reveals the possibility that Cartwright had a child with an Inuit woman.

⁴⁰J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 24-46.

⁴¹G. Handcock, *Soe Longe as there comes noe women: Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland* (Milton: Global Heritage Press, 2003), 205, 208, 240, 277-281. In his magisterial study, Handcock notes that merchants drove the influx of population through importing workers from various places in England. Predominantly much of the population came from South Devon and Wessex, the hinterland of Pool (including Dorset-West, Hampshire-South and Summerset). He concludes that the Newfoundland case is connected to Labrador due to merchant firms like Bird and Poole, both of whom had houses in both places.

governor since 1729. While social infrastructure is not a legal marker of colonial status, it indicates that territory was being invested in and was seen as a base of power.

Infrastructure development is a method for developing and ordering communities, a means of dictating how geographical space is defined and organized. Thus, the question can be asked: what exactly did Labrador become through its early encounters with Europeans, especially the British?

2.4 The Colonial Context of Labrador

Labrador was politically not a colony. It was a territory or, more accurately, a colonial locale governed through two other colonies, Newfoundland and Quebec. It is worth noting that Newfoundland was originally a colonial locale like Labrador; however, in 1824 it became a crown colony, and, prior to that, a civil and social infrastructure developed. After the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Labrador remained firmly under British control as a territory attached either to Quebec or Newfoundland.⁴² Labrador's colonial status in relation to the colonies of Newfoundland and Quebec differed. Labrador, while a defined territory on a map, had no administrative infrastructure. There was no governor of Labrador, no naval government, and ⁴³no justices of the peace. In terms of Britain's development of its colonies, putting into place elements of social infrastructure was common practice. ⁴⁴ Making colonies was a purposeful act on the part of the British

⁴²J. Hiller, "Eighteenth-Century Labrador: the European Perspective," in Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings*, 40-42.

⁴³J. Bannister, *The Rule of the Admirals* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

⁴⁴P. Doll, *Revolution, Religion and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745-1795*, (Fairleigh: Dickinson University Press, 2000). As is demonstrated in this book, the situation in Nova Scotia in the 18th and 19th centuries was difficult for the British due to conflict with the French and local Aboriginal groups. The response of the British was to put in place increasing infrastructure and to

government. Britain chose strategic land and resource bases for the purpose of checking other colonial powers. In fact, the story of the development of both Quebec and Newfoundland share similar themes. Both places were invested with British infrastructure for the purpose of checking the French and controlling resources and important Atlantic ports. Newfoundland developed slowly into a colony, receiving its first governor in 1610, (this settlement was transitory and vanished by mid-century, and it was not until 1729 that a more stable governance structure developed) two hundred and fourteen years before it gained crown colony status in 1824. The slow development of a civil infrastructure, combined with an increasing development of an ecclesiastical infrastructure (Newfoundland became a diocese in 1839) indicated an investment in Newfoundland by the British. However, whereas Newfoundland was slowly developed, there was no pattern of development civil or religious in Labrador for a long time.

During the period when Quebec (1774-1809) controlled Labrador, it was the merchant class who actively exploited the Labrador coast.⁴⁵ Under Newfoundland's short governance of Labrador after the Treaty of Paris (1763-1774), Governor Hugh Palliser supported the Moravian missionaries in obtaining land grants to establish a mission among the Inuit on the northern coast of Labrador. Palliser's rationale was that the missionaries would confine the Inuit to the north and make them more amicable, thus facilitating trade through reducing violence from both merchants and Inuit.⁴⁶ Labrador's

place a special emphasis on developing the Church of England as option instead of Roman Catholicism, which was tied to the French.

⁴⁵J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 26-28; W. Gosling, *Labrador*, 25-26.

⁴⁶J. Hiller, "Eighteenth-Century Labrador: the European Perspective," in Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings*, 40-42.

colonial status during the nineteenth century was defined again and again by merchant interest.⁴⁷ In fact, the little civil infrastructure that existed in Labrador, such as the circuit courts and tax collectors, were connected to the Newfoundland legislature and operated intermittently. Labrador merchants such as Slade also protested the Newfoundland legislature's authority to collect taxes because Labrador had no representation in the House of Assembly.⁴⁸ Prior to Church of England missions, Labrador, because of its colonial status, did not have any social and political infrastructure.

2.5 Battle Harbour and Forteau

This study, as stated in the introduction, focuses on the two Anglican missions of Battle Harbour and Forteau. These two communities were chosen for the location of the first Labrador Church of England missions, because they were economic centres and drew people to them for work. Yet, despite being centres of commercial activity, these larger communities did not possess a colonial infrastructure. Rather, inhabitants who lived there permanently and those who dwelled on a seasonal basis⁴⁹ were dependent upon merchants to provide them with employment or any aid they needed.⁵⁰ It is

⁴⁷J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 74–82. Labrador merchants' interests dominated discussion about Labrador. In fact, there was even conflict over having to pay duties to Newfoundland as visiting American fishers conducted illicit trade on the coast of Labrador and cut into local merchants' profits. Though the Labrador merchants would continue to pay duties, efforts were made to stem the tide of American free trade and force them to pay duties as well. Merchants' profits were the issue, not inhabitants' access to affordable goods.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 112–121.

⁴⁹J. E. Miller-Pitt, "Battle Harbour," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador Vol I*, 145–147; J. E. Miller-Pitt, "Forteau," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador Vol II*, 333–337; R. D. W. Pitt, *Battle Harbour 1848–1900*; P. Thornton, "Dynamic Equilibrium Population and Ecology in the Strait of Belle Isle, 1840–1940."

⁵⁰J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 24–46. While it is important to understand the inhabitants' dependence upon employers, it is also important to understand that in the context of a harsh environment, disorganized

important to keep in mind the wide range of territory that included well over twenty small communities and fishing places.⁵¹ Battle Harbour was the centre of over two hundred miles of coastline and Forteau covered seventy miles, and both encompassed some territory on the Newfoundland side of the Strait of Belle Isle. These territories had several communities and small fishing places. Communities consisted of many families and were large or small hubs for one or more economic activity; they also usually had merchant firms or merchant operations. Small fishing places, however, consisted of few families and were not centres of economic activity. Rather, inhabitants resided in these small places by carrying out some subsistence-based activities and often working in larger nearby communities for merchant firms. An example of this, as can be seen from the corpus of missionary reports and letters of Battle Harbour, would be Venison Island, a community where the merchant firm Slade was carrying out activities. While this place was a small community, Hutchinson and Disney also described people as living nearby in a little harbour called Venison Tickle.⁵²

Battle Harbour is recorded in many early sources, including Cartwright's journal, as a summer fishing hub. It was home to the merchant house of John Slade, who was

and sometimes violent economic competition made worker retention and recruitment a difficult matter that at times undermined and bankrupted merchant firms.

⁵¹Feild, "A visit to Labrador in the Autumn of MDCCCXLVIII by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland," 1849, Accessed June 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg19.html>. In Later missionary reports the numbers for Battle Harbour fluctuated between 50-70 and for Forteau 20-40. The number of communities and small fishing places appears to be influenced by season, success of economic activities, and happenstance.

⁵²G. Hutchinson, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G., {Fall 1858}, 5pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series 9B, Original Letters Received. [This date has been inferred from the content of the letter]. In this letter Hutchinson described Venison Islands as a small community and initially expressed hope the inhabitants could come to St. Francis Harbour for services and schooling for their children. Hutchinson noted that the people did not think that they would be able to send their children and hoped to build a small schoolhouse themselves.

from Poole, England. Slade established his presence in Battle Harbour in 1773, building up a firm that continued well into the nineteenth century. He recruited men from Dorset and conducted business in many places in Newfoundland and Labrador, such as Fogo, Twillingate, Western Head, Change Islands, Conche and Battle Harbour. John Slade was well established in the Newfoundland fishery before he became involved in Labrador. He focused mostly on marine resources,⁵³ though he did expand into furs.⁵⁴ The significance of the Slade firm for Battle Harbour is that it demonstrates the economic influence on a pattern of seasonal economic competition that dominated the lives of the inhabitants of Labrador.

Discussion of the history of Battle Harbour in literature is completely preoccupied with its economic history, and hardly discusses the influence of the Church of England during the late nineteenth century. The only historical source without a pure economic focus is Bishop Feild's account about the poverty and neglect in Labrador. However, it is important to note that Feild was encouraging the Church of England and the S.P.G. to give him more financial support to expand his diocese. The preoccupation of literature on economic history shows that the people of Battle Harbour worked and lived in a context totally dependent upon and shaped by outside economic forces.⁵⁵

Calvin Poole's *Catucto*, draws on the Moss Diary of 1832 as well as on personal research and oral history and creates a narrative that shows economic activities in their cultural context, allowing the reader to understand more vividly life experience in

⁵³R.H.C, "John Slade," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol II, 203.

⁵⁴Baine, Johnston & Co (Battle Harbour) Fonds, 1.05.001,002,003. Baine and Johnston bought out Slade in 1871.

⁵⁵J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 234- 244.

Southern Labrador. He also shows cultural traditions such as Christmas celebrations (which included drinking, much to the missionaries' dismay), winter activities, including garment making from furs, and travel narratives that include both everyday examples and those filled with exceptional danger.⁵⁶ Poole describes life during times when there was no specific merchant-driven pursuit, as giving a sense of freedom to Labradorians. This book shows how economic activities were carried out in multiple communities and that inhabitants regularly travelled,⁵⁷ a fact confirmed by other historians and the Labrador missionaries. *Catucto*, however, is partly fiction so that it reflects a historical reconstruction of life experience and cultural activities, but does not narrate a detailed history of Battle Harbour.

The case of Forteau is similar to Battle Harbour. Historical literature records economic activity at Forteau by the Basque whalers in the early sixteenth century.⁵⁸ Because of its excellent harbour and location in the Strait of Belle Isle, Forteau was a popular community that played host to many merchant firms throughout the nineteenth century, including DeQuetteville (Jersey) and Joseph Bird Firm,⁵⁹ later known as Ellis Firm (Dorset), and Da Hume and Janvers (Jersey). According to Heather Wareham, there

⁵⁶C. Poole, *Catucto: Battle Harbour, 1832-1833* (St. Anthony: Bebb Publishing, 1996); Browne, *Where the Fishers Go: The Story of Labrador* (New York: Cochrane Publishing Company, 1909), 238-247; Battle Harbour Historic trust, "Welcome to Battle Harbour, Labrador," Pamphlet 3 pages. [Date unlisted cir. 1990]; "Moss Diary. 1832." Remarks at Battle Harbour from 9th Feb. to 1832 7 Sept. 1832. GN P3/B/3. PANL.

⁵⁷C. Poole, *Catucto: Battle Harbour, 1832-1833*, 53-89.

⁵⁸J. E. Miller Pitt, "Forteau," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador Vol II*, 333-337.

⁵⁹"Inventory and Account Books, 1838-1844, Letterbook, 1836-1844." in Bird Collection Vol 69, 2-5-4-8, MHA; Bird Collection. "Miscellaneous, 1838-1844." Vol 70, 2-5-4-9, MHA; Bird Collection. "Inventory and Account Book, 1824-2844." Vol 71. 2-4-5-10, MHA. Bird conducted its operations in Labrador out of Forteau, however the firm also had operations at Seal Island (Battle Harbour mission) and Anchor Point.

were nine merchant firms in Forteau in the mid-eighteenth century.⁶⁰ Forteau was also reputed to be a place frequented by British warships for fishing and patrolling. In fact, H.M. Lilly sank off Forteau near a more treacherous part of the harbour called L' Anse aux Morts.⁶¹ According to Lieutenant Edward Chappel, the merchant firms of Forteau were highly competitive.⁶² Forteau was well known for its fishery, and in the summer, like Battle Harbour, its population swelled with visiting fishers and increasing economic competition. The significance of this review of literature is that, once again, we see community life in the Southern Labrador context as centered and dominated by economic activity.

Drawing on the writings of Reverends Gifford and Botwood, Forteau was somewhat divided physically, and at times, general animosity existed between merchants from Jersey and other places in England. The Jersey merchants reportedly inhabited the side of the bay across from English Point.⁶³ Forteau was also a place with a long history of conflict between Aboriginal people of the region and settlers. This was linked once again to economic competition and trade of limited and contested resources.

⁶⁰H. Wareham, *A Guide to the Chancery in the Maritime History Archive*, F.A. #28, July 24th 1989, MHA, see Appendix A.

⁶¹P. Browne, *Where the Fishers Go: The Story of Labrador*, 221-223.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 335.

⁶³E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 1860- June 1861, 77pg, E8," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 51-52; A.Gifford, "Quarterly Report Ending March 31st, 1855, 9pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 6-7. It is important to note two things in relation to these sources. First, they also record amicable relations with unspecified persons from Jersey. Second, these sources are heavily biased in recounting that tension was created because of the lack of support that merchants from Jersey gave to the Church of England missionary activities, as well as their possible prioritizing of economic activity over religious activities like not working on Sunday. This contributed to the Labrador missionaries' depiction of them as irreligious and unfriendly. It is important to note that the firm DeQuetteville, a Jersey firm, was on very friendly and cooperative terms with the Church of England. DeQuetteville, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. April 10th 1850, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received.

Battle Harbour, Forteau and their surrounding communities fit Kennedy's economic model for Labrador. A record of the fisheries in the Strait of Belle Isle, in 1826, indicated that many of the communities included in the missions had posts from merchant firms. These communities were organized around an economic model and grew because of increased economic development fueled by investment from European and Newfoundland merchant firms.⁶⁴ Employment brought much of the male population to Labrador, where they lived in a scattered settlement pattern based around merchant interests.⁶⁵ In order to understand Battle Harbour and Forteau as the choice sites of the first Anglican missions, one needs to look no further than Bishop Feild's assertion that "the merchants and their agents [were found to be] all well-disposed" toward the Church of England.⁶⁶ These two centres were thus driven by economic activities for the profit of people from outside of Labrador; however, they also fit Feild's model for gaining local financial support from wealthy merchants for the Church of England.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ "Report of the Fisheries carried on in the Gulf of St Laurence on the Islands therein also on the coast of Labrador and in the Straits of Bellisle visited by 100 Tun Brig Contest between the 22nd of August and the 2nd of October 1826." P4/17 Misc. Box 17, PANL. Firms were engaged in many small communities and often in multiple communities simultaneously. Some examples include Slade who had posts at Battle Harbour, Hawkes Bay and Venison Island (inferred from missionary letters); Hunt had posts at St. Francis Harbour and L'Anse aux Loup. Also many small communities hosted multiple firms, for example Chimney Tickle (often referred to as just Chimney) hosted Saul Gooden from Newfoundland and Josh Handcock; at Batteau there was John Dawe and Bonnell both of whom were from Brigus, Newfoundland. This pattern is also evident in earlier materials. "(Gosling papers) handwritten copy of a report or letter from an officer of Governor Shuldham's Squadron in 1773, describing the Northern part of the Coast of Labrador: undated," in Patrick Thomas McGrath Fonds. MG. 8.130/PANL.

⁶⁵ G. Handcock, *Soe Longe as there comes noe women: Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland* (Milton: Global Heritage Press, 2003), 205, 208, 240, 277-281.

⁶⁶ Feild, "A visit to Labrador in the Autumn of MDCCCXLVIII by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland," 1849, Accessed June 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg19.html>.

⁶⁷ Finances were a major concern for Bishop Feild, especially that the missions and parishes of his diocese become financially self-sufficient. S. Sanderson, "How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876)," 53-57. Feild's goals for financial self-sufficiency will be explored shortly, however they are important here because they show the ties between the Church of England and colonial society. The church's goal was to achieve the same

2.6 Conclusion: An Exploited Region and A Neglected People

Southern Labrador was a region valued in terms of its resources. European colonists, especially the British who came to control Labrador in the nineteenth century, gave land grants and allowed explorers to go out and profit from Labrador. This pattern of exploitation was evident in the communities of Battle Harbour and Forteau and the many smaller surrounding communities. Communities were built around resource centers, and the population swelled and migrated with availability of resources. In comparison to its neighbours, Newfoundland and Quebec, Labrador had not developed any local infrastructure to support the inhabitants who came to participate in Britain's new imperial economy. The result of this pattern of exploitation was that the people were neglected. This study characterizes neglect as the purposeful actions of the British government to exploit an area for resources and encourage workers to settle or go as temporary servants without investing in any civil infrastructure to support the developing colonial population. People came to work for merchant firms or worked independently without being tied to a larger firm. Kennedy argues that Southern Labradorians were unable to achieve economic independence because of the overpowering influence of outside economic factors on life in Southern Labrador.⁶⁸ In fact, the little legislation passed in Newfoundland about Labrador was aimed at either taxing Labradorians or providing some support for annually visiting Newfoundland fishers. In 1835, residents of Esquimaux Bay and Sandwich Bay

status it had in England, where it was able to sustain itself and grow with the support of the population, especially the upper classes and government.

⁶⁸ J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays and Headlands*, 234-244.

wrote a letter that petitioned Governor Prescott to oppose a bill that would undermine Labradorians' authority over the salmon fishery and also, in the same letter, complained that they did not have a voice in the Newfoundland legislature. While Prescott appears to have dropped the bill, he did note in his letter to Lord Glenelg that Labrador was, contrary to the residents' opinions that they were under the authority of the King in Council, under Newfoundland's legislative authority; this was reconfirmed in 1864, by the Newfoundland House of Assembly, in an effort to effectively collect taxes in Labrador.⁶⁹

The result of such neglect created a gap in social infrastructure that left the local inhabitants neglected and in want of services that were provided in other colonies.⁷⁰ This gap in services had implications for the Church of England, in that it would supply such services through its ecclesiastical structure. Education, limited medicine, religious services, marriages, baptisms and funerals were provided by missionaries during the colonial era. But to take advantage of such church-administered aid, Labrador needed to become part of the Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda, while its de facto exclusion heightened the one-sided economic exploitation of land and people. In what follows we will try to understand the process through which the Church of England worked with the

⁶⁹Prescott, H. "Governor Prescott to Lord Glenelg, May 24th 1836." National Archives of Canada, MG 11 C.O. 194/94 Reel B-540 at 332 et ff.; Prescott, H. "Governor Prescott to Lord Glenelg, June 29th 1836." National Archives of Canada, MG 11 C.O. 194/94 Reel B-540 at 332 et ff.; Residents of Esquimaux Bay. "Petition of the residents of Esquimaux Bay To His Excellency Henry Prescott Esp., C.B., Governor [of Newfoundland], September 16th 1835." National Archives of Canada, MG 11 C.O. 194/94 Reel B-540 at 332 et ff.; Residents of Sandwich Bay. "Petition of the residents of Esquimaux Bay To His Excellency Henry Prescott Esp., C.B., Governor [of Newfoundland], September 15th 1835." National Archives of Canada, MG 11 C.O. 194/94 Reel B-540 at 332 et ff.; J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays*, 74-76, 115.

⁷⁰A. Gifford "The Labrador Mission: Letters of the Rev. H. P. Disney and the Rev. A. Gifford," *Church in the Colonies* 26, (1851): 8-17.

British government to create communities that were loyal through establishing its ecclesiastical infrastructure in colonies.

Chapter 3

The Church of England and British Imperialism: The Creation of the Labrador Missions

The thing most resembling a Church in this locality, is a beautiful iceberg, with a tower, and buttresses, and pinnacles complete.⁷¹

Bishop E. Feild, 1848

3.1 Introduction: Anglicanism: A Social Organizer with Imperial Power

When looking at the history of the Church of England it is evident that it played a prominent role in organizing British society. The physical presence of the Anglican Church was manifested in its ecclesiastical structure. This ecclesiastical structure was further organized locally into dioceses and parishes. The network of churches and clergy were supported financially by the crown and local populations. From its creation, the Church of England was connected with the crown as the official religion of the nation. The connection between the Church of England and the crown as the national religion gave it and its members social power. The church provided religious services such as baptisms, marriages, funerals and by delivering education. Church-schools taught religion alongside other subjects like reading, writing and arithmetic. The relationship between the clergy and laity in England is a large field of study. Scholars such as Jeremy Gregory, Vivane Barrie-Curien, Peter Doll, Peter Nockles, and Richard Vaudrey have established that the Church of England was the key provider of a religious and social infrastructure in

⁷¹E. Feild, "A visit to Labrador in the Autum of MDCCCXLVIII by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland," 1849, Accessed June 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg19.html>.

England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷² The building up of an Anglican presence was rooted in the interest of maintaining the church's place in society and function as an integrator of people into the British and Church of England's religious community.⁷³

The Canadian Atlantic region was an early focus for resource exploitation. The extracting of resources for economic profit, especially in Newfoundland, required year-round settlement. The challenges of year-round settlement included forming relationships with Aboriginal peoples. The Church of England, from the beginning of colonialism in British North America (BNA), was interested in converting and civilizing "heathens." It also saw itself as being in competition with other forms of Christianity. P. Doll and J. Grant suggest that the conversion of Aboriginal peoples was religiously and politically motivated, because conversion to the Church of England meant that local Aboriginal peoples would be loyal to the British whereas conversion to Roman Catholicism resulted in loyalty to France. Aboriginal peoples participated in colonial conflicts throughout

⁷²V. Barrie-Curien, "The Clergy in the diocese of London in the eighteenth century," in *The Church of England c.1689-c.1833 From Toleration to Tractarianism*, ed. J. Walsh, C. Haydon, S. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); P. Doll, *Revolution, Religion and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745-1795* (London: Associated University Press, 2000); J. Gregory, "The eighteenth-century Reformation: the pastoral task of Anglican Clergy after 1689," in *The Church of England c.1689-c.1833 From Toleration to Tractarianism*, ed. J. Walsh, C. Haydon, S. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); P. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1979; R. Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire c. 1700-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); R. Vaudrey, *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

⁷³P. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*; A. Porter, "Church History, History of Christianity, Religious History: Some Reflections on British Missionary Enterprise since the Late Eighteenth Century," *Church History* 71,2 (2002): 553-584. The Tractarians expressed concern about the nature of the Church of England's connection with the British crown; thus, the issue of erastianism was a grave concern for the Tractarians, however the Church of England still maintained its connection to the British Crown throughout the 19th century and remained the national religion.

BNA, between France and Britain, often based on a sense of allegiance to the religion of an imperial power. Religious and national identity were linked in this period, and there was an immense focus on converting people to Anglicanism on the part of British governmental authorities and Church of England clergy.⁷⁴ Thus, from the onset of colonialism in BNA, the Church of England converted individuals and groups so as to include them into a wider colonial religious community for the purpose of ensuring their political loyalty.⁷⁵ The Church of England functioned in the Atlantic world as a social organizer because its members were interested in converting people for both religious and political reasons. The church's organizational power became politicized through the use of religion in forming social bonds and creating loyal communities in colonies and colonial locales.

From the onset of colonial exploration, Anglican clergymen were involved with Newfoundland. The first, according to Hans Rollmann, was likely Rev. William Leat, who in January 1622 was recommended to the Virginia Company on the basis of his prior Newfoundland experience, likely in the Cuppers Cove (Cupids) settlement.⁷⁶ From the

⁷⁴ J. Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia: 1783-1816* (London: England: S.P.C.K., 1972), 1-38.

⁷⁵ P. Doll, *Revolution, Religion and National Identity*, 35-92; J. Grant, *Moon Over Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

⁷⁶ H. Rollmann, "Anglicans, Puritans, and Quakers in Seventeenth-Century Newfoundland," *Avalon Chronicles* (1997). It is important to note that the theme of establishing Anglicanism in Newfoundland to combat Catholicism and provide for British citizens overseas was present in Thomas Bray's report: "Are Rome and Mecca, whose Sons are so apt to compass Sea and Land to gain Proselytes to Superstition and Folly, so regardless of their own People? And will it not then be more tolerable for that Tyre, and this Sydon, than for us, in the Day of Judgment? For if they had known the things which we do, the most rude and uncultivated of those Parts, which we possess, should not have remained uninstructed in the best Religion in the World. The Truth of it is, this Indifference of ours in Propagating the Religion which we profess to believe, in those Parts, where, as well our Power does enable us, as our Duty oblige us, to take some Care thereof...and as there will be need of at least Two to be sent for Newfoundland; so, upon the whole, it appears, that there are at present wanting no less than Forty Protestant Missionaries to be sent into all these Colonies. And the Necessity that there should be both so many, and those singularly well qualify'd

seventeenth century onwards there developed an increasing presence of Church of England missionaries in North America. After the foundation of the S.P.G. in 1702, missionary activity continued to increase in a more orderly fashion under the auspices of an officially sanctioned missionary organization. Earlier in the seventeenth century, propaganda literature was written to promote Anglicanism to Newfoundland, which gave also religious reasons for settlement. These works specifically addressed the need for Anglican clergymen to be provided for settlers and to convert “heathens.”⁷⁷ Literature promoting colonialism in Newfoundland envisions the Church of England as an important provider of a social infrastructure. The Church, with few itinerant missionaries, provided social and religious services, churches and schools.⁷⁸ To understand the concept of the Church of England as an organizational force in nineteenth-century society, it is important to establish two points. First, at this time Christianity was seen as the guiding force for society’s morals in England. Second, the status of the Church of England gave it a prominent and influential social role, which, as it became increasingly entrenched,

for the purpose,...” Thomas Bray, *A Memorial Representing the State of Religion on the Continent of North-America* (London: Printed by William Downing for Author, 1700) Accessed June 2014, <http://anglicanhistory.org/england/tbray/memorial1701.html>. Bray’s report was commissioned by Lord Henry Compton Bishop of London. This quote shows the long relationship that Anglicanism had with Newfoundland. This relationship was developed in part from the strong desire from members of the Church’s hierarchy to expand its presence in the colonies and service the settlers with schools and the services that the Church of England normally provided. This point was already argued by Richard Eburne earlier in 1624.

⁷⁷Two such pamphlets that invoked religion as crucial to imperial growth are R. Eburne, *A Plaine Way To Plantation* (London: printed by G.P. for Iohn Marriot, 1624); R. Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-land: with many reasons to prooue how worth and beneficiall a plantation...*, (London: Felix Kensington, 1623); L. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion 1558-1625*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 134-149. In the chapter, “The Preachers’ Plea for Newfoundland,” Wright discusses how Newfoundland and Eburne fit into the framework of 17th century colonialism. Wright shows throughout his book how religion was used as an ally and key tool used for establishing the British Empire.

⁷⁸G. (Peddle) White, “A History of S.P.G.-Supported Schools in Newfoundland: 1701-1827,” (2001, M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland).

influenced the people to join and contribute financially to building up the church.⁷⁹

The Church of England was an institution capable of defining the geographical space of colonies and colonial locales into communities.⁸⁰ Corrigan argues that religion has the ability to define geographic spaces into communities and give identity to those who live there. Anglicanism had the ability to shape communities through forming social bonds between persons and buildings. The Church of England, because of its nature as a religious institution and because of its historic importance and function in British society played a key role in colonialism by building an ecclesiastical infrastructure throughout colonies and colonial locales.⁸¹ The creation of a colonial diocese and missions, with their own ecclesiastical infrastructure shaped geographic spaces into a religiously meaningful territory. Within these colonial missions and parishes, people participated in the services of and became members of the church, which gave people an identity and defined their

⁷⁹H. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1950* (London: Billing Ltd., Guildford and Esher, 1951). In fact the Bishop of London was initially responsible for overseeing the expansion of missionary activity and Anglicanism in the British colonies prior to the establishment of the S.P.G.

⁸⁰J. Corrigan. "Spatiality and Religion," in *The Spatial Turn, Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Warf and Arias: 156-172. In this article Corrigan draws from Eliade and his work on sacred space. Drawing from Eliade, Corrigan asserts that religion as an entity has a quality that enables it to articulate space through its relationship with the concept of sacrality and through its social dimension. This notion relates directly to the Church of England because its institutional status in relation to the British Crown and normative role in British society gave it, its significant power and status as a social organizer. For more information on the history of Anglicanism in the nineteenth century and its social place and ties to the crown, see Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*; Nockles, and Brown, ed., *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930*.

⁸¹While British and colonial society is a very generalized category, it is appropriate here because this study is referencing the Church of England's place in society. It is important to note that Christianity is understood during this time as being deeply influential and formative for society. Although it is not without ideological alternatives that guided and influenced individuals' actions. For the purpose of this study, the nature of the Church of England, its place in British society and status makes the focus on Christianity as a guiding ideology appropriate. Furthermore, it is deeply important to consider the full potential of religion as geographic and social organizer since the Church was the first major colonial institution to enter and actively set itself up in Labrador. G. Levine, "On the Geography of Religion," *Transactions of British Geographers* 11, 4 (1986): 228-240; A. Ivakhiv, "Toward A Geography of "Religion": Mapping the Distribution of an Unstable Signifier," *Association of American Geographers* 96,1 (2006): 169-175.

communities. The Church of England actively sought to organize colonial societies and communities as it had done in Britain. The church sought to establish itself for the express purpose of converting all peoples, Aborigines and settlers, and including them into its religious community, which at that time was linked to the British national identity. The following discussion of the S.P.G. will show that the establishment of an ecclesiastical infrastructure was a national effort, connected to the crown, the Church of England's hierarchy and the wider British society.

3.2 The Society For The Propagation Of The Gospel: Financing Imperial Missionaries

In 1702 the S.P.G. was founded by Rev. Thomas Bray to remedy the poor state of the Church of England in the colonies. Bray had a previous history of fundraising for the Church of England and had also served as the Ecclesiastical Commissary for Maryland, which gave him first-hand exposure to American conditions. He also published *Catechetical Lectures* and sold subscriptions to raise money for books for the Church of England's poorer parishes in Great Britain. He was responsible over the course of his life for establishing many "Bray libraries" throughout the British Empire. Bray and others founded the S.P.G. after his initial success in fundraising. The Bishop of London at this time was responsible for all the Church of England's activities in the colonies. At the end of the seventeenth century, Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, requested a report on the Church of England in the colonies and commissioned Bray to research and write it. Shortly thereafter, King William III granted a charter and the S.P.G. became an

organization with two mandates,⁸² to provide aid to the Church of England in colonies, notably to missionaries already in the colonies, and to convert non-Christian peoples, primarily the Aboriginal inhabitants in the colonies.⁸³

The S.P.G. was actively engaged in a competition with other denominations from its incorporation. This included Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Quakers. In the North Atlantic, Roman Catholicism along with other “dissenting” churches were viewed as threatening to British rule. Thus, the purpose behind establishing and strengthening the Church of England in the colonies was to help fortify colonial ties.⁸⁴

The S.P.G. was supposed to provide for missionaries while they established themselves. The organization was tasked with raising funds from members of the Church in England and its colonies. Contributions were also made from members of the church’s hierarchy. Archbishop Tennison served as head of the S.P.G. and pledged 50 pounds annually.⁸⁵ The S.P.G. also received a grant from the crown to assist with their mission. The Society's administration maintained correspondence with missionaries in the colonies

⁸²Prior to founding the S.P.G., Thomas Bray initiated the founding of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), which focused on providing books and tracts and worked to help support charity schools that began to develop in the eighteenth century. After seeing the need for a separate society that would support missionary activity in the colonies, the S.P.G. was founded as a separate body in aid of overseas missions in cooperation with the most powerful members of the Anglican hierarchy. The Archbishop of Canterbury, at the time Thomas Tennison, was its first president. The S.P.G. was a formal society with stricter guidelines and charter. H. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1950*, 3-18. See also footnote five for more information about Bray’s report.

⁸³T. Bray, *A Memorial Representing the State of Religion on the Continent of North-America* (London: Printed by William Downing for Author, 1700); Samuel Clyde McCulloch, “The Foundation and Early Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 8,3 (May, 1945): 241-258. See especially page 254.

⁸⁴J. Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 81-106.

⁸⁵H. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1950*, 18-20. The connection of the S.P.G. administration to the hierarchy of the Church of England continued throughout the nineteenth century.

and provided them with salaries. The missionaries were supposed to receive support for a short time. Thereafter they were expected to establish themselves in a community. Then, with the assistance of glebe lands granted by the colonial administration and aid from their congregations, missionaries were expected to become self-sufficient. Glebe lands were supposed to be lands suitable for farming. Ideally, missionaries would receive glebe lands within the boundaries of their mission, which they would rent out for profit, to cover both the parish's and their own needs. According to Ruth Christensen, this system was a total failure in Newfoundland. Christensen explores this issue by showing how missionaries in Newfoundland greatly struggled to meet demands of financial independence from the S.P.G. Lack of suitable glebe land and poor congregations made this expectation seem unattainable in many parts of Newfoundland.⁸⁶

The salaries of the S.P.G. missionaries were determined on the basis of funds raised by the society and were limited because of increasing numbers of missionaries and a lack of financial resources. There was immense pressure upon missionaries to raise funds from their congregations and to become self-sufficient.⁸⁷ The relationship that missionaries had established with the S.P.G. was shaped by the financial concerns of both parties.⁸⁸ The S.P.G.'s nature as a financial institution meant that the missionaries were required to demonstrate need and justify their missions financially. The pressure for self-sufficiency is often noted but not fully considered. This study will explore the common

⁸⁶R. Christensen, "The Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703-1782," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 20, (1951): 207-229.

⁸⁷Ibid; S. McCulloch, "The Foundation and Early Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 8,3 (May, 1945): 241-258.

⁸⁸J. Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*, 81-106.

theme of attempted self-sufficiency in Labrador. The correspondence shows on the one hand that the relationships missionaries formed with the S.P.G. made them apologists for the poverty of the inhabitants, and, on the other, strove to accomplish the expected role of community integration.

This study argues that the S.P.G. can be understood as the organization that supported and enabled missionaries to reach remote places and visit with their congregations. The S.P.G. was the key financial support in the lives of Labrador missionaries, and, as a national organization supported by the crown and colonial British society, had the task of building up the Church of England as a bulwark against other denominations for the sake of colonial stability.

3.3 Tractarianism and the Expansion of Anglicanism in the Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda: Exploring Bishop Feild's Motives and Actions for Mission

To understand the arrival of Bishop Feild, we should first examine briefly the Church of England's establishment of the colonial Diocese of Nova Scotia and the Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda. The first colonial dioceses in North America were established in the recently independent United States of America (1783) and in Nova Scotia (1787). The new diocese of Nova Scotia encompassed the massive amount of territory that was British North America (BNA), including Newfoundland and Labrador. Prior to this there was a missionary presence throughout North America; however, the putting into place of the first colonial dioceses had the effect of further organizing the colonial territory of BNA. The British saw this as a means of increasing

loyalty and stability in BNA.⁸⁹ The first Bishop of the diocese of Nova Scotia was Charles Inglis; however, it was not until 1827 that under his son, the third bishop of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland received a visit. In fact, this visit was triggered by the S.P.G.'s concern about Anglicanism in the colony. The visit resulted in the realization of the need to improve the state of Anglicanism in Newfoundland by improving schools and training missionaries locally.⁹⁰ It also led to the appointment of an Ecclesiastical Commissary, Robert Leigh (the first effort to create an ecclesiastical infrastructure in Newfoundland), which eventually led to the creation of an independent diocese and the appointment of George A. Spencer, former missionary of Trinity, Newfoundland, as the first bishop in 1839.⁹¹

Bishop Spencer was an Anglican Evangelical⁹² who inherited a new diocese in which religious toleration existed and where he was forced to compete with other

⁸⁹ P. Doll, *Revolution, Religion and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745-1795*, 66-155.

⁹⁰ J. Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia: 1783-1816*, 1-38; H. Rollmann, "The Colonial Episcopate of Nova Scotia and the Newfoundland Missions," in *Frontiers Then and Now: The Canadian Anglican Episcopate 1787-1987* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1989): 26-32; J. Inglis, *An Account of the State of Schools In the Island of Newfoundland, Established Or Assisted by The Society For The Propagation In Foreign Parts* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1827) Accessed June 2014, <http://www.mun.ca/rels/ang/texts/inglis2.html>.

⁹¹ H. Russell, "Evangelicalism in the Anglican Church in Nineteenth-Century Newfound," (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2005), 77-82. While the early history of the Diocese of Newfoundland and Bermuda is outside the scope of this study, it is significant that it was the S.P.G. and the Church of England missionaries in Newfoundland who wanted a better ecclesiastical infrastructure. They desired to become more organized and better established so that they could compete with other denominations.

⁹² G. Spencer, *The Church of God, A Sermon On Acts XX. 28., Preached in The parish Church of St. John's, Newfoundland, On Good Friday, 1848* (London: Printed by J.W. McCobrey, 1842). Spencer also disliked Tractarians because he considered them to be too close in some of their practices to Roman Catholics. One practice in particular that he disliked was the Tractarians tendency to turn their backs to the congregation during the service, a practice Spencer saw as Roman Catholic and disrespectful to the congregation. He also greatly disliked their focus on tradition and ritual as opposed to teaching from the Bible. H. Russell, "Evangelicalism in the Anglican Church in Nineteenth-Century Newfound," (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2005), 79- 103.

denominations, namely Methodists and Roman Catholics.⁹³ Evangelicals within the Church of England were the other dominant group along with the Tractarians. They favored Georgian architecture, a difference from the Tractarian movement, which favored Gothic architecture and high altars that put the focus on the sacraments.⁹⁴ While an important part of the Church of England, they differed from the Tractarians in their emphasis on the bible, sacraments and ritual. As a group they were more cooperative with other denominations than the Tractarians. Yet, like the Tractarians they were also highly motivated to promote missions and spread their version of Anglicanism. They formed many religious voluntary organizations in the aid of benevolence and education as well as the Church Missionary Society (CMS).⁹⁵ Spencer, while an evangelical was concerned with putting Anglicans first, and under his influence the Newfoundland School Society excluded Methodists from positions of authority, yet, he was more cooperative than his successor would be.⁹⁶ To develop the training of clergy locally Spencer established a theological school in St. John's.⁹⁷ He saw clearly and articulated the difficulty of missionary life and the challenges that future Anglican clergymen would face.⁹⁸ Bishop

⁹³ M. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, Vol I* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1979), 337-426. Howley's history - which at times resembles hagiography - shows the growth of Roman Catholicism and its strong connection to Irish immigrants. The activities of Michael Anthony Fleming, the first bishop, and J. Mullock, the second, were a source of tension and a threat to colonial stability. In his history, Howley, whilst a former Roman Catholic Bishop, nevertheless clearly demonstrates the historical tensions that existed between the Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops Feild and Mullock. These tensions were rooted in religious, political and social differences.

⁹⁴ H. Russel, "Evangelicalism in the Anglican Church in Nineteenth-Century Newfound," 99-103.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ F. Jones, "Bishop Feild: Bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-1876," *Newfoundland Historical Society*, 1976, pamphlet #4, 10; H. Russell, "Evangelicalism in the Anglican Church in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland," 79-82.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 77.

⁹⁸ H. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild, D.D. Bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-1876* (London: W. Wells Gardner, 1877) Accessed June 2014, <http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/pricenf.html>. Here Tucker quotes Spencer as describing the necessary

Spencer left Feild a diocese that was growing, but was also facing immense competition for congregants and was wanting for clergy, churches, schools and finances.

Bishop Feild's educational background was Oxford University's Queen's college. He was a member of the Oxford Movement, members of which are sometimes referred to as "Tractarians." His intentions for the colonial diocese were shaped by Tractarian ideals, notably, the church's constitutional independence from government and self-sufficiency. Prior to his appointment as second bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda, Feild was ordained and served as an inspector of schools. His educational background and experience in setting up and running schools proved relevant for Newfoundland. Feild's diocesan goals and his Tractarian theology as explored in Sherri Sanderson's MA thesis, "How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876)." Frederick Jones' dissertation, "Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland," and Sanderson's thesis highlight Feild's commitment to Tractarian principles.⁹⁹ The movement sought to articulate its theological convictions in architecture,

qualities of a Newfoundland missionary. "The missionary in Newfoundland has certainly greater hardships to endure and more difficult obstacles to surmount than those which await the messenger of the Gospel in any field of labor yet opened to the known world. He must have strength of constitution to support him under a climate as rigorous as that of Iceland; a stomach insensible to attacks of sea-sickness; pedestrian powers beyond those of an Irish gossoon, and an ability to rest occasionally on the bed of a fisherman or the hard boards in a woodman's tilt. With these physical capabilities he must combine a patient temper, an energetic spirit, a facility to adapt his speech to the lowest grade of intellect, a ready power of illustrating and explaining the leading doctrines of the Gospel and the Church to the earnest though ill-informed inquirer, and a thorough preparation for controversy with the Romanist, together with the discretion and charity which will induce him to live, as far as may be possible, peaceably with all men."

⁹⁹S. Sanderson, "How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876)."; F. Jones, "Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland." Also, for a more contemporary perspective on Bishop Feild's life, see H. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild, D.D. Bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-1876* Accessed June 2014, <http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/pricenf.html>.

liturgy and pastoral conduct as well as evangelization and church expansion.¹⁰⁰

Tractarians saw the Church of England as the true apostolic church. Thus, mission had an important place because it rightfully served the expansion of the church and competed with other churches for the souls of people. This competitive dimension of the movement led to a lack of cooperation between the Church of England and other religious groups. The lack of willingness to cooperate with other denominations of Christianity contrasted Bishop Feild significantly with his predecessor, Bishop Spencer.¹⁰¹ Feild's mindset was that his diocese was located in a British colony and that the Church of England as a British expansion of a divinely instituted apostolic institution was the right religion for its inhabitants. Feild understood his political and religious role as one of having to build up his diocese and expand Anglicanism. His concern for the "wolves among the sheep" was connected to his position as a colonial bishop. Feild used this term often throughout his writing and with it is referencing preachers of other denominations and "potential" members of his congregation. This concern over "wolves" caused many controversies related to education and the distribution of money in Newfoundland.¹⁰²

The significance of Feild's Tractarianism was reflected in his building campaign, both in its architecture and in its scope.¹⁰³ Connected to his ambition to expand the

¹⁰⁰ P. Nockles, and S. Brown, ed., *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930*, 2-8; R. Strong, "The Oxford Movement and the British Empire: Newman, Manning and the 1841 Jerusalem bishopric," in Nockles, and Brown, ed., *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930*, 78-98.

¹⁰¹ M. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland Vol. II*, 68; F. Jones, "Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland."

¹⁰² See especially Feild's closing remarks and final plea to the S.P.G. and Bishop of London. E. Feild, "A visit to Labrador in the Autum of MDCCCXLVIII by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland," 1849, Accessed June 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg19.html>.

¹⁰³ P. Coffman, *Newfoundland Gothic*, 90-105.

Church of England's presence in his new diocese was his campaign to build "proper," gothic-styled churches. From Feild's viewpoint, churches through their specific architecture put the emphasis of the congregation's worship on the altar and sacraments. Feild's diocesan architect, Rev. William Grey was an Oxford graduate like Feild and a firm member of the Tractarian movement and the Cambridge Camden Society.¹⁰⁴ The concept of sacred space was important in Tractarian architecture and was rooted in the movement's assertion that the Church of England was the true apostolic church. The inhabitants of Bishop Feild's diocese were to become "proper" Christians through participating in the church.

Building churches was so important to Feild that after the 1846 fire in St. John's, he managed to secure a portion of the funds raised for relief to build the Anglican cathedral. As far as Feild was concerned, the money raised in England was from Anglicans and therefore should be used by Anglicans. While it may seem drastic that relief money for fire victims was appropriated for a new Anglican Cathedral, the action underscored the immense desire on the part of Feild to build up the Church of England in Newfoundland. It is also an example of the difficulty of funding new colonial building projects, as well as a demonstration of how motivated the Tractarian bishop was to look out for his own. From the beginning of his episcopate, Feild was concerned with advancing the Church. In his 1844 *Charge Delivered to the Clergy*, Feild's Tractarian

¹⁰⁴P. Leader, "The Hon. Reverend William Grey M.A.," (M.T.S. Thesis, Queen's College, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1998), 76-92. The Camden society was the leading architectural authority for the Tractarian movement. W. Grey, "The Ecclesiology of Newfoundland," in *Cambridge Camden Society, The Ecclesiologist, (New Series Vol XI) Volume XIV* (London: Joseph Masters Aldersgate St. & New Bond St., MDCCCL III; W. Grey, *Sketches of Newfoundland and Labrador* (Ipswich: S.H. Cowell, 1858). Grey designed two of the churches, to be discussed later, in Labrador: St. Peter's at Forteau and St. James at Battle Harbour. St. James is the only one of Grey's churches that remains standing.

convictions of uniformity in Church worship shine through and demonstrate his goal to build up the Church of England as the true and most *catholic* church in Newfoundland. He believed that this could only be done by following Tractarian principles.¹⁰⁵

Further indicative of Feild's Tractarian colonial ambitions was his expansion of Queen's College, the theological institution first established by his predecessor Bishop Spencer in 1842. Frederick Jones characterizes Queen's College as "a remarkable example of Tractarian semi-monastic ideals applied in a missionary situation."¹⁰⁶ Feild's first principal of the college was Rev. William Grey, who doubled as his diocesan architect and taught his students architecture by focusing on how to use wood to create worthy ecclesiastical monuments in the Gothic style. Grey chose wood because stone was rarely available. He also placed emphasis on the altar and baptismal font, evidencing a strong focus on the sacraments, as opposed to the pulpit. By placing the altar and baptismal font at the east end of the church in a prominent position, he signaled, by their spatial arrangement, their importance. Grey was a thoughtful principal, interested in training missionaries who would use Tractarian architectural principles throughout the diocese.¹⁰⁷ Patricia Leader, drawing in her thesis on the original correspondence of Grey, asserts that he considered clerical life for students at Queen's as totally committed and

¹⁰⁵E. Feild, *The diary of Bishop Edward Feild in 1844*, edited by Ronald Rompkey (St. John's: ISER, 2010), Appendix A 77-86, Appendix B 87-89, Appendix C 91-107. See especially appendix C for the full *Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese in 1844*.

¹⁰⁶F. Jones, "Bishop Feild: Bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-1876," *Newfoundland Historical Society*, 1976, pamphlet #4, 14; W. Grey, "The Ecclesiology of Newfoundland," in *Cambridge Camden Society, The Ecclesiologist, (New Series Vol XI) Volume XIV* (London: Joseph Masters Aldersgate St. & New Bond St., MDCCCL III). In this article, Grey notes that he teaches students at Queen's college about architecture, especially Tractarian architectural principles and how to carry them out using locally available materials, specifically wood.

¹⁰⁷H. Rollmann, "The Man With A Gothic Eye," *Telegram*, Sept. 16, 2007; P. Leader, "The Hon. Reverend William Grey M.A.," 95-105.

ascetic in nature. The whole day was planned and included physical activity and much walking; also living quarters were very bare and poorly heated. This was in keeping with Bishop Feild's intention of training missionaries for the hard life they would face in the actual missions.¹⁰⁸ Bishop Feild needed men ready for mission duty, who were hardy and not "sticks,"¹⁰⁹ so that they could handle physically demanding missions like the ones in the out-ports and in Labrador.¹¹⁰

3.4 Conclusion: Aboard The *Hawk*: Expanding Anglicanism into Labrador

I must now ask whether the Society will be able, as I am satisfied they will be disposed, to provide means to assist in conveying and securing to these poor people the blessings of our holy religion. I hope and believe that, with the blessing of God, 50 *l.* yearly given by the Society to each of the Missions at Forteau and Sandwich Bays, and 100 *l.* a-year to Battle Harbour, (200 *l.* a-year in all,) would be found sufficient to support, with the assistance of the people and merchants, the required staff in each place. But what I crave and cry for is, the right man for each place. I feel sure, if any man will have faith, and come, a decent maintenance, more than food and raiment, will be provided. But if you send men with 500 *l.* a-year, without faith and good courage, of what use would they be on the Labrador? The climate is healthy, fish abundant, the merchants and their agents all well-disposed, and the people sadly in need of teaching, and most willing to be taught; and as yet there is no opposition.

I am, my dear-----
Your affectionate friend and brother,

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 76-92; R. Kearly, *Queen's College 1841-1991* (St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1991), 5-14; J. Curling and C. Knapp *Historical Notes Concerning Queen's College, St. John's Diocese of Newfoundland 1842-1897* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1998), 12-20.

¹⁰⁹P. Leader, "The Hon. Reverend William Grey M.A.," 89; E. Feild, *Appeal From Newfoundland: To the Church and Christian Friends in England, June 17th 1851* (Eton, Printed by Rev. E. Coleridge, 1851), 1-4.

¹¹⁰ In fact, six out of eight of the Labrador missionaries were educated at Queen's. The only two not educated there were Reverends Disney and Hutchinson. J. Curling and C. Knapp, *Historical Notes Concerning Queen's College, St. John's Diocese of Newfoundland 1842-1897*, 65-66.

E. NEWFOUNDLAND.¹¹¹

The expansion of the Church of England into Labrador came about because of numerous factors. In the above quote Feild indicated that the people are in need of the Church of England; the inhabitants of Southern Labrador were without the typical infrastructure from which British citizens benefited. There is a strong sense of responsibility on his part and a direct implication that he feels the S.P.G and the Church in England are also responsible to these people. He also indicated the character of the men he was looking for. He wanted and needed hard workers who would be dedicated and indicated that they may not be able to be found in Newfoundland. Feild also noted that the upper-classes on which the Church of England relied were present to help shoulder the financial burden of missions. Elsewhere in his report Feild noted that “... the wolves are among them, *not sparing the flock*; and soon, we may expect *of their own selves will men arise...*”¹¹² He was concerned that the opportunity to make the people of Southern Labrador into members of the Church of England could be lost; and that other denominations would send missionaries. There is a sense of urgency in Feild’s report. This urgency shows that it was important to him, as a colonial bishop, to welcome people into the community of the Church of England before their hearts and minds were swayed by other denominations. There were Methodists who threatened the building of an Anglican church at Red Bay in the 1860s, and Roman Catholics throughout the Labrador missions.

¹¹¹E. Feild, “A visit to Labrador in the Autum of MDCCCXLVIII by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland,” 1849, Accessed June 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg19.html>.

¹¹²Ibid.

It was important for Feild and for the Church of England to send missionaries to Labrador to try and convert these people and establish the Church of England so that Labrador, a British colonial locale, was a part of England's official religious community. The preceding quote shows that Labrador was seen as an opportunity, a responsibility and a challenge. The experiences and actions of the missionaries that would serve in Labrador were shaped by this colonial context, and it is with this in mind that this study will now explore the actual conduct of the missionaries, their building activities, and their financial struggles.

Chapter 4

Religion and Community: Exploring Missionary Life in Southern Labrador

4.1 Introduction

The struggle to provide for an impoverished people is the narrative that can be garnered from the missionaries' writings about life in the missions of Battle Harbour and Forteau. This narrative of struggle is written from a colonial Tractarian perspective. Its foremost concern is with how the church can help improve the practical and spiritual welfare of missionary charges. To build up the church meant that missionaries needed to become part of Southern Labrador society. The two questions that this chapter will focus on are as follows: how did missionaries become part of the Southern Labrador communities, and how did they practice their religion with members of their congregation? One of the ways missionaries became part of their communities was through their travel. Battle Harbour and Forteau can be described as missions with very small satellite communities and fishing places. Missionaries had parsonages at the main centres of their missions (Battle Harbour and Forteau), but constantly travelled with the seasons. By being mobile, missionaries shared similar life experiences with their congregations and formed social bonds, the nature of which was shaped by the missionaries' religious convictions and the church's colonial role.

This chapter will explore the theme of how missionaries and their parishioners maintained links of piety and publically practiced religion by examining three elements of missionary life. First I will address the frequency of travel, by examining missionary travel patterns so as to understand the rhythm of missionary life. Second, I will explore

the relationships missionaries had with inhabitants who aided them in travel and requested them to come. Finally, this chapter will examine how this social integration through mobility fits the Tractarian paradigm of service and duty. Missionary activity in Southern Labrador was specifically aimed at fulfilling the colonial role of the Church of England. Before exploring these subjects and questions, it is necessary to provide a brief timeline of the two missions.

Timeline of the Forteau and Battle Harbour Missions

On Friday, 17 August 1849, with a carpet bag in hand,¹¹³ Rev. Algernon Gifford,¹¹⁴ after having been introduced to many communities by Bishop Feild, was dropped off by the church ship, the *Hawk*, on the shore of Forteau Bay to begin his missionary duties.¹¹⁵ In his first year-and-a-half he stayed with an agent of the Bird mercantile establishment, a Mr. George Davis.¹¹⁶ Davis is recorded as being a devout man with a reputation for holding prayers for local people and his own family.¹¹⁷ During 1849,

¹¹³E. Feild, "A Journal of a Visitation in the "Hawk" Church Ship, on the Coast of Labrador, and round the Whole Island of Newfoundland, in the year 1849." *The Church in the Colonies* 25, (July 1850), Accessed May 20th 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg25.html>.

¹¹⁴Six of the eight Labrador missionaries were educated at Queen's. The only two not educated there were Reverends Disney and Hutchinson. J. Curling and C. Knapp *Historical Notes Concerning Queen's College, St. John's Diocese of Newfoundland 1842-1897*, 65-66.

¹¹⁵The Forteau mission was technically called, "Mission of the Strait of Belle Isle." It encompassed approximately seventy miles on the Labrador coast and several more on the Newfoundland side. Missionaries struggled to visit this part of the mission, often only managing a few visits during the short summer season. Rev. R. T. Dobie in his letters from the 1870s indicated that the Newfoundland side should become its own mission. Later in the nineteenth century, over the course of the 1870s, Flowers's Cove on the Newfoundland side would become the headquarters of the Strait of Belle Isle Anglican mission. S.P.G. "Notes of the Work of Missionaries," *Mission Field* (Feb. 1870): 59. Here Flower's Cove is listed as the mission headquarters.

¹¹⁶P. Thornton, "The Transition from the Migratory to the Resistant Fisher in the Strait of Belle Isle," *Acadiensis* 19, 2 (1990): 104.

¹¹⁷A. Gifford, "The Labrador Mission: Letters of the Rev. H. P. Disney and the Rev. A. Gifford," *Church in the Colonies* 26, (1851): 8-17.

a parsonage was built and construction on St. Peter's Church, English Point, Forteau Bay, was commenced. Work on the church was finished by 1856 and it was consecrated in 1857. This church was designed by Rev. William Grey, Feild's diocesan architect.¹¹⁸ In the winter of 1850, Gifford traveled to England and returned to Labrador with his new bride Annie and his sister Mary. He left Forteau in the spring of 1858 and was succeeded by Reginald Johnson, who along with his wife stayed for only part of the summer and fall of 1859.¹¹⁹ Rev. Johnson was not a full priest, and so he did not perform Holy Communion at St. Peter's. He expressed optimism that a church could be built at Red Bay, a topic of frequent discussion during Gifford's time. Rev. Edward Botwood, former assistant to Rev. George Hutchinson in the Battle Harbour mission, noted in his first report that Rev. Wainright, a Quebec missionary, knowing the mission was vacant, had been paying visits to the people living there, taking his wife and children with him.¹²⁰

Botwood arrived in the late winter of 1860.¹²¹ His reports in particular expressed a great struggle with Methodism in Red Bay. It appears that Methodist preachers may have occasionally visited Labrador, especially since in the late 1850s the framework for a "Wesleyan Meeting House" was erected in Red Bay.¹²² The Anglican missionaries did not report any details about Methodist missionaries in Labrador directly. But Methodists

¹¹⁸ It is worth noting that this particular church was amusingly very permeable to snow and multiple times throughout Gifford's tenure he opened the doors after a blizzard to a pure white and later wet church. A. Gifford, "Annual Report, 1856, 16pg, E1," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 4-5.

¹¹⁹R. Johnson, "Annual Report, 1859, 4pg, E6," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

¹²⁰F. Buckle, *The Anglican Church in Labrador, 1848-1998*, 57-62. Botwood had a strong connection to Quebec, his wife Catherine Hall being a prominent Quebec family. By 1862 she had lost two small children in Labrador and for the rest of Botwood's tenure remained in Quebec. Botwood went on to become Archdeacon of Newfoundland in 1894.

¹²¹E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 6th 1860, E8, 43pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

¹²²Ibid., 20-21.

did visit Labrador and had an interest in establishing a mission there among the Aboriginal population in the early 1820s. Methodist preachers Thomas Hickson and Richard Knight made the visits. According to Nabboth Winsor, there were also visits in 1844 and 1845 by a Rev. J. S. Addy of Brigus and another unnamed missionary from Harbour Grace; however, after that Labrador was neglected by Methodists until later. In the late 1850s there was reportedly someone regularly visiting each summer and Winsor also mentions that chapels were built at several unnamed places and at Red Bay during that time. Winsor also indicates that in 1878 Red Bay and Hamilton Inlet in 1884 became Methodist mission centres; however, this is beyond the scope of this thesis.¹²³

By 1861, Botwood succeeded in having an Anglican church built at Red Bay; its bells rang for the first time on 2 June 1861.¹²⁴ During 1863, Hutchinson, after being away for the winter, noted that merchants of Forteau had helped alleviate the poverty and starvation of his flock because Rev. Botwood had asked the merchants of Forteau to provide aid. Rev. Botwood remained in the mission, without his family, until 1865. Rev. Robert T. Dobie was appointed in 1865 and, being eager to begin his work, paid himself for the passage of his family to Labrador, arriving there in the fall of 1866. Dobie and his family found the parsonage dilapidated and the people neglected. In prose overflowing with joy, Dobie noted in a letter, dated 17 September 1866, that Rev. Wainright, his “Brother missionary,” had been visiting the people of the Forteau mission from his post in

¹²³N. Winsor, “Methodism in Newfoundland 1855- 1884,” (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970), 57-58; Winsor, *Building on a Firm Foundation: A History of Methodism in Newfoundland, 1825 - 1955 Vol. II* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987), 36-46.

¹²⁴E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 1860- June 1861, 77pg, E8,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 68-69.

Quebec. Wainright, at Dobie's request, took part in the first service held at St. Peter's by Dobie. Wainright read to the people Dobie's official appointment to the mission and introduced him to many important people of the parish. Dobie's letters depict a great struggle, often discussed by other Forteau missionaries, to minister to the Newfoundland side of the mission. It was under Dobie that a building meant as a small chapel, but serving as a school during summer visits, was built at Flower's Cove by 1869. Dobie noted that in 1871 there had been plans to expand it. He remained at the Forteau mission until the end of the period of this study.¹²⁵

The Battle Harbour mission was started a year later than that of Forteau. It began in the fall of 1850 when Rev. Henry P. Disney, an Irish missionary from the Diocese of Armagh, gave up his parish of Merath to come to Labrador, after hearing that Bishop Feild was struggling to find men willing to go to Labrador. Disney spent the winters of 1850 and 1851 in Newfoundland, in the mission of Harbour Grace, Newfoundland. While there, he raised funds for the churches that were to be built at Battle Harbour (St. James, consecrated under Hutchinson, in 1857 and designed by Rev. William Grey) and at St. Francis Harbour. The church at St. Francis Harbour was the first to be consecrated in Labrador. It was consecrated during Bishop Feild's 1853 visit and received the name St. John the Baptist.¹²⁶ During 1851 he also began construction on a number of small houses

¹²⁵R. Dobie, "Report Sept. 17th 1866, 7pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; Dobie, "Report Sept. 22nd 1867, 6pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; R. Dobie, "Report Oct. 11th 1870, 7pg, E25A," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; R. Dobie, "Report Nov. 17th 1871, 6pg, E26A," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. This study officially ends in 1876 however, the missionary appointed in 1876, a Rev. Jefferys, left no letters or reports to be found for his short tenure in the mission. Therefore he will not be discussed.

¹²⁶H. Disney, "The Labrador Mission: Letters of the Rev. H. P. Disney and the Rev. A. Gifford," *Church in the Colonies*, 26 (1852): 3-7; E. Feild, *Journal of the Bishop of Newfoundland's Voyage of Visitation on the*

at Henley Harbour, Cape Charles, Cape Spear, Seal Island, and Venison Island to serve as schoolhouses, places to stay for the missionary instead of the small tilts of local people, and as a place to hold church services.¹²⁷ Disney remained in Battle Harbour, until 1853, at which time he returned to Ireland. His interest and passion for Labrador, however, did not fade for many years. In 1853 he resigned again his parish in Ireland and intended to come back with Rev. George Hutchinson (who was to be the new missionary at Battle Harbour) and start the mission at Sandwich Bay. This, however, did not happen, and a note passed on through a letter by Disney from the merchant firm of Hunt indicated that the firm was of the opinion that a mission was not financially feasible.¹²⁸ Hutchinson spent over fourteen years in the Battle Harbour mission, with only short breaks spent in Newfoundland. He showed great passion for his mission, establishing a school at Battle Harbour, which by 1866 employed a Mr. Skinner (whose full name is not given) as a fulltime schoolmaster.¹²⁹ Hutchinson also played the key role in establishing schools at

Coast of Labrador and the North-East Coast of Newfoundland in the Church Ship "Hawk" in the Year 1853 (London: S.P.G., 1854).

¹²⁷It is unclear if any of these buildings were ever finished, because Hutchinson does not mention them. Hutchinson, when traveling, often did not indicate where he spent the night, so it is possible that some were indeed completed and used. Also Disney did indicate that they were pretty much completed by 1851. H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Sept. 19th 1851, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received.

¹²⁸H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. May 6th, 1853, 4pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received; H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. June 1st, 1853, 4pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received. In this letter Disney quoted from the Hunt firm on page 3. The Hunt firm was the main merchant firm at Sandwich Bay.

¹²⁹N. Lewis, *After Icebergs With a Painter: A Summer Voyage to Labrador and Around Newfoundland* (London: Sampson Low, 1861). Hutchinson was also passionate about Labrador itself - and its beauty. Lewis's book recounts his adventure with an American painter who was interested in Icebergs. Lewis describes how they were able to sail to Labrador with Hutchinson and his catechist E. Botwood; Lewis describes numerous instances of their meeting with Hutchinson and his love of poetry and the landscape of Labrador. Lewis, like Hutchinson's student Rule, describes Hutchinson as a lover of the works of his uncle William Wordsworth and those of John Keble. Rule even describes Hutchinson as being a poet himself, quoting a short piece of his work in his own book. U. Rule, *Reminiscences of my Life* (St. John's: Dicks, 1927), 12-19.

Cape Charles (late 1850s- 1876) and Venison Island,¹³⁰ and in finishing the churches at Battle Harbour and Seal Island. During his time, he was also teacher and mentor to three catechists from Queen's College, Feild's theological school in St. John's: E. Botwood (1858-1859), who later became missionary at Forteau; W. Edwards, a man with a medical background (July 1860-1862); and U.Z. Rule¹³¹ (1863-1864), later missionary at Bay of Islands.¹³²

In 1867, Hutchinson fell ill and was replaced in 1868 by W.E. Wilson. Rev. Wilson was the first to bring a family to Battle Harbour. He preached and taught in the mission until 1869, and according to the Annual report of 1869, he and his young wife broke down due to the hardships of the "dreary and thinly peopled" mission.¹³³ Wilson had an aptitude for geography and, like his predecessor Hutchison, left a manuscript map of the mission. He also used his map-making skills to add geography to the subjects of mathematics, reading, and religious instruction taught in the school.¹³⁴ The last missionary that this study is concerned with is Rev. George Bishop. He arrived in 1871 and remained until 1878. Bishop's letters indicate that being a missionary in Labrador was still very much a struggle against poverty and the competition of other denominations. Bishop highlighted tensions with Methodists and other (the other group

¹³⁰G. Hutchinson, "Annual Return, Dec. 31st 1866, 2pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

¹³¹U. Rule, *Reminiscences of my Life*, 12-19.

¹³²G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending, Sept. 1860, 3pg, E3," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending Mar. 31st 1862, 3pg, E11," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending Dec. 30th, 1863, 2pg, E16," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

¹³³S.P.G. *Annual Report, 1869, 40*.

¹³⁴W. Wilson, "Report June 19th 1869, 5pg including 2 maps, E24," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. It is interesting to note that Wilson's map, unlike that of Hutchinson's, has an outline of his journey with different colours for winter and summer. He also indicated places where he held services and celebrated Holy Communion. Wilson's map lists fifty-five communities and fishing places.

he refers to were people who came with the Newfoundland fishers) religious opponents. He specifically described summer visitors from Newfoundland, who conducted “prayer meetings” in Battle Harbour when he was absent.¹³⁵ He indicated that there was still a day school at Battle Harbour and Cape Charles, which he visited when he could.¹³⁶ A letter from 1876 describes him as being in good health and working hard to carry out his spiritual labours. He described the people as poor and desiring access to Holy Communion more often. He also noted that numbers at services were gradually improving.¹³⁷

4.2 By Foot, Dog Sled, Boat, and Rackets: Exploring Missionary Mobility and Community Integration in Southern Labrador

Missionary travel was necessary, frequent, and occasionally dangerous. The only major deterrent to travel was stormy and freezing weather. There are frequent stories of missionaries getting caught in winter storms. One such story that was published in *Mission Field* in 1861 recounted Rev. Botwood getting caught in a fierce storm with George Lilly, Frederick Butt and Hector Snow, when leaving Riverhead via kammutik for Red Bay. A storm came on in the form of a blinding blizzard, but the dogs were able to pull the missionary and his companions through. Botwood recounted their survival as an act of providence. He wrote of a community anxiously awaiting their return, and he expressed gratitude for trusty dogs who got fed extremely well once they arrived

¹³⁵G. Bishop, “Midsummer Report, 1871, 3pg, E29,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

¹³⁶G. Bishop, “Annual Return, Nov. 1st 72- Nov. 1st 1873, 2pg, E28,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

¹³⁷G. Bishop, “Report, Nov. 6th 1876, E31,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

safely.¹³⁸ Hutchinson frequently recorded that he spent only a few weeks in Battle Harbour during the late winter, spring, summer, and early fall (March- November) of the year.¹³⁹

Battle Harbour and English Point, Forteau, were clearly the home bases of the missions, but there were many other important communities that are also frequently mentioned. In the case of the Forteau mission the communities visited were Red Bay, Blanc Sablon, L'Anse au Loup, Bradore, L'Anse aux Cortard, Flower's Cove and L'Anse Amour. In the case of the Battle Harbour, mission places to be visited were, St. Francis Harbour, Ship Harbour, Hawkes Bay, Boulton's Rock, Spear Harbour, Seal Islands, Cape Charles, Chateau Bay, Shoal Harbour, Henly Harbour, St. Lewis Bay (winter residence of the bulk of Battle Harbour's population) and Venison Island. All of these communities were visited several times a year. Like the inhabitants of their missions, missionaries migrated, following the people (including the summer fishers) of Labrador. The frequency of travel on the part of missionaries demonstrates that mobility was essential to a Labrador missionary's life and work. It was thus prescribed by the colonial Tractarian Bishop Feild and had become a pattern of life in Southern Labrador.

Another factor, aside from weather, that prevented missionaries from travelling throughout their mission, was their health. In 1862, Bishop Feild, thought that three years of uninterrupted service on the Labrador coast was too much for a missionary and asked Hutchinson to come to St. John's for the summer and remain during the winter.

¹³⁸E. Botwood, "A Storm in Labrador," *Mission Field* (Oct. 1861): 221-227; E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 1860- June 1861, 77pg, E8," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 28-36. The printed story is almost word for word what Botwood wrote in his report to the S.P.G.

¹³⁹ See Appendix C.

Hutchinson expressed great reluctance at leaving his mission without a replacement for eight months or more and delayed coming until October.¹⁴⁰ Hutchinson eventually left Labrador after fourteen years of service because of his health. Rev. Wilson's and his wife's health was also reportedly broken during their time at Battle Harbour.¹⁴¹ Rev. George Bishop recounted that Hutchinson was fondly remembered on the coast and that it was his zealousness for his missionary duty that broke his health.¹⁴² Many Labrador missionaries shared Hutchinson's sense of duty, which is also evident from their travel practices.

The mission of Battle Harbour was made up of approximately one hundred miles of coastline however, this does not give an accurate image of how much ground a missionary had to cover.¹⁴³ In the spring of 1862 Hutchinson reported that he had travelled over four hundred miles during that quarter alone (March- June) and that a quarter of his journey had been over ice. During this visit, he held fifty-seven services in twenty-nine settlements, preaching a sermon at each service.¹⁴⁴ The extent of travel that Battle Harbour missionaries carried out is illustrated by Rev. Wilson's 1869 map.¹⁴⁵ In

¹⁴⁰G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report, Sept. 30th, 1862, 3pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series 27, Original Letters Received, 2-3. Also it is worth noting that during the winter of 1863, the fishery was bad and the people of Hutchinson's mission were starving. During Hutchinson's absence, the people after traveling to Forteau were aided by merchants through Rev. Botwood. G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending Sept. 30th 1863, 4pg, E16," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 2-4.

¹⁴¹S.P.G. *Annual Reports*, 1869, 40.

¹⁴²G. Bishop, "Report, Nov. 6th 1876, 5pg, E31," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 4. Hutchinson also revisited Labrador with Bishop Kelly in 1872 and was reportedly greeted warmly by the people he had served for so many years. J. Kelly, "Extracts from the Journal of a Voyage to the Labrador in the Church Ship "Lavrock" in 1872," *Mission Life*, Vol. IV (1873): 68-77.

¹⁴³W. Wilson, "Report June 19th 1869, 5pg including 2 maps, E24," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. The attached hand-drawn map by Wilson records fifty-five locations in the Battle Harbour mission.

¹⁴⁴G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending June 30th 1862, 4pg, E11," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 1.

¹⁴⁵W. Wilson, "Report June 19th 1869, 5pg including 2 maps, E24," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series

the Battle Harbour mission, a missionary would travel in a zigzagging pattern over lakes and land, and, depending on the season, used dog teams and rackets (a Labrador word for snowshoes) in the winter. In the summer, missionaries often travelled by boat. Rev. Disney is the first reported missionary to own his own small whaleboat.¹⁴⁶ The Battle Harbour missionaries used this boat after Disney.¹⁴⁷

Missionaries at Battle Harbour also travelled outside their mission. Hutchinson made at least three recorded trips to Sandwich Bay, the first one in 1861. Sandwich Bay is approximately one hundred miles north of Seal Island, the northern end of the Battle Harbour mission.¹⁴⁸ Bishop Feild described the mission of Forteau as being seventy miles of coastline. Gifford, the first missionary there described his life as one of constant travel, and in 1853 wrote that his mission had increased to thirty-six settlements, all of which he tried to visit at least twice a year.¹⁴⁹ Gifford noted the severe complications of winter travel, and that he had to travel inland with dogs and by snowshoes because there was no access to boats. He traveled at times up to one-hundred miles to carry out visits.¹⁵⁰ The later missionaries --Botwood, Dobie, Wilson and Bishop-- all reported frequent travel. Bishop wrote in 1876, "No one can have any idea of what Labrador mission life is from

Missionary Reports, 4-5; See Appendix C.

¹⁴⁶H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Sept. 19th 1851, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received; H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. April 8th 1852, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received. Disney lost his first boat in an accident, and the funds for the second boat were raised by the Diocese of Armagh.

¹⁴⁷G. Bishop, "Report, Nov. 6th 1876, 5pg, E31," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. Bishop also indicated that, at times, he had his own driver for his boat.

¹⁴⁸G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending Mar. 31st, 1861, 6pg, E11," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending June 30th 1866, 3pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

¹⁴⁹A. Gifford, "Annual Return to the S.P.G. Christmas, 1855, 4pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 2.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.,4.

reading. Experience is the only perfect instructor. The manners and customs of the people; their way of living; their houses as they call them, their teams and carts; dogs, snowshoes; all affect the missionary more or less.”¹⁵¹ Bishop described travel as the main part of missionary life in Labrador, as a constant necessity that was harsh and very trying for a missionary’s spirit and health. In fact, his first comment in the 1876 report was that he was grateful that his health had held up for another season. Missionaries travelled hundreds of miles each year. They undertook multiple small journeys of as little as five to ten miles and some month-long journeys of many hundred miles.

Missionary travel was a necessity because of the highly mobile Southern Labrador population. Although missionaries wanted people to come and attend services, Botwood in particular agonized over church attendance in the winter, so much so, that he wondered whether a barge could be built or better moorings made for people journeying from the Newfoundland side. He also considered whether a bridge could be built across the river dividing Forteau, so that all people could come to service during the winter.¹⁵² None of these suggestions was ever carried out. Getting the whole population of a community to attend services was a great struggle in winter. The anxiety present over attendance is constantly in the missionaries’ writings and reflects their desire to fulfill the colonial role as providers of religious services and have Labradorians become part of the Church of England. They were frustrated at not being able to hold regular services with their whole

¹⁵¹G. Bishop, “Report, Nov. 6th 1876, E31,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. In this report Bishop spends three full pages narrating the typical seasonal travel of a Battle Harbour missionary. Rev. Wilson on his map lists fifty-five communities and small fishing places in the mission and marks the majority as visited in both summer and winter. W. Wilson, “Report June 19th 1869, 5pg including 2 maps, E24,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. Also see Appendix C.

¹⁵²E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 6th 1860, E8, 43 pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 11-14.

congregation.

Missionaries frequently reported that they were unable to travel when they wished because of the frequency of sudden bad weather. The tone in these reports is overwhelmingly apologetic, and both frustration and sadness are expressed. Travel was necessary because inhabitants, due to their economic activities and limited means could not come to the mission centres.¹⁵³ To fulfill their colonial role of religious service providers, missionaries responded naturally with travel.

Travel was mandated because of the size of the missions and because of their geography. Mission territories encompassed multiple small communities and fishing places. The people of Labrador reportedly had expectations of their missionaries and expressed a desire for religious services. To accommodate the people's requests missionaries in order to provide religious and medical services. Disney noted in his letters from 1850 that people in many places he visited wanted to build a small house that could be used as a school and chapel. Disney also hoped to use these buildings for his own convenience as a place to stay and not impose his presence in the small crowded homes of his congregation.¹⁵⁴ All the Labrador missionaries recorded instances of responding to requests for visits, including people wanting marriages officiated, baptisms and burials performed, medical attention paid to minor issues, surgery performed, as well as serious long-term illness and deathbed assistance. Mobility was also shaped by the economic

¹⁵⁴H. Disney, "The Labrador Mission: Letters of the Rev. H. P. Disney and the Rev. A. Gifford," *Church in the Colonies*, 26 (1852): 3-7; H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Aug. 17th 1851, 4pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received; H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Sept. 19th 1851, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received.

exploitation that influenced patterns of settlement and migration. Because it was the way of life for Labradorians, it was the means through which missionaries became part of their communities and established a wider communal Anglican identity for Southern Labrador.

4.3 Travel, Teamwork and Answering the Call: Exploring the Relationship Between Missionaries and their Congregations in Providing Religious Services

The reports and letters of the missionaries contain many accounts of individual sojourns; however, they are predominantly filled with narratives of travel undertaken with companions and chance offers of free passage on ships. There are instances of paid travel, though they are few.¹⁵⁵ This section will explore several instances of missionary travel so as to understand how the methods of travel, reception, and requests reflect the formation of social bonds between inhabitants and missionaries. Building on this analysis, this section will further elaborate on how the formation of social bonds was instrumental in the integration of missionaries and the Church of England into the larger community network of Southern Labrador.

The most dramatic example of a travel narrative is the printed story of Rev. Edward Botwood and his companions getting lost in a storm in 1860.¹⁵⁶ Botwood had

¹⁵⁵Throughout the corpus, there are many instances where missionaries are unclear about travel companions and only by chance include mention of a traveling companion upon discussing arrival. For instance, in Gifford's reports it is nearly impossible to tell how often his wife and or sister travelled with him. In an 1871 report, Dobie indicates that he is recipient of ample free travel between the straits. A. Dobie, "Report Nov. 17th 1871, 6pg, E26A," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 5-6. Similarly, Bishop noted that he has received much assistance from the inhabitants, especially in the winter however, he also wrote that he has paid over a £100 for passages on boats. He did not indicate over what period of time he has spent this money. G. Bishop, "Report, Nov. 11th [year unknown], 3pg, E31," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 2; W. Wilson, "Report June 19th 1869, 5pg including 2 maps, E24," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

¹⁵⁶E. Botwood, "A Storm in Labrador," *Mission Field* (Oct. 1861): 221-227; E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 1860- June 1861, 77pg, E8," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 30-36.

been visiting George Lilly at Riverhead, when he and three other men --George Lilly, Frederick Butt and Hector Snow-- set out together to visit Red Bay via kammutik. They saw another man ahead of them; however, poor weather set in and soon all were lost in a blinding storm. They were saved only by the decision of George Lilly to turn around, the sled-dogs' skill and strength, and, according to Botwood, divine providence. In Botwood's account, the local people anxiously awaited their return and that of the other man as well as two boys thought to be lost in the woods. The people greeted them with joy and formulated plans to go and look for others presumed missing. The narrative is in keeping with typical missionary travel of setting out with men who owned dogs, or who were walking, or, in the summer season, owned a boat that was sailing in the direction that the missionaries intended to travel. Local people often traveled in groups for safety and company. The other element of Botwood's narrative is the reception by people, and the communal hope for other men who had been out in the storm. Botwood's narrative shows social bonds and demonstrates how local people assisted missionary travel by becoming companions who provided access to dog-sleds.¹⁵⁷ Without aid, missionaries would not have been able to travel as extensively or as safely. Therefore, inhabitants, through their assistance of missionaries, played a key role in aiding ministers in their pastoral and ecclesiastical activities and in facilitating religious services.

People also encouraged religious services throughout Southern Labrador by

¹⁵⁷It is important to note that other missionary letters provide similar narratives, which give examples of walking companions and free passage on ships. For instance, Rev. R Dobie mentions that he is provided with ample free transportation between the Labrador coast and the Newfoundland side of his mission during the summer time. R. Dobie, "Report Nov. 17th 1871, 6pg, E26A," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 5.

requesting missionary visits and services, and by providing accommodations to missionaries when they visited. Disney, however, found people's houses small and cramped, so he launched a small building campaign. It is unclear whether he finished the buildings or not.¹⁵⁸ While this may seem a trivial topic, it is nevertheless an important one since it involves people directly in church matters and establishes a communal identification on the part of the local population with their church. People frequently requested missionaries to travel for religious and medical reasons. In fact, the provision of religious and medical services was intertwined for the missionaries. In many cases involving Roman Catholics, the missionaries were forced to separate these duties. Requests to visit places were not limited to inhabitants but came from Bishop Feild as well, who asked missionaries to visit certain communities and each other.¹⁵⁹ Specific requests for strictly religious services like marriages or baptisms came directly from interested parties. For instance, Rev. Gifford, much to his regret, once missed a schooner sent from Red Bay to pick him up to perform a marriage.¹⁶⁰ Thus, Labradorians played a key role in bringing missionaries out into the expanses of their missions and linking them with their wider parish.¹⁶¹

Travel and visiting is what formed relationships. Bishop Feild himself visited

¹⁵⁸H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Sept. 19th 1851, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received. This issue was also discussed in the timeline see also footnote 126.

¹⁵⁹G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending June 30th 1864, 2pg, E16," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. Feild requested that Hutchinson visit Sandwich Bay and his brother missionary in Forteau.

¹⁶⁰A. Gifford, "Quarterly Report Ending Christmas, 1854, 6pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316.

¹⁶¹G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report, Sept. 30th, 1862, 3pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series 27, Original Letters Received; G. Bishop, "Report, Nov. 6th 1876, 5pg, E31," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 1-4. In this report, Bishop described the typical missionary travel during winter and summer, telling of visitations and receptions.

Labrador six times,¹⁶² and the Quebec missionary Wainright visited Forteau, Labrador, when Newfoundland missionaries were unable. The presence of travel in the historical narrative left by the Labrador missionaries reflects the influence of the economic and geographical context of Labrador; further it also shows the interdependent relationships developed between missionaries and inhabitants.

4.4 Where in all this Walking is Tractarianism? The Religiosity of the Labrador Missionaries

Travel was driven by demand and necessity, but it was also driven by specific Tractarian convictions that focused on the duty to build up the “apostolic” church in colonial dioceses. In fact, to teach the conviction of duty, Bishop Feild taught his students at Queen’s College ascetic self-control through having them live an ascetic lifestyle that prepared them for ministering in the mission field of Newfoundland and Labrador.¹⁶³ The practice of extensive travel on the part of the Labrador missionaries is indicative of their Tractarian religiosity and ethos. Contained within the missionary travel narratives are interactions with inhabitants that further show their religious convictions. These travel narratives, several of which will be discussed below, show that travel was a response to fulfilling their religious obligations to serve people and uphold and be faithful to the

¹⁶²E. Feild, “A Visit To Labrador ...,” *Church in the Colonies* 19, (1849); Feild, “A Journal of a Visitation in the “Hawk” Church Ship, on the Coast of Labrador ... in the year 1849,” *The Church in the Colonies* 25, (July 1850); Feild, *Journal of the Bishop of Newfoundland’s Voyage of Visitation on the Coast of Labrador ... in the Church Ship “Hawk” in the Year 1853* London: S.P.G., 1854; Feild, “Bishop of Newfoundland’s Visit to Labrador,” *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal* 12, (1858): 11-15, 50-56; Feild, “The Bishop of Newfoundland’s Voyage of Visitation, 1861,” *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal* 16, (1862): 25-34; J. Kelly, “Extracts from the Journal of a Voyage to the Labrador in the Church Ship “Lavrock” in 1872,” *Mission Life*, Vol. IV (1873): 68-77.

¹⁶³ J. Curling and C. Knapp *Historical Notes Concerning Queen’s College*, 12-20; E. Kearly, *Queen’s College 1841-1991*, 5-14.

teachings of the “apostolic” church throughout their missions. Through recounting these narratives, this section demonstrate that travel practices were part of the clergy’s religious expectations and ethos. The missionaries were expected to travel throughout their missions and ensure that their flock was adhering to the teachings and practices of the Church of England.

Rev. Gifford recorded in his summer report of 1855 two stories: one a marriage and baptismal narrative, the other a narrative about questionable marriage practices.¹⁶⁴ In the first story, Gifford recounted how a couple (either from Seal Cove or Anchor Point, he is unclear) that had a child out of wedlock and were living together, were brought to a public confession.¹⁶⁵ Gifford read their confession during the service to the community, after which the whole congregation knelt for the Nicene Creed. This confession included an apology for inflicting their sin upon the community. Gifford then recited a prayer of forgiveness with the congregation. Next followed a proper marriage and baptismal service in the morning and afternoon. The second narrative described a blacksmith from L'Anse aux Cortard who was performing marriages. Gifford in his letter was deeply troubled by this man’s activities. In fact, the missionary was particularly upset upon hearing about the marriage of an underage girl performed by this man without the consent of her parents. He wrote that he was constantly trying to respond quickly to people’s requests for performing marriages and to news about this man performing marriages. “I found it

¹⁶⁴A. Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending Mid-Summer, 1855, 4pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316.

¹⁶⁵A. Gifford, “Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. June 10th, 1855, 4pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316. In this letter, Gifford takes great pains to explain that he did not wish to clearly indicate people’s names or places of dwelling. He worried that identifying people, if content should be printed or circulated, that it could end up in the hands of people who would use the information in some malicious way.

prudent in each case,” Gifford wrote, “to obey the call to keep the blacksmith (who by this time is called the Western Parson) if possible from presuming to pronounce the church’s sanction and blessing.”¹⁶⁶

The significance of these two narratives lies in Gifford’s conception about the sanctity of marriage and the importance of baptism.¹⁶⁷ For the priest, these activities were sacred and the practice of them was important for an individual and a community’s religious identity. The couple that had a child out of wedlock is perhaps the clearest example of how the Church of England articulated identity and the cultural norms through which people were included into communities. This couple desired to enter into wedlock, and Gifford facilitated this by making them fully aware of how their unmarried state differed from marriage, while including the community in the process. The case of the “Western Parson” demonstrates the sanctity and proper sacramental dimension of marriage. For Gifford marriage and baptism were essential social and religious status and identity markers as they were for the Labrador missionaries. Sacramental practice represented an active part of building up the Church of England’s communal role. The focus on ensuring proper sacramental practices was also demonstrative of the pastoral role in which priests of the Church of England were cast.

Rev. Disney’s comments on baptism and guardianship were especially instructive.

I feel that baptizing without taking pains afterwards to teach

¹⁶⁶A. Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending Mid-Summer, 1855, 4pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 2-4.

¹⁶⁷A. Gifford, “Annual Return to the S.P.G. Christmas, 1855, 4pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 4. In this report, Gifford recounted another baptism narrative with a Roman Catholic man whom he made promise not to have the child re-baptized.

children is entering into the most solemn engagement or covenant with almighty God and not afterwards taking care to discharge our part of the conditions - the three-fold security provided by the Divine Providence by the Church visit, the parents, the minister, the sponsors - is as far as Labrador is concerned left to depend solely upon the ministers.¹⁶⁸

In this quote, Disney expresses the sense of responsibility left to the Labrador missionaries. This responsibility was rooted in their notion of duty. Disney, in the same letter, explains himself further, stating that missionaries must be responsible for the religious instruction of the inhabitants, because their lack of formal education had left portions of the population largely illiterate and unfamiliar with the Anglican Church. The narratives of Disney and Gifford demonstrate their efforts to create conformity with the required sacramental practices that Tractarians considered imperative for Labradorians.¹⁶⁹

From the missionaries' travel narratives it is also evident that dissenters, Methodists, Roman Catholics and seemingly irreligious persons were present in Southern Labrador.¹⁷⁰ The letters of the missionaries depict engagements with people from such groups. These engagements also reflect tensions over lack of religious cohesion among the people in the missions.

¹⁶⁸H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Nov. 11th 1851, 10pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received, 6. Disney also indicated that baptism became a part of a controversy as people spread a rumor that he was charging for baptism, which he stated is in complete opposition to the Church of England's practice. H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Nov. 11th 1851, 14pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received, 14.

¹⁶⁹S. Sanderson, "How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876)," 80-82. Feild was deeply concerned with public baptism and the inclusion of the community as well as following the proper Church rubric including baptizing on Sundays and holy days and at what time in the service it was appropriate to perform baptism. Feild was also concerned, like Disney, with following up on educating children through regularly catechizing people in preparation for confirmation.

¹⁷⁰One important thing to note is that the corpus, which serves as the basis for this study, does not discuss Aboriginal, Inuit or Mountaineer religion.

There were numerous Roman Catholics throughout the Labrador missions. One recorded encounter was between Rev. Botwood and a woman who was converted to Catholicism from Methodism.¹⁷¹ This unnamed woman expressed much devotion to the Virgin Mary, and Botwood argued with her about her beliefs. He also wrote that he expressed to her that he thought Roman Catholic priests were dubious persons who frequently abused their authority and could make her destroy her Bible. Gifford also recorded numerous encounters with Roman Catholics throughout his travels in his mission. In one instance, he wrote that he visited a sick man at L'Anse au Loup from a "Romanist" family that was hostile to him.¹⁷² The priest lamented his inability to serve the family religiously and medically.¹⁷³ Botwood complained in one instance about a group of Mountaineers, who appeared to be Catholic and possessed a "Romanist bible"

¹⁷¹E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 1860-June 1861, 77pg, E8," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 16-18.

¹⁷²A. Gifford, "Annual Report, 1856, 16pg, E1," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 15-16; E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 6th 1860, E8, 43pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 31. Botwood also told a similar story of encountering and trying to convert a Catholic man who came to get his child baptized. He wrote that he argued that Roman Catholicism was flawed and had empty rituals and superstitions. In this case Botwood was successful and reported that the man promised not to have anything more to do with the Catholic Church and its rituals. Botwood on another occasion accused a man he described explicitly as Romanist, who requested Botwood to visit his sick wife, of being arrogant and a bad sled driver. E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 1860- June 1861, 77pg, E8," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 50.

¹⁷³For Gifford, and the other Labrador missionaries, their religious and medical roles were inseparable. This was due to their understanding of their pastoral role being to care for all the needs of their congregation. One of the clearest examples of how these roles are intertwined is illustrated in the death of Mrs. Gibbons, an aboriginal woman who had become the partner of an English man after being abandoned. These two could not marry as the man had a wife he was long separated from back in England. E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 1860-June 1861, 77pg, E8," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports In the report, Gifford recounts how he and his wife were at her bedside, as she died, caring for her illness and praying with her and teaching her about the Church's teachings in her final moments. Gifford was both doctor and spiritual advisor in her final moments. The story is written to be moving and to honor Mrs. Gibbons' conversion. Is it, however, a self-serving narrative that shows him as an ideal pastor with a compassionate and helpful wife. A. Gifford, "Quarterly Report Ending Christmas, 1855, 5pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 1-2.

and who could not be dissuaded from their “superstitious” practices.¹⁷⁴ Catholics are often depicted as frustrating missionaries because they did not convert to Anglicanism. There are, occasionally, positive depictions of Catholics. Rev. Hutchinson, for instance wrote of a Roman Catholic man to whom he gave books. For approximately 10 years at the small fishing place of Chimney (sometimes referred to as Chimney Tickle this man had instructed in a night school where some people had learned to read.¹⁷⁵ Overall, the narratives about Roman Catholics, the majority of which come from Rev. Botwood, tell a story of religious diversity and inner tension on the part of the missionary to convert the person of a different faith and perform Anglican rituals.

Similar stories filled with anxiety over non-specified religious groups and Methodists can be found. These narratives depict religious conflict and the diversity of religions in the population of Southern Labrador. The descriptions of irreligious persons usually referred to French-speaking people or merchants (sometimes there is also mention of merchants who are designated as being of Jersey origin), who do not keep the Sabbath and either refuse to support the missionaries’ efforts or undermine them by making people work on the Sabbath.¹⁷⁶ Two narratives about religious conflict with dissenters that show the missionaries’ Anglican religiosity are Rev. George Bishop’s encounter with a prayer group from Newfoundland and Rev. Botwood’s struggle to ensure that a church

¹⁷⁴E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 1860-June 1861, 77pg, E8,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 58.

¹⁷⁵G. Hutchinson, “Quarterly Report Ending June 30th, 1861, 5pg including map, E14,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 3.

¹⁷⁶A. Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending Lady Day, 1855, 3pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316. 2-3; E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 6th 1860, E8, 43pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 13; R. Dobie, “Report Sept. 17th 1866, 7pg, E22,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 6.

and not a “Meeting House” be built at Red Bay.

Bishop recounted that during the summer fishing season, there were a number of visiting fishers from Newfoundland who, whenever he travelled outside of Battle Harbour, held “prayer meetings.” Bishop framed the story of these uncontrollable people with the conversion narrative of one man who returned to the church and who reportedly admitted that the “prayer meetings” were no real worship.¹⁷⁷ A second narrative concerns Methodists and was situated in Red Bay. Methodism in Red Bay was well documented by the Forteau missionaries. They mention frequently that Methodists attended their services.¹⁷⁸ Conflict with them, however, is only discussed when the attempt to build a church in Red Bay was threatened with the erection of the framework for a “Wesleyan Meeting House.” In response, Botwood personally took on the building of the Church and ensured that a proper Anglican church was built. Botwood recounted that he personally dug the timber out of the snow to hasten the start of construction and helped put on the siding.¹⁷⁹ These struggles were also a source of anxiety for the missionaries, whereas their successes are represented as instances that combine hard work, commitment to religious convictions, and divine providence. The successes also enhanced a sense of community and resulted in greater religious cohesion.

These narratives reflect four characteristics of missionary work in Southern

¹⁷⁷G. Bishop, “Mid-Summer Report, 1871, 3pg, E29,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 1-3.

¹⁷⁸A. Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending Mid-Summer, 1855, 4pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316. In this report Gifford commented that his services at Red Bay are frequently attended by Methodists and have been for a while.

¹⁷⁹E. Botwood provided a long narrative of the building of the church at Red Bay, which will be explored fully in the following chapter. E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 1860- June 1861, 77pg, E8,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 67-70; Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 6th 1860, E8, 43pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 31, 20-21.

Labrador: the diversity of the population; that the convictions and practices of the missionaries' occasionally competed with settlers and Aboriginal convictions and practices; the Labrador missionaries were not entirely successful in getting all people to be faithful to the church; missionary travel was greatly motivated by the Tractarian principle of duty to build up the "apostolic" church throughout their missions.

4.5 Conclusion: Duty, Devotion, Struggle and Interdependency

Three factors necessitated travel in the Southern Labrador missions: one was the mobility and scattered nature of the population; two was the wants and needs of the people, and three was the effort to establish the apostolic church and its sacramental life along the lines of a normative colonial Anglicanism. Nockles, Brown and Strong suggest that colonial Tractarian Anglicanism had a strong sense of duty and conviction about its apostolicity.¹⁸⁰ This translated also into a strong sense of missionary obligation and impetus. Botwood at the beginning of his missionary activity wrote in relation to the falling away of people from the church, "...it taught me a lesson in such a forcible way that it cannot be forgotten, that a missionary [is] not only to sow his seed, but also to weed and to water."¹⁸¹ A missionary had an obligation to his congregation to ensure that they grew into Church members and were protected from the influence of other denominations. These convictions were strongly held by Bishop Edward Feild and

¹⁸⁰P. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*; Nockles and Brown, ed. *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930*; Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire c. 1700-1840*.

¹⁸¹E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 6th 1860, E8, 43pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 8.

manifested itself in the education of Labrador missionaries at Queen's College and in missionary conduct throughout Southern Labrador. The missionaries' conduct demonstrates that they fit into Feild's notion of totally committed, ascetic missionaries who were responsible for building up the colonial church.

The character of religiosity in the Southern Labrador missions was influenced by the theological convictions of the missionaries and the wants and needs of Labradorians. The instance of the "Western Parson," George Bishop's trouble with Newfoundland summer fishers, Gifford and Disney's representation of the importance of the sacrament of baptism and an ecclesiastically sanctioned marriage as well as William Grey's Tractarian neo-gothic churches in both places, show an adherence to Tractarian principles and theology. The population of Southern Labrador was diverse ethnically and religiously. This diversity was a source of tension, as seen in the missionaries' struggle and the Tractarian religious answers they provided.

Chapter 5

Building an Ecclesiastical Infrastructure: The Financial Work of the Labrador Missionaries.

5.1 Introduction

Building an ecclesiastical infrastructure was the tangible and typical way in which the Church of England established itself institutionally in colonial communities throughout the British Empire. This act included the building of churches, parsonages and schools. To carry out these building projects, missionaries required financial support, which was difficult to obtain in Southern Labrador. Through analyzing documents about building churches and schools and the Labrador missionaries' struggle to make their missions self-sufficient, this study will explore the financial side of the Labrador missions. It can be shown that the inhabitants were unable to actualize economic agency through their relationships with the Church of England and second that the Church of England clergy was strongly motivated to build an ecclesiastical infrastructure. In the absence of local financial support, the Church of England did this through working with a colonial network of supporters.

As outlined in chapter four, many Southern Labradorians wanted the services of the Church of England. This chapter will address how outside economic factors dictated the way in which churches and schools were built and not built. The Church of England had economic power to shape the communities of colonial subjects and was determined to exert its power. Missionaries carried out numerous building projects and attempted many others, with little local aid. This chapter will demonstrate the veracity of Kennedy's

argument that agency was limited and difficult to exercise because of the exploitative colonial economics in Southern Labrador. Second, this chapter will show how the lack of agency on the part of the inhabitants shaped their relationship with the Church of England. Missionaries had to rely heavily on outsiders to provide the necessary financial support for building the ecclesiastical infrastructure that would include Labradorians into the larger colonial church. The previous void of social and religious infrastructure was discussed in chapter two and the colonial role of the Church of England in chapter three, which were factors that allowed for the Church of England to move into Southern Labrador. The church's expansion and building activities would have been nearly impossible without the contributions of aid in various forms, including money, land, and labour, as well as free transportation of materials by the local people of Labrador. Nonetheless, Labradorians were still not the driving financial force behind the erection of the church's ecclesiastical infrastructure.

5.2 Building Churches: The Construction of the Corner-stone Buildings of the Labrador Missions.

Although churches were built in Southern Labrador, it was with great difficulty because of financial and practical issues. Some proposed churches were never built, including one proposed by Rev. Gifford for Indian Harbour.¹⁸² Throughout the history of church building, several themes emerge: the tensions between local and outside help and financing,¹⁸³ religious competition, and a drive to build churches to convert communities

¹⁸²A. Gifford, "Assorted printed documents and image of proposed church at Indian Harbour, 6pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316.

¹⁸³To be clear, this thesis is defining outside help as aid coming not directly from local inhabitants.

to a particular religious and institutional option. The latter served as a corrective against the residual ties of the population to other denominations.

As a Tractarian, Bishop Feild saw churches as integral to establishing Anglicanism in Southern Labrador. Feild carried out a church building campaign throughout his diocese that extended into Labrador. He built five churches and a chapel between 1848-1870 in Labrador according to the neo-gothic designs of his diocesan architect Grey. In the Battle Harbour mission, three churches were built, one at St. Francis (St. John the Baptist), consecrated in 1853, one at Battle Harbour (St. James), consecrated in 1857, and the third one at Seal Island. In the Forteau mission, the first church built was at English Point (St. Peter's), Forteau Bay, consecrated in 1857. The second was built at Red Bay and finished in 1862. There was also a chapel built (which was also meant to serve as a school) in 1869 in Flower's Cove on the Newfoundland side of the Forteau mission; however, Robert Dobie indicated that there were plans to expand the chapel in the early 1870s.¹⁸⁴ Rev. William Grey, Bishop Feild's diocesan architect, designed the churches at Battle Harbour and English Point, Forteau Bay. For Feild, churches were essential for the church's integration into communities, as they would provide hubs for people to go to as well as sacred spaces that would influence people to adhere to

¹⁸⁴Throughout the history of the mission of Forteau, its missionaries expressed difficulty servicing the Newfoundland side of the mission. Rev. Dobie expressed that the Newfoundland side of the mission become a separate mission due to difficulty of servicing it; he even suggested in his letters that the Newfoundland side become a separate mission. As indicated, however, the decision to relocate the mission headquarters is beyond the scope of this study. R. Dobie, "Report Sept. 22nd 1867, 6pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. According to the *Mission Field*, by 1870, Dobie had moved the headquarters of the mission in late 1869 because of a decreasing population on the Labrador side and an increasing population on the Newfoundland side. S.P.G. "Notes of the Work of Missionaries," *Mission Field*, Feb. 1870:59. A letter from Dobie, dated Nov. 17th 1871, is addressed from Forteau and seemingly indicates that Forteau is still where he spends the majority of his time. R. Dobie, "Report Nov. 17th 1871, 6pg, E26A," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

Tractarian principles. Churches were built with a focus on the altar, which was to be “the end and object, the crown and reward of all.” Through architectural designs, worship was focused on the sacraments. Sanderson writes:

The Church housed the community of believers, also termed “the church,” during the worship experience and, with the administration of the sacrament of communion, in some inexplicable manner, housed God as well. As Feild understood the subject, it was impossible to obey the commandment to love God without also giving due reverence to God’s sanctuary. It was God who in Lev. 19:30 commanded reverence for the church as his sanctuary.¹⁸⁵

The first church to be built and consecrated was St. John the Baptist at St. Francis Harbour. Disney described this community as the second principal settlement of the Battle Harbour mission and indicated that it was home to the Hunt firm, which engaged in sealing and fishing on the Labrador coast.¹⁸⁶ Disney wrote little about the specifics of the construction of the first church.¹⁸⁷ From his letters, it is possible to discern that the building of this church was supported strongly by Bishop Feild, the Ridley firm of Carbonear, Newfoundland, and the merchant firms of Slade and Hunt in Labrador, as well as some unspecified contributors from England and Ireland. The contributions from Ireland were likely members of the Diocese of Armagh, Disney’s home diocese.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵S. Sanderson, “How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876),” 112-118; Field Charge Delivered to the Clergy of Bermuda... 1849, 15.

¹⁸⁶Ballivor, “Labrador Mission: of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, Original Letters Received, 1-2; Ballivor, “Labrador Mission: of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1852,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, Original Letters Received, 1-3.

¹⁸⁷In general, the missionaries did not discuss specifics about church building.

¹⁸⁸Ibid; H. Disney, “The Labrador Mission: Letters of the Rev. H. P. Disney and the Rev. A. Gifford,” *Church in the Colonies* 26, (1851): 8-17; H. Disney, “Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Nov. 2nd 1850, 8pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received. - This letter is the same as the printed one cited above.

Merchants and local people aided in shipping materials for the church from both Newfoundland and England.¹⁸⁹ A letter from the Hunt firm indicates that in 1852 they sent the windows for the church from Liverpool at Disney's request.¹⁹⁰ Two carpenters, both of whom were Slade employees (one man's name is given as Joseph Pyman), were paid with funds given by Bishop Feild and the S.P.G. This church was consecrated during Feild's 1853 visit.¹⁹¹

The next two churches built were St. Peter's at English Point (under Rev. Gifford) and St. James at Battle Harbour (begun by Rev. Disney, but completed by Rev. Hutchinson). Both churches were consecrated during the 1857 visit of Bishop Feild.¹⁹² These churches were built in the mission centres over the course of eight and seven years, respectively. Designed by Rev. Grey, they were architecturally neo-gothic, thus following Tractarian preferences.¹⁹³ They were built with outside support, especially from the merchant firms located in Labrador and based in England, but primarily with the aid of the S.P.G. and Bishop Feild, who supplied funds and materials.¹⁹⁴ Although the impetus

¹⁸⁹"Labrador Mission of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts [Report 2 pages est. 1851]," in Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. 'Series D, letters received from dioceses in Canada: Newfoundland, Microform 598, Reels 215-217, PANL; Labrador Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts [Report 3 pages est. 1853], Series D, letters received from dioceses in Canada: Newfoundland, Microform 598, Reels 215-217, PANL.

¹⁹⁰Hunt & Henly, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Feb. 6th 1852," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received.

¹⁹¹E. Feild, *Journal of the Bishop of Newfoundland's Voyage of Visitation on the Coast of Labrador and the North-East Coast of Newfoundland in the Church Ship "Hawk" in the Year 1853* (London: S.P.G., 1854). Disney discussed the population at St. Francis Harbour and reported a large number of Inuit residents who worked for Hunt; he also noted in a visit to Sandwich Bay that there was a large number of Inuit who worked for English merchants. H. Disney, "The Labrador Mission: Letters of the Rev. H. P. Disney and the Rev. A. Gifford," *Church in the Colonies* 26, (1851): 8-17.

¹⁹²E. Feild, "Bishop of Newfoundland's Visit to Labrador," *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal* 12, (1858): 11-15, 50-56. The consecrations were celebrated with well-attended services, and confirmation occurred as well.

¹⁹³W. Grey, *Sketches of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Plates XII, XV, XVI.

¹⁹⁴H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Nov. 11th 1851, 14pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received, 4-6, 8-10. Disney noted that Feild had given £200 towards his building

for building is attributed to the missionaries, they frequently discuss the enthusiasm of the local population for churches. Though they reference local help and want, the missionaries stated that construction often stalls and it is they who restart it in person during visits.¹⁹⁵ Materials for St. Peter's were also donated from people outside Labrador, such as Rev. Cusack, a minister of Quebec who had visited Labrador seventeen years prior, and the Bishop of Quebec, who purchased in 1855 a "Canadian stove and funneling."¹⁹⁶

The last two churches and chapel in the Labrador missions were built in the 1860s. Rev. Gifford expressed hope that a church would be built at Red Bay, but also noted concerns about Methodism in the community.¹⁹⁷ As far as the Methodist presence in Red Bay is concerned, Bishop Feild reportedly appointed a lay reader to that community in 1854 who kept a small Sunday school, presumably to guard against Methodism, which had become influential in the community. There are also allusions, though no direct reference, that a Methodist preacher may have sporadically visited the community.¹⁹⁸ Rev. Johnson took up the plan to build a church at Red Bay but was unable to do so, possibly due to the shortness of his tenure. The task fell to Rev.

efforts and sanctioned to hire 4 carpenters. At least two of the carpenters came from the Slade firm, including Joseph Pyman.

¹⁹⁵A. Gifford noted that inhabitants and the mercantile store at Loop Bay had given £20 over the past 2-3 years in support of the mission and Church. Gifford also stated that people from the Newfoundland side of the mission had given timber. A. Gifford, "Quarterly Report Ending Mid-Autum, 1855, 4pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316.

¹⁹⁶A. Gifford, "Annual Report, 1856, 16pg, E1," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 14-15. Prior to this, the previous stove was donated by a Mr. Davis (presumably of the Bird firm), which was now going to be set aside for the future church at Red Bay.

¹⁹⁷A. Gifford, "Quarterly Report Ending Lady Day, 1855, 3pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316; A. Gifford, "Quarterly Report Ending Mid-Summer, 1855, 4pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316.

¹⁹⁸A. Gifford, "Annual Return to the S.P.G. including chart of inhabitants, 1854, 4pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316.

Botwood, who upon his arrival attained the blueprints from Johnson and began with the construction. The delay of the church caused Botwood great anxiety. He wrote:

... the framework of the Wesleyan Meeting House has also been erected: but as no Preacher has been here to adjust our vision among them, I suppose it will not be proceeded with this year. Feeling the absolute necessity of speedy erection of a church, I exerted myself and invited help of the people for the fall.¹⁹⁹

Botwood was deeply concerned about Methodism, which appeared to have gained a foothold in the community in 1860. The final construction involved Rev. Botwood, who alongside residents put on the siding and finished the church.²⁰⁰ The church at Red Bay received furniture from Bishop Feild and was lined with old sails that were locally donated to prevent snow permeability. The bells of the church at Red Bay rang for the first time on 2 June 1861. Botwood reported that at the first service, the people were in a “bond of peace and love,” indicating that the building of the church had created a community solidarity beyond individual economic interests among the inhabitants.²⁰¹

A church was also built at Seal Island, the northern extent of the Battle Harbour mission, at the request of the residents. The church at Seal Island began construction in 1859 or 1860 and was completed by 1863. Hutchinson indicated that during the building of this church, a carpenter had been hired by him to see to it that the church was

¹⁹⁹E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 6th 1860, E8, 43pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series, Missionary Reports, 20-21.

²⁰⁰There was, according to Botwood, a small miracle during the final construction of the church at Red Bay. A scaffold fell and two men fell from a great height yet were unharmed. One fell so that his leg missed some large rocks on the ground and went into a soft bog hole, and another remained standing on the boards of the scaffold, as if the scaffold had never even collapsed. E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 1860- June 1861, 77pg, E8,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 68-71.

²⁰¹Ibid., 68-71.

completed by the summer of 1861. He also indicated that a local man, W. Green, had done a significant amount of construction and not requested any payment for it. In fact, he reportedly refused Hutchinson's offer of compensation. Hutchinson also noted in the same letter that he needed another 50 pounds toward completion of the church.²⁰²

According to Rev. Dobie, the chapel built at Flower's Cove was driven by the wants of the inhabitants. Settlers on the Newfoundland side wanted more frequent visits from their missionary as well as the services of a church and school. This was why they commenced building the chapel, which was also used as a schoolhouse. It was built by 1869, though Rev. Dobie indicated that there were plans to expand the structure. Dobie also noted, in 1871, that a friend had procured aid from Halifax, so that, combined with aid from local settlers and Montreal, financial support from the mainland had totaled 200 pounds.²⁰³

Though they struggled, the missionaries' efforts to build churches were indicative of their strong Tractarian conviction about the importance of proper church buildings. Their initiatives were also important indicators of what their flocks wanted from them. This is further evidenced by the support the Labrador clergy received from the Anglican diocese of Quebec, whose bishop and missionaries were also Tractarians and assisted in Labrador during times when Newfoundland missionaries were absent.²⁰⁴ Building churches with the support received from Newfoundland, Quebec, Ireland and England

²⁰²G. Hutchinson, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Aug 14th, 1861, 3pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series 27, Original Letters Received.

²⁰³R. Dobie, "Report Nov. 17th 1871, 6pg, E26A," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 5-6.

²⁰⁴R. Dobie, "Report Sept. 17th 1866, 7pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; S.P.G. "Unexpected Meeting, October 1st 1861," *Mission Field*, 1862: 217-220.

was a means of promoting community integration. Churches are ideas manifested physically and built to communicate specific convictions to people. In the case of Anglicanism, the church is sacred. It is the space for the celebration of the sacrament and communicates to the congregation the importance of worship. Tractarian architecture placed a special emphasis on the mediation of grace through the sacraments at the altar and the baptismal font. Unlike its competitor Methodism, the focus in High Church Anglicanism was not on the preacher and the pulpit, but on the sacramental life of the church and the vehicles by which divine grace was tangibly conveyed through ordained priests and the rites of the church, in a drama played out within the confines of its sacred space.²⁰⁵

But, churches are also spaces for people to come together and form a community, even though church attendance and use was a major concern. Missionaries visited communities multiple times a year and reported that when they were unable to visit settlements, such as in St. Francis Harbour and Seal Island, the churches went unused. This was a great source of anxiety expressed by missionaries, because they could not visit places as often as they wanted, especially on Sundays.²⁰⁶ Church buildings in the

²⁰⁵P. Coffman, *Newfoundland Gothic*, 128-138; A Gifford, "Annual Report, 1856, 16pg, E1," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 3-5. Gifford in this report described showing his church to visitors and how it was an "elegant example in its simple form and outline and internal furnish[ings]," implying it was a proper Anglican church.

²⁰⁶Hutchinson indicated that regrettably, while there was a church at St. Francis Harbour, it had not seen more than four Sunday services that year. G. Hutchinson, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G., {Fall 1858}, 5pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series 9B, Original Letters Received. [This date has been inferred from the content of the letter], 2; G. Bishop, "Midsummer Report, 1871, 3pg, E29," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 2-3. Bishop lamented not having a lay reader at Battle Harbour and how he had to leave his principal congregation frequently without help. Gifford also communicated anxiety over not being able to have a frequent congregation come together at Forteau prior to the start of building St. Peter's and stated that he wished for lay-readers or more clergymen. A. Gifford, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. June 13th 1850, 14pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received, 3-7. Rev. Dobie later expressed anxiety over church attendance and, as discussed earlier, contemplated multiple means of

Labrador context can be reasonably understood as one of the key instruments used by the church to promote religious cohesion and integrate the church institutionally into colonial communities. Thus, from the perspective of the Church of England, churches were integral and important edifices to build, despite the fact that holding services in them regularly was, at times, a challenge.²⁰⁷

The narratives about church building also shed light on the population of the missions. Many people were enthusiastic supporters of and advocates for the building of churches. Certain merchants, in particular, expressed a great deal of support, though many Jersey merchants, in the case of Forteau, were not supportive and according to Gifford undermined efforts to have people observe the Sabbath and contributed to “immoral” behaviors.²⁰⁸ Local people, some of whom were directly affiliated with merchants, also contributed labour. Others, however, like W. Green of Seal Island or the men who helped Botwood finish the church at Red Bay, were not described as donating labour at the behest of a merchant firm, but by compulsion of their own.²⁰⁹ While it is possible to say that without local help these churches could not have been built, it was members of the

increasing attendance through improving peoples' travel abilities. E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 6th 1860, E8, 43 pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 11-14; G. Hutchinson, “Quarterly Report Ending Sept. 30th 1863, 4pg, E16,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. Hutchinson, after being absent for the winter, noted that both churches at Seal Island and St. Francis Harbour were not getting used and that he wrote Bishop Feild for lay readers. His later letters do not indicate that he got lay readers for those communities.

²⁰⁷That is not to say that churches did not see frequent use during many years. In report forms to the S.P.G. question number three dealt specifically with church attendance and use. While Seal Island saw Holy Communion sparsely in some years, Battle Harbour church St. James saw frequent use with up to 200 services in 1872-1873 under George Bishop. On this form, Bishop indicated that he celebrated Holy Communion twelve times but did not indicate location. For instances see Appendix B.

²⁰⁸Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending Lady Day, 1855, 3pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 2-3; Gifford, “Annual Report, 1856, 16pg, E1,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 15-16.

²⁰⁹G. Hutchinson, “Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Aug 14th, 1861, 3pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series 27, Original Letters Received; E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 1860- June 1861, 77pg, E8,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 68-71.

wider Church of England, colonial society,²¹⁰ and merchants, who financed these churches. They were built with a purpose, to serve as spaces for community bonding and learning, to create religious cohesion and an ecclesial identity and to serve as a bulwark against other religious competitors who might have weakened or destroyed settler and Aboriginal loyalties to the Church of England and its colonial ambitions.

5.3 Schools: The Educational Needs of Southern Labradorians

I found the Eskimaux women and children,--many of whom had been baptized by the Bishop and the Clergymen who attended his Lordship two years ago to Labrador,--more anxious to receive instruction. I opened school the first Sunday I was at St. Francis' Harbour: and though none of the people from Newfoundland had at that time reached Labrador, I had a large school, chiefly Eskimaux. On each Wednesday and Friday, during my stay at St. Francis' Harbour, I kept school, and the Eskimaux women and children attended it, some of them coming from a considerable distance. They showed the greatest anxiety to learn to speak and read English.²¹¹

According to Rev. Gifford, mostly women and their children who had intermarried with European settlers wanted schools. This group also wanted to learn English, a skill that would give them more access and mobility in work and society. Most significantly, the above quote, written in 1852, reflects one of the most discussed subjects

²¹⁰S.P.G. *Annual Reports*, 1853. The network of contributors was in many years recorded very thoroughly and so thus, contributors' support was public knowledge. This produced accountability and so encouraged continued support. Donations were listed in every year, during the period of this study, and ranged from £3 to £503, with just over £500 being given to the Labrador missions through the S.P.G. in 1853.

²¹¹H. Disney, "The Labrador Mission: Letters of the Rev. H. P. Disney and the Rev. A. Gifford." *Church in the Colonies*, 26 (1852): 3-7. There is a lack of discussion about Aboriginal peoples in the missionaries' writings. The significance of this is something beyond the scope of this study; however, it is important to note that missionaries expressed great enthusiasm at including them into the Church and noted that intermarriage between settler men and Aboriginal women was something positive that they thought would aid the spread of Christianity.

in the letters of the missionaries: the desire to have and to build schools. Schools were the second part of the ecclesiastical infrastructure that the Church of England used to establish itself both in England and in colonial territories. Both local people and missionaries desired schools for children and adults. Rev. Gifford noted in 1851 that one family, that of a Mr. D., planned to move permanently to Nova Scotia as his children were in school there. Mr. D. expressed the hope that perhaps a church and “what would follow” would be built, which would allow them to stay.²¹² The want for schools on the part of the congregation or individual missionaries did not necessarily result in schools being built for the communities that wanted them. In fact, the narratives of school building most dramatically reflect the fragile economic situation, the inability of the residents to provide for themselves. The following section will explore situations about schools in Southern Labrador, some of which were built and some that were not.

Rev. Gifford, the first Labrador missionary at Forteau, never succeeded in establishing a school in his mission, although he gave lessons at the parsonage and held an occasional Sunday school at the church at English Point.²¹³ Gifford wrote in one letter from 1855, “...the mission can furnish children enough for a large school and the existence of such a school at the headquarters of the minister seems to me to be not only [greatly desired] but the only development which can maintain the station as a

²¹²Ibid., Gifford’s Letter, 4-7.

²¹³Gifford, from the very beginning, hoped to build a proper school alongside the church at Forteau. He indicated in 1850 that he hoped that the land he purchased for the church would also be used for a school. A. Gifford, “Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. June 13th 1850, 14pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received. Gifford also took in some students throughout his tenure, including one girl from the Newfoundland side who arrived at the end of October and stayed all winter. A. Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending June 30th, 1855, 3pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 1-3; A. Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending Christmas, 1854, 6pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 5.

mission.”²¹⁴ In an 1857 letter, Gifford indicated that with the current tenants vacating the mission property, he was thinking of using the property for a school.²¹⁵ But, in a report form for the S.P.G. from 1858, the question about schools in the mission was left blank.²¹⁶ Later, in the letters of Botwood and Dobie, there was still discussion about the desire to establish schools. In 1860, Botwood asked despairingly “...where is the money to support them with[?],” in relation to the people of Red Bay and other communities that tried to build schools and potential houses for schoolmasters.²¹⁷ In 1866, Dobie complained that there were no schools in his mission, and that while Labrador contributes to the Newfoundland’s wealth, it received only a pittance for a school fund. He indicated, however, that he accepted the 25 pounds offered by the Newfoundland government and used it for a small winter school. Dobie also noted the existence of two Sunday schools and indicated that children received extra instruction at the parsonage at English Point.²¹⁸ Later in 1867, the priest recorded that the Newfoundland school grant for Labrador was still small and added that Bishop Feild had given him an additional 10-20 pounds to help pay a schoolteacher.²¹⁹ The possibility of schools in the mission of Forteau seems to have been mostly wishful thinking and planning. Local residents were unable to fund them, and while some outside aid existed, no full day school appears to have been established.

²¹⁴A. Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending Lady Day, 1855, 3pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 1.

²¹⁵A. Gifford, “Letter to the Secretary of the S.P.G. Nov. 3rd, 1857, 6pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316.

²¹⁶A. Gifford, “Report, July, 1858, 2pg, E3,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 2.

²¹⁷E. Botwood, “Annual Report, Sept. 6th 1860, E8, 43pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series, Missionary Reports, 18-19.

²¹⁸R. Dobie, “Report Sept. 17th 1866, 7pg, E22,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 4-5.

²¹⁹R. Dobie, “Report Sept. 22nd 1867, 6pg, E22,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

In 1851, Rev. Disney began his mission and hoped to begin schools at Battle Harbour, St. Francis Harbour, Henly Harbour, Cape Charles, Cape Spear, Seal Island, and Venison Island,²²⁰ as well as an “Indian school” at the settlement of Alexis River.²²¹ In relation to these communities, he excluded Alexis River, Disney reported that he was building small houses, 40ft x 18ft x 10ft, with two rooms, to serve as temporary residences during visits and as schoolhouses. It is unclear whether any of these buildings were finished or used. While Disney mentions many people from these communities as wanting schools and education, excluding direct mention of Alexis River. The only real possibility of a full school was a boarding school at Battle Harbour. In 1850, Disney reported that a boarding school was being built alongside the parsonage and church at Battle Harbour.²²²

This boarding school at Battle Harbour was established by Rev. Hutchinson. It was not until the mid-1860s, however, that the Battle Harbour mission employed a full-time schoolmaster. The first reported paid schoolmaster was Mr. Skinner. Prior to this, Hutchinson and his catechists taught school.²²³ In 1866, Hutchinson reported the existence of two other schools (mostly as Sunday Schools) that were being kept by women who came with the visiting Newfoundland fishers to Cape Charles and Venison

²²⁰H. Disney, “Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Sept. 19th 1851, 2pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received.

²²¹H. Disney, “Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Nov. 11th 1851, 14pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received, 12-14.

²²²H. Disney, “Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Nov. 2nd 1850, 8pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received, 4-5.

²²³G. Hutchinson, “Quarterly Report Ending, Sept. 1860, 3pg, E3,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; G. Hutchinson, “Quarterly Report Ending Mar. 31st 1862, 3pg, E11,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; G. Hutchinson, “Quarterly Report Ending Dec. 30th, 1863, 2pg, E16,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; U.Z Rule, *Reminiscences of my Life*, 12-19.

Island. These schools appear to have been in operation seasonally for a few years prior to Hutchinson's first mention. These women were reported by Hutchinson as receiving 5 pounds a year from the Newfoundland government's educational grant.²²⁴ After Hutchinson, Rev. Wilson arrived and personally kept a night school at Battle Harbour, where, in addition to other subjects, he taught geography from the maps he drew.²²⁵ The schools at Battle Harbour and Cape Charles were, in 1872, still in operation according to Rev. Bishop.²²⁶

The Labrador missionaries considered education a religious duty and as needed in the absence of any other opportunities of instructing children. In 1851, Disney wrote

I feel that baptizing without taking pains afterwards to teach children and entering into the most solemn engagement and covenant with Almighty God and not afterwards taking care to discharge our part of the conditions - the threefold security provided by Divine Providence of the Church visit, the parents, the minister, the sponsors - is as far as Labrador is concerned left to depend solely upon the ministers. The Parents and sponsors in almost every case [are lacking in relation to] of education, themselves uninstructed in sacraments, unable to read and hitherto without any of the opportunities of learning. ²²⁷

²²⁴Hutchinson wrote that in the summer at Battle Harbour the population was 600 and that many children came to school when they could. He stated that they learned scriptures, catechism and history. He also noted that both he and Mr. Skinner had gainful employment. G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending Dec. 31st 1866, 2pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending June 30th 1866, 3pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. Presumably these teachers used the buildings erected by Rev. Disney; however, this is not stated. G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending Sept. 31st 1866, 3pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

²²⁵W. Wilson, "Report June 19th 1869, 5pg including 2 maps, E24," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

²²⁶G. Bishop, "Annual Return, Nov. 1st 72- Nov. 1st 1873, 2pg, E28," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

²²⁷H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Nov. 11th 1851, 14pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received, 6-7.

For Disney, education was vital to the development of Labradorians into Anglicans and, as the quote indicates, the situation of neglect in Labrador made it all the more important. Schools were essential for Anglican missions, and missionaries frequently kept Sunday schools when they travelled to the communities and small fishing places within the missions, as well as at the mission centres, especially in the early years at Battle Harbour.²²⁸ In the same letter, Disney also wrote a prayer that invoked Divine help in religious education for the mission writing “please God[,] a good foundation by the establishment of a good scriptural church school.”²²⁹ These sentiments were echoed by other Labrador missionaries as they sought and in many cases failed to establish schools in their missions.²³⁰

Alongside the discussion of building schools is the mention of catechizing. Catechizing, a form of religious instruction and examination, was seen as important by Feild, the S.P.G., and the Labrador missionaries.²³¹ Hutchinson, for example, requested more books so that he could teach the catechism and so that students could be more regularly instructed and examined. He felt that without the church, these children would

²²⁸ See Appendix C.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

²³⁰ G. Hutchinson, “Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Sept. 7th 1857, 2pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 324. In this letter Hutchinson asked to go to England both for sick leave and to search for a schoolmaster because he was struggling to find one locally. He did not go. Dobie also referred to schools as “that great auxiliary to missions,” and indicated that people in his mission greatly desired education. R. Dobie, “Report Sept. 22nd 1867, 6pg, E22,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 4.

²³¹ See Appendix A and B. Question number 3 in the forms was “c) Catechize publicly during Service?.” It was often left blank. Catechizing was important and missionaries indicated that they did so in people's homes. A. Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending March 31st, 1855, 9pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 9; R. Dobie, “Report Oct. 11th 1870, 7pg, E25A,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 5-6; G. Hutchinson, “Quarterly Report Ending Dec. 31st, 1860, 2pg, E11,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. Bishop Feild also saw catechizing as important for building up the church. S. Sanderson, “How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876),” 80-82.

not even learn to read, let alone be able to be examined.²³² Educating people in their faith would help to further stabilize the wider colonial religious community of Anglicanism. It ensured that the ties to the church were reinforced from a young age and that children and adults were eligible for confirmation.

While missionaries suggested that their congregations were willing to contribute toward the pay for schoolmasters and labour for constructing schoolhouses, most of these schools never came to be. The schools at Cape Charles, Venison Island, and the school alluded to as situated in Forteau were in the late 1860s marginally (5-25 pounds a year) supported by the Newfoundland government schools grant and Bishop Feild. The Battle Harbour boarding school managed to exist in a large community at the mission centre, where there was presumably more wealth. The inability to support desired schools further supports Kennedy's argument about the helplessness of Southern Labradorians to effect economic change for their benefit. Outsiders provided the schools, which the local population wanted for their children and even attended themselves.

Another needed item in the educational field provided by outsiders, namely by the S.P.C.K. and both the dioceses of Newfoundland and Quebec, were books. Books were clearly important for education, and missionaries cited learning to read as a key focus in their education of both Anglicans and people from other denominations. In 1861, Hutchinson specifically requested more prayer books, religious tracts and simple books for teaching children to read. He also noted that he gave books to Roman Catholic

²³²G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending Dec. 31st, 1860, 2pg, E11," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

children of Shoal Cove to try to convert them.²³³ Missionaries requested books and distributed them throughout their travels to people keeping Sunday schools or Night schools or to anyone who made an effort to educate his or her family and other families nearby.²³⁴ Books were a conversion tool and essential for trying to foster schools in the missions.

In conclusion, from the discussion here and the historical context discussed in chapter three, it appears that schools were an important element of colonial Anglican missions and were seen as a means of creating religious cohesion and making the Church of England part of people's lives. The struggle to provide schools gives insight into several elements of life in the Anglican missions. It shows the importance of schools to the Church of England, Bishop Feild, the S.P.G., and the missionaries themselves as well as the people of Labrador.²³⁵ It also clearly demonstrates that Labrador's fragile economic context was an important factor for the missions because inhabitants were unable to fund schools.

²³³G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending Mar. 31st, 1861, 6pg, E11," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

²³⁴G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending Dec. 31st, 1860, 2pg, E11," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Sept. 19th 1851, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received; A. Gifford, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Dec. 8th 1849, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received. In Disney's letter he noted that he had had a small boating accident, which cost him his whaleboat, and got the books on board (ones from the S.P.C.K) a bit damp but not ruined. Hutchinson also gave books to a Roman Catholic man who kept a night school at the small fishing place of Chimney (sometimes called Chimney Tickle) and was teaching people how to read. G. Hutchinson, "Quarterly Report Ending June 30th, 1861, 5pg including map, E14," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 3.

²³⁵H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. April 12th 1853, 5pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received, 4-5. Disney, even after having left Labrador, continued to seek a schoolmaster in Ireland. In fact, he seemed to have found a man who was willing for a salary of £80. There is no indication that this man ever came.

5.4 The Struggle for Self-sufficiency: Economy and Agency in Southern Labrador

7. Are you satisfied that your congregation is contributing to the best of their ability?

11. What prospect can you see of the Parish being endowed or becoming self-supporting?²³⁶

These above questions are taken from a form that the S.P.G. distributed to its missionaries and expected them to fill out at the end of the year. They reflect the fact that the issue of self-sufficiency was a constant concern for both the missionaries and the S.P.G. The S.P.G. since its beginning was concerned with self-sufficiency and so devised the parish-glebe system. This worked in places like Virginia, where crops-yielding lands existed, but in Newfoundland and Labrador this scheme failed due to sparse and unyielding land. Self-sufficiency was also important personally to Bishop Feild and to the Tractarian movement. Self-sufficiency meant independence from outside institutions such as governments. The challenge of self-sufficiency in the face of poverty created by the exploitative colonial economic context was a major factor in shaping the relationship between missionaries and inhabitants in Southern Labrador. To explore how this established relationships, the discussion of poverty in the missionaries' writings, and, specifically, poverty in relation to the struggle missionaries faced in trying to make people responsible for providing the salaries of their clergy and schoolmasters, will be examined. Both the S.P.G. and Bishop Feild²³⁷ were greatly interested in making missions

²³⁶A. Gifford, "Report, July, 1858, 2pg, E3," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. See Appendix A for all questions on the form. For the answers to the S.P.G. form questions from missionaries Gifford, Johnson, Hutchinson, and Bishop, see Appendix B.

²³⁷S. Sanderson, "How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876)," 53-57.

self-supporting. Christensen argued that due to economic and geographic reasons, people in Newfoundland were largely destitute and without stable income, and a similar context existed in Southern Labrador.²³⁸ Settlers did not have financial independence from merchants and so lacked money to pay missionary salaries, build and furnish churches, build schools, and pay schoolmasters' salaries. The precarious dependence of Southern Labradorians also created considerable tension and struggle in the lives of missionaries. At the same time, however, self-sufficiency was deemed important by the Church of England. The failure of one or more fisheries (cod, herring, seal) resulted in economic destitution, and a lack of mercantile support appears to have affected self-sufficiency in Labrador.

The multiple failures of the cod fishery were described directly by Hutchinson and others as thwarting efforts to make missions self-sufficient.²³⁹ Missionaries clearly noted that the failure of the fisheries could and did lead to starvation as well as a decrease in collections. Bishop, for example, indicated that in the previous year he had collected approximately 40 pounds from people, but speculated that in the current year it would be much less, maybe a quarter, due to the failure of the fishery.²⁴⁰ People in Southern Labrador did not have any governmental infrastructure to help mitigate poverty and starvation. In 1866, Dobie lamented the lack of "pauper relief" from the Newfoundland

²³⁸ R. Christensen, "The Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703-1782," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 20, (1951): 207-229; J. Kennedy, *People of the Bays and Headlands*, 12-46.

²³⁹G. Hutchinson, "Annual Return, Dec. 31st, 1856, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; Bishop, "Report, Nov. 11th [year unknown], 3pg, E31," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; R. Dobie, "Report Sept. 22nd 1867, 6pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

²⁴⁰G. Bishop, "Report, Nov. 11th [year unknown], 3pg, E31," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 2-3.

government.²⁴¹ Poverty was severe and the lack of financial means was directly related to a failing economy. In 1863, Hutchinson reported how Botwood had secured aid for the starving population of Battle Harbour from Forteau merchants.²⁴² Southern Labradorians were at the mercy of the environment and merchant economic success.

The lack of support from “the merchants and their agents [who were supposedly] all well-disposed...,” toward the cause of mission building, was a major issue for the Labrador missionaries.²⁴³ Gifford described in particular Jersey merchants as “turn[ing] deaf ears to every appeal to join themselves in any way to my cause” in Forteau and on the Newfoundland side.²⁴⁴ Firms like Ridley (Carbonear, NL), DeQuetterville (Forteau), Slade (Battle Harbour) and Hunt (St. Francis Harbour), while supportive, did not provide enough to allow the mission to become self-supporting. For instance, though both Hunt and Slade are listed as pledging 50 pounds in 1851, a contribution of 50 pounds does not appear in reported income in any of the following years.²⁴⁵ Conflict with merchants was common in the Forteau mission, including the Newfoundland side of the mission. This conflict was with French and Jersey merchants who both undermined, according to the

²⁴¹R. Dobie, “Report Sept. 17th 1866, 7pg, E22,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 7.

²⁴²G. Hutchinson, “Quarterly Report Ending Sept. 30th 1863, 4pg, E16,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 2-3.

²⁴³E. Feild, “A visit to Labrador in the Autumn of MDCCCXLVIII by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland,” 1849, Accessed June 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg19.html>. Feild stated in his letter to the S.P.G. that the merchant class that supported the church was present, and he felt that once the missions were built, they could become self-sufficient. S. Sanderson, “How High Was He? The Religious Thought and Activity of Edward Feild, Second Church of England Bishop of Newfoundland (1844-1876),” 53-57.

²⁴⁴A. Gifford, “Quarterly Report Ending Lady Day, 1855, 3pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 2-3; A. Gifford, “Annual Report, 1856, 16pg, E1,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 15-16.

²⁴⁵H. Disney, “The Labrador Mission: Letters of the Rev. H. P. Disney and the Rev. A. Gifford,” *Church in the Colonies* 26, (1851): 8-17; Baine, Johnston & Co (Battle Harbour) Fonds, 1.05.001,002,003. Baine and Johnston bought out Slade in 1871; however, like Slade after 1851, this firm is not mentioned or recorded as directly financially supporting the mission or missionary’s salaries in the corpus and period that this study has addressed.

missionaries, their attempts to get workers to practice Anglicanism and keep the Sabbath.²⁴⁶ Gifford accused some merchants in Forteau of being evil and having no respect for civil law, the latter being not enforced in Labrador because of a lack of judicature.²⁴⁷ Thus, the merchant class, described by Feild as being expected to provide support for missionaries, did not support them in such a way that enabled the missions to become self-sufficient. This may have been due to economic difficulties on the firms' part or that they substituted funds with building materials and donated help. It is unclear in the literature why they are not listed in relation to mission income.

Salary was also an important issue. The first salaries paid to the priests in Labrador were 200 pounds for Battle Harbour and 100 pounds for Forteau. By 1856, the salary for Battle Harbour was reduced to 100 pounds; it was, however, raised briefly during the time of Rev. Wilson to 150 pounds. It is unclear why it was raised, though it is reasonable to speculate that it was because he brought his family. In fact, Wilson was the first and only Battle Harbour missionary (during the duration of this study) to bring a family with him.²⁴⁸ The missionary letters of George Hutchinson indicated a pressure and a personal ambition to end dependence upon the S.P.G. When the fishery failed in 1864, Hutchinson expressed his sadness over not being able to make his mission self-sufficient. He stated that he would not re-apply for a S.P.G. grant the following year, as he hoped

²⁴⁶E. Botwood, "Annual Report, Sept. 1860- June 1861, 77pg, E8," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 17-18; R. Dobie, "Report Sept. 17th 1866, 7pg, E22," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 6-7. This may have been for economic reasons, because the chief time of complaints about this practice is during the height of the fishing season. Also the only time the Forteau missionaries visited the Newfoundland side of their mission was during the summer.

²⁴⁷A. Gifford, "Quarterly Report Ending Christmas, 1854, 6pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316, 3-4.

²⁴⁸E. Feild, "A visit to Labrador in the Autumn of MDCCCXLVIII by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland," 1849, Accessed June 2014, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/canada/nf/spg19.html>; See Appendix B.

that it would force the people to support the Church.²⁴⁹ Yet, Hutchinson continued for his whole tenure to receive an S.P.G. salary, and George Bishop, in 1872, recorded receiving a salary of 100 pounds from the S.P.G.²⁵⁰ Bishop Field, in his correspondence with the S.P.G., acknowledged the financial pressure to make the missions in his diocese self-supporting and reported that he would encourage his clergy to do so. But because of the diocese's economic and geographic (lack of suitable land for agriculture) conditions, he remained precariously limited and was largely unable to make his diocese self-sufficient. Particularly striking is one 1873 letter to Rev. Bullock, the Secretary of the S.P.G., where Bishop Feild requested salaries for thirty-six out of forty-eight missionaries in his diocese. He indicated that he had reduced them where possible, though he expressed anxiety that he was not able to reduce the salaries to less than the S.P.G. grant.²⁵¹ Salaries were a difficult issue for colonial dioceses, and there was pressure to make missions and the diocese self-supporting through dependable members and by doing so entrenching it further in colonial society. Thus, self-sufficiency was a goal of the Church of England's integration process, which could never be achieved.

Further, from the discussion of salaries it is clear that missionaries used their salaries to cover travel costs. In 1850, Rev. Disney indicated that a large amount of his salary was used for travel, and that he was in constant need of additional financial support

²⁴⁹G. Hutchinson, "Report Oct. 24 1864, 2pg, E16," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

²⁵⁰G. Bishop, "Annual Return, Nov. 1st 72- Nov. 1st 1873, 2pg, E28," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

²⁵¹E. Feild, "Letter to S.P.G. September 19th 1873," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports. It is also important to note that the salaries for Labrador in this letter remain at £100. However, in 1871, an "Application for Grant Schedule for Money" filled out by Bishop Feild for George Bishop, indicated that the salary for Battle Harbour has been reduced from Rev. Wilson's time to £100. Feild also noted that about 30-40£ may be able to be expected from the inhabitants. E. Feild, "Application for Grant Money, S.P.G., July 1st 1871, 2pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

from local merchants and from his home diocese of Armagh, Ireland.²⁵² George Bishop also indicated that he spent over 100 pounds on travel.²⁵³ Missionaries shouldered much of the costs of their missions from their salaries and were in constant need of more financial assistance.

One major way in which congregations supported missionaries was through donation of foodstuffs, primarily quintals of fish, which were donated through merchants.²⁵⁴ Many persons and institutions subsidized books, travel, church furniture, funds for general support, and missionaries' salaries. The majority of support was received from outside of Labrador or from the merchant class of Southern Labrador. Because poverty prevented the missions from becoming self-sufficient, this resulted in many missionary expenses being covered by a colonial network of Anglicans. One poignant example of this dependency occurred in 1863. Rev. Hutchinson wrote that he found upon his return a failed fishery and, "a considerable number on the verge of starvation. Some of them [his congregants] had gone in the spring by boat as far as Forteau, a distance of eighty miles, and there obtained some food from a merchant

²⁵²H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. July 10th 1850, 2 pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received; H. Disney, "Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G. Aug. 12th 1850, 3pg," USPG Archive, C/CAN, D Series, 9A, Original Letters Received.

²⁵³G. Bishop, "Report, Nov. 11th [year unknown], 3pg, E31," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 2.

²⁵⁴G. Hutchinson, "Report Oct. 24 1864, 2pg, E16," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports; H. Disney and G. Hutchinson, *Journal of Men and Book [of] Battle Harbour, Labrador* in "Battle Harbour, Labrador Collection," 636, ABA, Box 1, Fond 3. In this book there are records of donations from 1850 and 1853; however, there are other pages where it is unclear if they belong to either of the aforementioned years or other non-labeled years. I note this because the year is written at the top of the page and some of the edges show signs of damage. It is only from 1850 that Disney records donations from merchants and all the remaining years indicate small donations of fish from local peoples.

through the kind introduction of Rev. Botwood.”²⁵⁵ Hutchinson's letter illustrates well the poverty and frailty of Labradorians in times of economic crisis.

In 1856 Rev. Gifford wrote, “You cannot feed the whole parish.” Gifford was quoting a young officer of the British navy who visited the Parish at English Point, Forteau. Prior to the officer's visit, many people were accustomed to coming to the parsonage after Sunday service for supper. Gifford served them boiled potatoes, a luxury for Labrador; however, in the winter the stores tended to run low. The officer made a point of coming to dinner two Sundays in a row to deter the inhabitants from their practice of eating at the parsonage after service. According to Gifford the officer's efforts stopped the practice, possibly through direct or indirect intimidation.²⁵⁶ This story at first seems very odd; however, the underlying point is about self-sufficiency and the struggle to provide for the Southern Labrador missions. Poverty was a result of the exploitative colonial context of Labrador, and it was that context that shaped the relationships between Labradorians and the Church of England.

One other topic of concern is the issue of glebes. While it seems that both missions had a glebe, the income from them was small or non-existent. Gifford indicated that there were buildings on his glebe lands, which he rented for between 10-20 pounds a year.²⁵⁷ Johnson recorded in his report from 1859 that he received approximately 20 pounds a year from the glebe.²⁵⁸ Rev. Dobie did not mention a glebe; however, his letters

²⁵⁵G. Hutchinson, “Quarterly Report Ending Sept. 30th 1863, 4pg, E16,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports, 2-3.

²⁵⁶A. Gifford, “Assorted printed documents and image of proposed church at Indian Harbour, 6pg,” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316.

²⁵⁷See Appendix B.

²⁵⁸Ibid., Johnson form 1869.

are filled with anxiety over lack of funds. As for the Battle Harbour mission, Hutchinson indicated in 1861 that he had a quarter of a glebe, but did not list any income from it. Then, in 1863, no glebe of any kind was recorded on his annual form. Also Rev. Bishop, on his annual form for 1872-1873, did not indicate that he had a glebe.²⁵⁹ Glebes in the Labrador missions were, like in Newfoundland missions, not a reliable source of income because of unyielding land and low rental income, and certainly not one that made missions self-sufficient.

5.5 Conclusion

Missionaries, while desiring to build up their missions, were of limited means; and supporters, while able to contribute, were not able to offset or cover the cost of churches, parsonages and schools. While people often contributed free labour, much of it appears to have been paid. Thus, the contributions of the inhabitants are minimal in comparison to outside donations, though without sources that give the perspective of local people it is difficult to quantify the actual degree of help and why it appears to be lacking. But, it is significant that inhabitants helped minimize travel costs and donated some of the foodstuffs that sustained missionaries. Yet, self-sufficiency was never achieved for either Battle Harbour or Forteau, and missionaries lacked the means to build and establish the entire ecclesiastical infrastructure that they and their flock desired. Thus, the lack of economic agency of the population of Southern Labrador is likely the reason that the missions failed to become self-sufficient.

²⁵⁹Ibid. See Hutchinson 1863 and 1861 as well as Bishop 1872-1873.

Building on the existence of a lack of agency, it is reasonable to assert that such lack further reinforced reliance on the Church of England's colonial network, which included the S.P.G. as well as other colonial Anglican dioceses. The church's role as a builder of a colonial infrastructure is particularly evident in the economic context of Southern Labrador. Nevertheless, the S.P.G., Bishop Feild and the Labrador missionaries, rooted in an understanding of colonial ideology and Tractarian convictions, asserted that the Church of England was an institution meant to provide for the inhabitants of British colonies and in the process achieved a modicum of self-sufficiency. The building up of a social and ecclesiastical infrastructure was the decided aim of the Church of England, rooted in the bishop's and the clergy's ecclesial self-understanding of the church as a sacred apostolic institution. Given the institutional and operational void in Southern Labrador, it was able to embrace this role with relatively little denominational competition.²⁶⁰ Thus, while struggling the Church of England followed its pattern of community integration in Southern Labrador. It built up communities and provided for the people's religious, cultural, and social wants and needs. Though it did not change the ever-present exploitative colonial economic context of Labrador, the Church of England affected people's lives through providing services that were previously non-existent and unattainable.

²⁶⁰While this study has discussed examples of other religious groups in Labrador who gave missionaries anxiety, especially Methodists in Red Bay, no other religious group moved into Southern Labrador and began building a religious or social infrastructure during the period of this study.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 The Inclusion of Southern Labrador into the Colonial Community of the Church of England

The story of the Anglican Labrador missions is a drama played out on both a local and national stage, full of interdependent relationships and historical motivations that resulted in a change in people's lives and in communities throughout Southern Labrador. These relationships were shaped by a number of historical factors: colonial economics, the environment of Southern Labrador and Tractarian religiosity. The missions of Battle Harbour and Forteau are examples of the Church of England's colonial role, which is evidenced by the treatment of Labrador by England and Newfoundland as well as the specific religious and theological nature of Tractarianism. By analyzing how and why the Church of England established itself in Southern Labrador, this study showed the life experience of Labradorians and Church of England missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century, and local and national efforts were highlighted that alleviated poverty and a lack of social and religious infrastructure.

The inhabitants of Labrador lived in a colonial locale that was exploited by Europe for economic profit. Despite transient settlement from the sixteenth century onward and permanent settlement from the eighteenth century as well as being owned by France and England, and later administered by Quebec (1774-1809) and Newfoundland (1763-1774, 1810), Labrador lacked a local colonial infrastructure. Rudiments of

infrastructure, including the intermittent circuit courts and tax collectors, were operated at the behest of the Newfoundland legislature. Rather than being a colony, Labrador was a colonial locale with the purpose of serving as a source of resources for British merchants. The environment of Labrador shaped the nature of resource exploitation. It did this by ordering settlement around various places, rivers, coves, and bays, where resources were available seasonally. People who settled in Labrador were men (and some women) brought to work for merchants, who intermarried with the local Aboriginal population. They became mobile and lived in places where they exploited resources on the order of merchant firms, practicing what John Kennedy called "seasonal transhumance." They were largely dependent upon mercantile firms for economic survival because of the lack of a colonial infrastructure. There was no pauper relief, and if the fisheries failed, people faced starvation unless the merchants chose to be charitable. Thus, the lives of the population of Southern Labrador were shaped by an environment and colonial economy that left them exploited and neglected. Some of this void in their society, the Church of England attempted to fill and by so doing included the inhabitants into its colonial religious community.

The Church of England was a colonial institution, which along with the S.P.G. invested in building Anglican communities throughout the British Empire that retained ties to Britain. The Church of England in Newfoundland, during the period of study, had recently been elevated to a colonial diocese (1839) and was developing its own ecclesiastical infrastructure under a bishop, Edward Feild. In 1848, upon finding out from the S.P.G. that Labrador was within his diocese, the bishop visited the region and requested aid from the S.P.G. to establish three missions. The mission at Sandwich Bay

was not established until 1885 because of financial complications. The two churches of Forteau and Battle Harbour were fruits of a Tractarian understanding of ecclesiology and of mission. Bishop Edward Feild's religious outlook affected theological educational, and architectural decisions and building campaigns in the Labrador missions. Feild was convinced of the "apostolicity" of the Church of England and felt that it was his duty to develop his diocese along Tractarian lines and convert the population to a staunchly church-centered Anglicanism.

Feild sent eight missionaries to Labrador over the course of twenty-seven years. Six of these --Gifford, Johnson, Botwood, Dobie, Wilson, and Bishop-- were educated at Queen's College, where they learned Tractarian architectural principles from Rev. William Grey diocesan architect, who designed the churches at Battle Harbour and Forteau and influenced the other churches that were built. The students lived an ascetic lifestyle meant to prepare them for the harsh realities of the Newfoundland and Labrador mission field. The other two--Disney and Hutchinson--were eager volunteers from Ireland and England. Feild's religious outlook influenced his missionaries and taught them the conviction of duty to build up the Church of England, convert all people within the diocese, and ensure that the church's rituals were practiced correctly throughout their parishes. The Labrador missionaries, following Feild's example, aimed to create religious cohesion in their parishes doctrinally and liturgically by building an ecclesiastical infrastructure and strictly upholding the teachings of the Church of England.

To accomplish the building up of the Church of England in Southern Labrador, missionaries first needed to become part of the communities in their mission territories. They did this by mobility travelling constantly throughout their missions with the help of

their parishioners and by forming social bonds through visitations. The missionaries provided much-needed religious, educational and medical services. They responded to requests for medical attention, marriages, baptisms and funerals, and were often directly assisted by their flock while travelling. The Labrador priests formed interdependent relationships with their congregations by staying with them and availing themselves of their help and companionship during travel. This formation of social bonds linked the population of Southern Labrador into the wider religious community of the Church of England, as they partook of its services and came to identify themselves as Anglicans. These travel practices were driven by demand and necessity, but they were also driven by the Tractarian conviction of duty, which compelled the missionaries to travel to the many smaller communities throughout their missions in service of individuals and families.

The integration into the wider community of the Church of England did not happen without resistance, and not all inhabitants were converted to Anglicanism. In fact, this study has shown that the demography of the missions varied, with Methodists, Roman Catholics and other non-specified Christian denominations being present. Many of the people belonging to these groups challenged the Labrador missionaries' authority. For instance, one man, an unnamed blacksmith from L'Anse aux Cortard, earned the nickname "the Western Parson," for his pastoral and liturgical activities frustrating Rev. Gifford by marrying people and claiming to give them the church's blessing. There were also Methodists at Red Bay who erected the frame of a "Weslyan Meeting House," spurring Rev. Dobie to focus all of his energy on ensuring a proper Anglican church was built there.

The other issue, aside from religious dissent, that complicated the establishment of the Church of England in Southern Labrador, was the poverty of the region. Labradorians lived precarious lives dependent upon merchants and seasonally available resources. They had little extra income to support the church and help fund the services they wanted. The building of churches and schools was largely funded by people from outside the Labrador missions, namely the S.P.G., Bishop Feild, and other members of the Church of England in Newfoundland, Ireland, Quebec and Nova Scotia. It is also important to note that the key merchant firms that supported the missions in Labrador – Slade, Hunt, Bird, DeQuetterville—were of English origin and Labrador was one of their many posts.

Support from Labrador's lower-class population was seriously limited because of their lack of economic agency. Yet, lacking economic means did not mean that the inhabitants were totally passive in the process that made them a part of the Church of England. Men who were not of the merchant class in Labrador actively contributed labour and funds, often in the form of foodstuffs. People also contributed to travel, provided lodgings, worked on building projects, and therefore aided religious and social services. Labradorians wanted the services of the church, especially education, even when they were unable to pay for a missionary, a school, or build churches or schools themselves.

One of the dominating issues reflected in the letters of the missionaries is the question of self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency was very important to Bishop Feild and the S.P.G. because it meant that missions would be self-supporting and that the Church of England would become more integrated into communities as it would have reliable and committed members who took ownership of their church. In fact, Bishop Feild chose the

sites of Battle Harbour and Forteau for the headquarters of the two missions because he thought that the local merchants there would be supportive. This, however, was not always the case, and because of poverty and possible ambivalence on the part of some merchants, the Church of England did not become self-sufficient during the period of this study.

The narrative of the history of the Labrador priests and their missions is one of struggle: struggle to fulfill their colonial Tractarian duty and convert all the people within their mission to Anglicanism; to encourage and enforce correct adherence to the church's teachings and rituals; to travel in difficult weather and reach the many small communities and fishing places within their missions; to build an ecclesiastical infrastructure of schools, churches and parsonages; to alleviate poverty and to become self-sufficient and no longer dependent upon the S.P.G. The establishment of the Church of England on the cold, rocky shores of Southern Labrador did not proceed smoothly, however the church did establish a firm foothold in Labrador. It did this during its first decades through building five churches, two parsonages, one chapel and by establishing several small schools as well as providing, by travelling, their flock with the religious and social services, such as marriages, baptisms, funerals and deathbed assistance, limited medical attention, and religious education, to all of which they had previously had no access.

6.2 Future Research

This study has been limited to exploring the Labrador missions from the perspective of the Labrador missionaries and by using their accounts to address on a local level the larger question of how and why the Church of England became an integral part

of Southern Labrador. The scope was also limited to exploring colonial, environmental, theological and religious factors. There are, however, still a number of considerations that affected the Labrador missions that this study was unable to explore. While effects of Bishop Feild's actions and the role of the colonial Anglican network (especially the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G.) were mentioned and discussed, the scope of this study was limited by what could be said on the basis of the letters of the Labrador missionaries. Their experiences were given prominence to show life in the missions because the voice of the congregants remained largely unrecorded.

Due to these constraints, this study was unable to address fully questions about the Newfoundland side of the Belle Isle Mission as well as Bishop Feild's conduct while he was in Labrador and his thoughts about the struggles of the Labrador missions, notably the situation in Sandwich Bay and the connections between Newfoundland, Quebec and Labrador. The greatest lacuna left to be explored in relation to Labrador was the colonial network of missionaries and bishops outside of Newfoundland who supported the activities of the Labrador missionaries.

As shown in this thesis, the historical record of the Labrador missions shows great involvement and support by outsiders (Newfoundland, England, Ireland, Nova Scotia and Quebec), which is indicative of the existence of a colonial Anglican network that was invested in building up the Church of England in British North America. This network needs further exploration, notably how missions were funded and engaged with the colonial network. Understanding this network's function and make-up would shed further light on the motivations and process of establishing Anglican missions throughout the British Empire. Specifically in Labrador, it would further aid in understanding the

relationships between colonial dioceses and other institutions of the Church of England, such as the S.P.C.K, and the S.P.G., as well as individual contributors.

This study has contributed to a previously neglected area of Labrador's history, examining what life was like in the Anglican missions for both missionaries and inhabitants. Historical examples of the interdependence in the relationships between the local population and missionaries of the Church of England have shown the effect of colonialism on economic agency and life experience for all the people involved. Through this study, the social and economic neglect of Labrador has become increasingly apparent so that the overall conclusion about agency and economics in the missions leads to further consensus with John Kennedy's study of the region. The historical portrait of colonial Tractarianism in action sheds light on the missionaries themselves and their activities and motivations as well as those of Bishop Feild. Furthermore, this study has tied together the factors that shaped and built the early Labrador missions, showing that they were a product of British colonialism and fit with the desire of the Church of England to integrate itself into communities throughout the British Empire.

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4. Appendices

Appendix A

Transcription of Questions from the S.P.G. Annual Return Form

Form Questions:

Version One

Gifford, A. "Report, July, 1858, 2pg, E3," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1. What is the extent of the Parish or Mission at present under your charge?

2. Give the numbers, distinguishing the nations or races, of ---
 - a)The whole population of your Mission.
 - b)Church Members -- *i.e.* those of any age who are Baptized, and do not profess to dissent from the Prayer Book.
 - c)The actual Congregation present at each of your Churches or Stations at any one Service.
 - d)Communicants.
 - e)Persons confirmed last year.
 - f)Unbaptized adults and children under Christian instruction.

3. Specify, as to each Church or Station within your Parish, how often in the course of the last year did you --
 - a)Celebrate Divine Service?
 - b)Administer Holy Communion?
 - c)Catechise publicly during Service?
 - d)And what was the number of
 - Baptisms
 - of Infants publicly?
 - Adults publicly ?
 - Infants privately?
 - Adults privately?
 - Marriages?
 - Burials?

4. What contributions have been raised within the Parish during the year for general Church purposes or for local charities?

5. Particularly state the number and total amount of your Offertory collections, and the purposes to which they are applied.

6. State the amount of your *professional* income during the past year, and the sources from whence its component parts are severally derived, -- as, for instance, the S.P.G. the Diocesan Church Society, Vote of the Legislature, Glebes, Congregational Contributions in money or kind, Donations, Fees, Pew-rents, Vestry Allowances, or any other source.

7. Are you satisfied that your Congregation are contributing to the best of their ability?

8. What Schools, Sunday and Daily, are in the Mission?

9. What is the average attendance of children, male and female, in each?

10. What part have you been enabled to take in the superintendence or tuition?

11. What prospect can you see of the Parish being endowed, or becoming self-supporting?

12. Has anything prevented the transmission of your Quarterly Reports during the past year?

Version Two

Johnson, R. "Annual Report, 1859, 4pg, E6," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1. What is the extent of the Parish or Mission at present under your charge?

2. Give the numbers, distinguishing the nations or races, of ---

a)The whole population of your Mission.

b)Church Members -- *i.e.* those of any age who are Baptized, and do not profess to dissent from the Prayer Book.

c)The actual Congregation present at each of your Churches or Stations at any one Service.

d)Communicants.

e)Persons confirmed last year.

f)Unbaptized adults and children under Christian instruction.

3. Specify, as to each Church or Station within your Parish, how often in the course of the last year did you --

- a) Celebrate Divine Service?
- b) Administer Holy Communion?
- c) Catechise publicly during Service?
- d) And what was the number of

Baptisms

- of Infants publicly?
- Adults publicly ?
- Infants privately?
- Adults privately?

Marriages?

Burials?

4. What contributions have been raised within the Parish during the year for general Church purposes or for local charities?

5. Particularly state the number and total amount of your Offertory collections, and the purposes to which they are applied.

6. State the amount of your *professional* income during the past year, and the sources from whence its component parts are severally derived, -- as, for instance, the S.P.G. the Diocesan Church Society, Vote of the Legislature, Glebes, Congregational Contributions in money or kind, Donations, Fees, Pew-rents, Vestry Allowances, or any other source.

7. What Schools, Sunday and Daily are in the mission?

8. What is the average attendance of children, male and female, in each?

9. What part have you been enabled to take in the superintendence or tuition?

10. Is there in the Mission

a Church

a Parsonage

a Glebe

an Endowment Fund ?

11. State as nearly as you can the cost of the Church and Parsonage, and the value of the

Glebe and Endowment.

12. Is any effort being made to supply any of these which may be wanting?

13. What prospect can you see of the Parish being endowed, or becoming self-supporting?

14. Has your Quarterly Reports been sent regularly during the past year?

Version Three

Bishop, G. "Annual Return, Nov. 1st 72- Nov. 1st 1873, 2pg. E28," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1. What is the extent of the Parish or Mission at present under your charge?

2. Give the numbers, distinguishing the nations or races, of ---

- a) The whole population of your Mission.
- b) Church Members -- *i.e.* those of any age who are Baptized, and do not profess to dissent from the Prayer Book.
- c) The actual Congregation present at each of your Churches or Stations at any one Service.
- d) Communicants.
- e) Persons confirmed last year.
- f) Unbaptized adults and children under Christian instruction.

3. Specify, as to each Church or Station within your Parish, how often in the course of the last year did you --

- a) Celebrate Divine Service?
- b) Administer Holy Communion?
- c) Catechise publicly during Service?
- d) And what was the number of Baptisms

of Infants publicly?

Adults publicly ?

Infants privately?

Adults privately?

Marriages?

Burials?

4. State in detail all the contributions which have been raised by offertory or otherwise, within the Parish or mission in the year for any Church purposes parochial or extra parochial or for local charities; and specify the purpose to which they have been applied?
5. Particularly state the amount of your *professional* income during the past year, and the sources from whence its component parts are severally derived, -- as, for instance, the S.P.G. the Diocesan Church Society, Glebes, Congregational Contributions (included in previous answer) in money or kind, Donations, Fees, Pew-rents, Vestry Allowances, or any other source.
6. What Schools, Sunday and Daily, are in the Mission?
7. What is the average attendance of children, male and female, in each?
8. What part have you been enabled to take in the superintendence or tuition?
9. Is the Parish or mission provided with a Church, a Parsonage, and an Endowment? Is any effort being made to supply them?
10. Have your Quarterly Reports been sent regularly during the past year?

Appendix B

Labrador Missionaries Annual Report Form Answers

Note: Answers are primarily summarized, however when actually quoting the writings of missionaries “ ” are used. Also, only missionaries whose forms and handwritten answers to forms that were photographed at Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford University England are (with permission) recorded here.

The Mission of the Strait of Belle Isle (Forteau)

Rev. Algernon Gifford

Note: This is not a form, however it is written out in the same style as the version one form.

December 1855

Gifford, A. “Annual Return to the S.P.G. Christmas, 1855, 4pg.” USPG Archive, C/CAN/NFL, Box 8, 316.

1.

Gifford indicated that the mission was approximately 70 miles extent. Gifford noted that he was largely unable to visit the Newfoundland side of the Strait of Belle Isle, except occasionally during the summer.

2.

a) Resident population 450 - Mostly from England and a few from Jersey and Canada. Indicated that the population was double this in the summer.

b) 320 (Gifford indicated that this was nominally increased in the summer)

c) Winter, 15 people at morning service and 8 at afternoon service. Summer, 20 at morning service and 8 at afternoon service. Wrote that on special occasions the congregation can reach 50 to 60. Gifford also indicated that while traveling congregations usually consisted of 1-3 families.

d) 8 communicants, 3 have left Labrador. 2 at Red Bay and 2 on the Newfoundland side of the Strait

e) Indicated that there had been no confirmations since the 1853 visit of Bishop Feild, however Gifford noted his flock's optimism for another visit and indicated many were being prepared for confirmation.

3.

a) Noted that the mission had increased to 36 settlements. Gifford wrote that the inhabitants were highly mobile, and indicated that all settlements get at least 2 visits each

year. He also wrote that services were not confined to Sundays.

b) 6

c) Indicated that he had no opportunity to catechize.

d) Indicated that he had conducted many and that he had recorded them in his journal; he also noted that he had made 6 or 7 sick calls.

21 Infants Baptized

7 Marriages (Indicated that many of these were confirmations of marriages.)

1 Burial

4.

£44.10.9 raised by the Newfoundland Diocesan Church Society

£12.19 recorded from rent of mission property

£5 Collections:

£2.16.4 ½

Last year balance was, £1.11.4

Total = £4.9.8

Indicated that a crippled man was relieved with £7.6, and that the balance was relieved by Bishop Field.

6.

£100 S.P.G.

£57.8.9 Bishop Feild's Newfoundland Church Society

£7 Marriage fee

7.

Gifford noted that people contribute fairly with a few exceptions. He did not describe the exceptions.

8.

Indicated none, however, Gifford also noted that he and his family lodged some persons at the parsonage during the winter of 1854-1855 and 1855-1856.

9.

Indicated none.

10.

Indicated none.

11.

'None at present.'

12.

Gifford indicated that the severity of Labrador's winter had delayed the sending of forms.

July 1858

Version One Form

“Report, July, 1858, 2pg, E3,” USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1.

Gifford stated that the whole circuit, comprising many small settlements and harbours, might have been above 80 miles.

2.

a) 450 residents, 400 visiting fishers

b) 320 residents, 180 more during the summer

c) Indicated that at St. Peters the number of attendants varied from 60 and downwards.

Gifford indicated that the numbers he expected smaller numbers at Red Bay and Anchor Point.

d) 19

e) Indicated none.

f) Indicated none.

3.

a) He wrote, twice each Sunday at St. Peters and often in the many homes during weekdays and Sundays, while traveling.

b) 6 times at St. Peter's and 3 times in the homes of sick people

c) Indicated none.

d) 14 special calls to distances from 3- 30 miles besides regular visits.

30 Infants Baptized Publicly

11 Marriages

2 Burials

4.

£56.5.6 raised for the Newfoundland Diocesan Church Society.

5.

£6 offertory collections, and £2.3.4. Gifford indicated that half of this was applied to the expense of a connector and funneling for St. Peter's stove.

6.

£100 S.P.G.

£46.16.6 Diocesan Church Society

£1.12.06 Rent of Mission Premise

£11 Marriage Fees

£.8 1 Funeral

7. Gifford stated that he was satisfied given the situation of people. He indicated that given peoples' situations, he thought that some individual contributions were very liberal.

8.

Blank

9.

Blank

10.

None, though Gifford indicated that he provided instruction in prayers and catechism to children from house to house in his travels.

11.

Indicated None.

12.

Gifford indicated that his autumn report was delayed because he was on Newfoundland side of his mission and had missed the last boat to Europe.

Rev. Reginald Johnson

1859

Version 2 Form

Johnson, R. "Annual Report, 1859, 4pg, E6," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series
Missionary Reports.

1.

Indicated mission was 55 miles of coastline.

2.

a) 420 residents, 400 more in the summer

b) 320 residents, 180 more in the summer

c) Blank

i. St. Peter's English Point, Forteau 60

ii. Johnson noted that in other communities he holds service, and as many as can attend.
He did not give average numbers.

d) 20 communicants

e) Indicated none.

f) Indicated none.

3.

a) Noted that he took charge of the mission last July and left for St. John's in October.
While in the mission he officiated 26 services at St. Peter's and various houses.

b) Indicated that he never did because he did not have his deacon's orders.

c) Indicated never.

3 Infants Baptized Privately

3 Marriages Performed

4.

Blank

5.

Blank

6.

£100 S.P.G.

£1.8 Collection

£7.0 Fees

Additional £20.

7. Indicated none.

8. Indicated none.

9. Indicated none.

10.

1 Church

1 Parsonage

Glebe - A fishery Establishment that is rented out.

11.

Indicated that the value of the Church was £4-500.

Indicated that the value of the parsonage was £1- 200.

Indicated that the rent of the Fishery establishment (the glebe) was £20.

12.

Johnson indicated a chance for a church at Red Bay.

13.

Indicated no.

14.

Johnson indicated that he had been too mobile to make regular returns.

Mission of Battle Harbour

Rev. George Hutchinson

December 31st 1856

Version One

Hutchinson, G. "Annual Return, Dec. 31st, 1856, 2pg." USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1.

Indicated that the mission extent was 360 miles.

2.

a) Hutchinson reported 950 inhabitants, 40 Esquimaux, 8 Mountaineers, 50 mixed race peoples, and indicated that the rest are whites of English, Irish and Newfoundland and Labrador background.

b) Indicated 650, and that in the summer population increased by 8000 to 10,000, half of

which were church people.

c) Battle Harbour 230, St. Francis Harbour 160, Seal Island 200, Cape Charles 100, Ship Harbour 100, Petty Harbour 90.

d) 28

e) 30

f) None

3.

a) Battle Harbour 56, St. Francis 16, Seal Island 12, Cape Charles 8, Cough Island 8.

Hutchinson also notes that he celebrated divine service in about 50 communities in the summer and 26 in the winter.

b) Battle Harbour 6, St. Francis Harbour 2, Seal Island 1

c) Blank

36 Infants Baptized Publically

13 Infants Baptized Privately

8 Marriages

12 Burials

4.

Blank

5.

Indicated 12 offertory collections for a total of £5. Indicated that 2 collections were for support of the mission and 10 collections were for poor relief.

6.

£100 S.P.G.

£9 Fees

£ 65 Contributions of money and fish.

7.

Hutchinson indicated, 1 Day School throughout the winter and 2 others in the summer. Also, 2 Night Schools in the winter and 2 Sunday Schools throughout the year and 2 others in the summer.

8.

Day School 20. Sunday School 40.

9.

Hutchinson noted that he was the superintendent and that he had taught in the Sunday School, and that he also gave occasional instruction in the Day School.

10.

Hutchinson indicated that he purchased a building at Henly Harbour for holding divine services and Sunday School.

11.

Hutchinson noted that he was trying to make it self-supporting and that he was urging all

to contribute. He further indicated that his work was not going well because of a bad fishery, however he stated that the seal fishery looked to be more prosperous, and he hoped that he might yet succeed.

12.

Blank

September 1857

Version One

Hutchinson, G. "Annual Return, Sept. 7, 1857, 3pg, E3," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1.

Indicated 90 miles extent in Labrador and 30 miles on Newfoundland side.

2.

a) 640 English

160 Irish

50 Esquimaux

15 Mountaineers

(8000 summer visitors from NF)

b) Indicated approximately 600.

c) 55 different stations, 200 at Battle Harbour and 150 at Seal Islands and St. Francis Harbour.

d) 20

e) 20

3.

This whole section is left blank except the following.

14 Infants Baptized Publically

1 Adult Baptized Publically

12 Infants Baptized Privately

11 Marriages

2 Burials

4.

Hutchinson noted that he received £35 for general purposes, and that none of the amount was promised for special objects.

5.

Indicated 8 offertory collections with a total of £4.10, some of which was given to destitute persons.

6.

£100 S.P.G.

£11 Fees

7.

Indicated no.

8.

Indicated one Sunday School and one Day School at Battle Harbour

9.

Sunday School 38(boys) - 10(girls). Day School 30(boys) - 8(girls)

10.

Hutchinson indicated that he had been the sole teacher.

11.

Blank

12.

Blank

December 1860

Version One

Note: This is not a form, however it is written out in the same style as the version one form

Hutchinson, G. "Quarterly Report Ending Dec. 31st, 1860, 2pg, E11," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1.

Indicated 99 miles in Labrador and 30 miles on the Newfoundland coast.

2.

a) Labrador 984, Newfoundland 240.

Labrador Ethnicity, 24 Esquimaux, 20 Mountaineer, mixed-raced persons 100 and 8000-10,000 summer visitors.

b) 900

c) Battle Harbour, 240, St. Francis Harbour, 130 Seal Island, 200, Ship Harbour 80, Petty Harbour 80, Cape Charles 60. Total church members, 790.

3.

a) Indicated Battle Harbour 88, St. Francis Harbour, 20 and that divine service was held 27 times in other places.

b) Battle Harbour 8, St. Francis Harbour 2, Seal Island, 1.

c) Indicated never.

d) Indicated no.

Other parts are left blank.

4. Blank

5.

Indicated that he collected 12 times for church purposes and relief of the poor.

6.

£100 S.P.G.

£15 Fees

£20 Contributions

7. Indicated no.

8.

Sunday School and Day School at Battle Harbour

9.

Indicated that the attendance was variable.

10.

Indicated that he taught at Battle Harbour and in people's homes when he traveled.

11.

Blank

12.

Indicated that he had sent reports and that the last quarter's reports were to be transmitted via Nova Scotia by the next July(1861).

December 31st 1861

Version Two

Hutchinson, G. "Quarterly Report Ending Dec. 31st 1861, E14," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1.

Indicated 90 miles and that in the winter the mission was approximately 40 miles larger.

2.

a) Indicated that numbers varied between 8000 in the summer and 1000 in the winter.

b) Indicated 600 in the winter and ½ of the "summer sojourners."

c) Battle Harbour 230, St. Francis Harbour 150, Seal Island 200, Ship Harbour 90, Petty Harbour 90, Cape Charles 80.

d) 21

e) None

f) None

3.

a) Indicated that divine service was celebrated at 40 stations, Battle Harbour 56, St. Francis 18, Henly Harbour 10, Chateau 10.

b) Battle Harbour 12, St. Francis 3, Seal Island 2.

c) Indicated none.

29 Infants Baptized Publically

8 Infants Baptized Privately

9 Marriages

14 Burials

4.

£30 for church purposes

Indicated that there was also a collection for the aid of a sick person and widows.

5.

£19 Offertory Collection

£16.12 Annual Collection

Indicated that this was applied to church furniture and relief of the poor.

6.

100 S.P.G.

£10 Fees

£20 Donation from a "generous friend."

7.

Sunday School and Day School at Battle Harbour, Sunday Schools also at Seal Island, Petty Harbour, Cape Charles (only during the summer)

8.

Battle Harbour, Day School 18 in summer 9 in winter, Sunday School 25 in summer and 10 in winter.

9.

Hutchinson noted that he took a share of the teaching in both the Sunday School and Day School, and also that he examined and taught children while traveling.

10.

2 Churches

1 Parsonage

¼ of a Glebe

No Endowment

11.

Stated that he did not know.

12.

Indicated that one church and a small house were in the course of being erected at Seal Island.

13.

Indicated that he was hoping to work on this issue, but at moment no.

14.

Yes.

December 1863

Version Two

Hutchinson, G. "Annual Report, Dec. 31st 1863, 2pg, E16," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1.

Indicated 90 miles and in the winter 40 miles in breadth.

2.

a) 902, summer 8000-10,000, 43 Esquimaux, 9 Mountaineers, 70 mixed race peoples.

b) 650, 150 Roman Catholics

c) Battle Harbour 240, St. Francis Harbour 160, Seal Island 200, Cape Charles 95, Ship Harbour 90, Square Island 60.

d) 25

e) None

f) None

3.

a) Hutchinson noted that he had returned from St. John's on 23 July after being absent from his mission for part of the year.

51 Battle Harbour, 12 St. Francis Harbour, 8 Seal Island, 6 Cape Charles, 5 Square Island.

b) 9 Hutchinson did not indicate location.

35 Infants Publically

9 Infants Privately

9 Marriages

4 Burials

4.

Hutchinson indicated that there had been very little, though he had received some (unspecified amount) from inhabitants, which was used for church purposes.

5.

Indicated 9 collections of £6, which was applied to church furniture and relief of the destitute and poor. It is unclear if this was 9 collections totaling £6 or 9 collections totaling £48.

6.

£100 S.P.G.

£10.15 Fees

£14 Contributions in money and kind.

7.

1 Day School and 4 Sunday Schools

8.

Summer Day School, Battle Harbour 12(boys), 8(girls)

Winter Day School, Battle Harbour 9(boys), 5(girls)

Sunday School Battle Harbour 30

Sunday School Cape Charles 30

9.

Hutchinson noted that he taught in the Sunday School when he was at Battle Harbour, and, when he had opportunity, he taught in the Day School as well. He also wrote that he participated in other schools during his travels, when it was practical.

10.

3 churches

2 parsonages

Indicated no Glebe.

Indicated no Endowment.

11.

Blank

12.

Indicated none at present.

13.

Hutchinson noted that he hoped to try to make it self-supporting next summer.

14.

Hutchinson noted that there had been delays due to his trip to St. John's.

Rev. George Bishop

November 1872-1873

Version Three

Bishop, G. "Annual Return, Nov. 1st 72- Nov. 1st 1873, 2pg, E28," USPG Archive, C/CAN, E Series Missionary Reports.

1.

Indicated 100 miles of coast.

2.

a) 600 approximately, a mix of English, Esquimaux, Newfoundland and 30 pure Esquimaux.

b) Noted that all are baptized. "Tho many are born Wesleyan and probably would be Wesleyans if convenient."

c) Indicated 20 station in winter, and "In winter nearly every other house is a station, Battle Harbour, St. Francis Harbour, Seal Island, 237, Battle Harbour 180."

d) Approximately 50

e) Blank

f) Blank

3.

a) Indicated he did at each station. Indicated Battle Harbour 200 times and 10 times each at Seal Island and St. Francis Harbour. Bishop indicated that these places are deserted in the winter because many people go deep into the woods for the sake of firewood. He also noted that he celebrated services at 50 smaller stations

b) 18

c) Blank

31 Baptisms (of persons from Newfoundland fishery)

15 Infants Baptized Publically (12 of NF fishery population)

4 Infants Baptized Privately

17 Marriages

4.

£2.9.1 Offertory for Charity

£1.18 Holy Communion

£12.16.6 Newfoundland Diocesan Church Society

£12.4 Congregation contribution toward Rev. Bishop's Income.

5.

£100 S.P.G.

£12.17.6 (Indicated half for the NF Church Society)

6.

Indicated 2 schools, one at Battle Harbour and one Cape Charles.

7.

June 1st- October 1st B.H. 19

Indicated Sunday attendance nearly 20.

8.

Indicated that he taught the first class on Sundays when at Battle Harbour, and visited the Day School occasionally

9.

Indicated 3 churches Battle Harbour, St. Francis Harbour (20 miles distant), Seal Island (70 miles distant).

10.

No

Appendix C

Transcribed Excerpts from, Disney, H. and Hutchinson G. Journal of Men and Book [of] Battle Harbour, Labrador [manuscript], in "Battle Harbour, Labrador Collection," 636, ABA, Box 1, Fond 3.

Note: {} Are used for damaged and illegible sections. Also, all spelling and punctuation is preserved from the original document unless otherwise indicated.

Complete transcription of, **Journal of Remarkable Events**

Rev. H. P. Disney

7th June 1850 Arrived at St. Francis Harbour from the *Cheetah*, having left St. John's on 3rd June.

25th June 1850 Go with Capt. Cook, Jones and crew by Mr. Saunders whale boat to Battle Harbour and put up at M Bush Brundeles.

2nd July 1850 Sail with Thomas Pauls and son John, in Mr. Burke's whale boat, to Buckingham's Island off Cape Charles Gull Island: call at Mr. Gordons at Camp Island: leave it too late for Henly Harbour; {benighted} and spend night in boat in Bad Bay: at the 3rd of Oct reach Joseph Taylor's house Henly Harbour.

6th July 1850 Return to Battle Harbour: Give old Irishman a coat.

10th July/ 50 Return in boat bought from Mr. R. B. to St. Francis Harbour.

23rd July/50 Leave St. Francis Harbour and sail with Mr. Pauls and 2 boys to Square Harbour.

25th July/50 Leave Square Islands arrive at Venision Tickle.

29th July/50 Leave Venision Tickle: call at Hughes Harbour, Penguin Harbour and Boultons Rock, at Joseph Thomas.

30th July/50 Leave Bultons Rock, reach Seal Islands at Reyarts, {HrC(damaged)}

6th August. Go on board "The Cheetah {paying} go St. F. H. bound to Dauphlin

9th Augt. At Dauphlin with Goodridge.

14th Augt. Leave Dauphlin for fishing {mach and reach Grady}: at Dawes Hr.

16th Augt. Leave Grady and sleep at Warrens- India Tickle.

17th Augt. Leave India Tickle call at Doouineau and Bateau and put in late to Corbets.

18th Augt. Arrive early at Renyolds Seal Island.

20th Augt. Leave Seal Island, and go to Salt Pond at Wilcox.

21st Augt. Leave Salt Pond and go to W. Greens Penguin Harbour.

23rd Augt. Leave Penguin Harbour and reach Venision Tickle.

28th Augt. Leave Venision Island and reach Square Island at Mr. Bowes.

29th Aug. Leave Square Island and reach St. Francis Harbour.

5th Sept. Leave St. Francis Harbour and reach John Hedges at Spear Harbour.

6th Sept/50 Leave Spear Harbour and reach Salmon Bright in boat and walk to Petty Harbour.

7th Sept/50 Leave Captain Crawford's Petty Harbour, and reach Battle Harbour.

14th Sept Leave Battle Harbour for St. John's and put in to Henly Harbour.
15th Sept Leave Henly Harbour.
18th Sept Put in at Groque Harbour French Shore.
20th Sept/50 Leave Groque Harbour and put in to Grouse Harbour at Hynes.
25th Sept/50 Reach St. Johns.
5th Oct/50 Leave St. Johns and go to Harbour Grace to do duty for the winter.
9th June/51 Leave Harbour Grace for Harveys Carbonear.
11th June/51 Leave Carbonear for Labrador.
14th June/ 51 Put into Grouse Harbour at Joseph Hynes, same as 20th Sept. last.
15th June/51 Leave Grouse Harbour at eleven of after M S. Prayers.
16th June/51 Put in to Henly Harbour.
17th June/51 Leave Henly Harbour and reach St. Francis Harbour.
21st June/51 Go to visit ship and occasional Harbour at Rupert's.
22nd June/51 Home to St. Francis Harbour.
22nd June/51 1st Sunday Service/51 Two good Congs. *Cheetah* in port.
23rd June/51 Leave St. Francis Harbour in whale boat by myself to Salmon Bight walk to {forward sun.}
24th June/51 Leave Spear Harbour and reach Battle Harbour.
25th June/51 Go with Pelly to Cape Charles to see his son for sick at {y...}.
26th June/51 Pelly brings me back to Battle Harbour.

Transcribed excerpts taken from,
Journal of Events at Battle Harbour Mission
 Rev. G. Hutchinson

1853

- July 4.** The Church ship arrived in Battle Harbour from Red Bay, having on board the Lord Bishop, Revs. Walsh and Freer and Geo. Hutchinson the missionary.
- 5.** Battle Harbour, Prayers and Sermons Morning and Afternoon. The Bishop preached in M.
- 6.** The Church Ship sailed to St. Francis Harbour.
- 7.** At St. Francis Harbour.
- 8.** Do.
- 9.** Do.
- 10.** The Church at St. Francis Harbour was consecrated: dedicated to St. John the Baptist, two full services with Holy Communion and sermon by the Bishop in the M.
- 11.** The Church ship sailed to Venision Tickle
- 12.** After Morning prayers the Bishop preached and consecrated a graveyard. Evening Prayers and Sermon.
- 13.** The Church ship sailed to Boultons Rock. Prayers and Sermon by the Bishop.
- 14.** Sailed to Seal Islands. Morning Prayers and sermon by the Bishop. Evening prayer and Sermon.
- 15.** At Seal Island. Went to Corbets Island in a small boat.
- 16.** At Seal Island.

17. Sunday At Seal Island. Opened a Sunday School. Morning Prayers with Sermon and Holy Communion by the Bishop. Evening Prayers with Sermon.
18. The Church ship sailed for Battle Harbour.
19. Reached Battle Harbour.
20. At Battle Harbour. Morning Prayers with Sermon by the Bishop. Evening Prayers with Sermon.
21. The Church ship sailed to Chimney Tickle, went with the Bishop to Shoal Cove, Cape Charles Harbour.
22. The Church ship sailed to Chateau Bay.
23. The Church ship sailed to Henly Harbour.
24. At Henly Harbour. Sunday morning prayers and sermon. The Bishop preached in the M.
25. Do. St. James Day. Morning Prayers with Sermon and communion by the Bishop. Afternoon Prayers with sermon.
26. Attempted to sail in a whale boat to Chateau Bay, but drawn aground in whale boat and obliged to return.
27. The Church ship sailed from Henly Harbour for Que{on.} Sailed in the {Haidee} a Brig of Mess. Ridley for Cape Charles Harbour.
- July 28.** Land at Cape Charles Harbour, M. Buckinghams. Afternoon Prayers and Sermon.
29. Reach Battle Harbour.
30. At Battle Harbour.
31. Sunday School morning and afternoon -- Morning and evening prayers with sermons
- August 1.** At Battle Harbour
2. To Cape Charles Harbour in whale boat, to see a young man sick.
3. At Battle Harbour
4. To White Point in whale boat
- 5 to 11. At Battle Harbour. Sunday 7th, Two full sermons with Holy Communion
12. Sailed to the Venison Tickle boat for that place. Unable to make Cape Spear and obliged to put back.
- 13 to 17. At Battle Harbour waiting for wind.
14. Sunday School and two full services
18. Sailed to Venison Island. Evening Prayers and Sermon.
20. Walked to Tub Harbour.
21. Sunday. Morning and Evening prayers with sermon a Venision Tickle.
22. In a skiff to Boultons Rock, calling at Styles Harbour and Penguin. Evening Prayers and Sermon at Boultons Rock at M. Clarks.
23. Morning Prayers and Sermon at Boulton Rock. In a skiff to Seal Island.
- 24 to 28. At Seal Island W. Greens
26. Evening Payers and Sermon in Donnelly's store.
28. Sunday. Sunday School. Morning and Evening Prayers with Holy Communion.
27. Went to Shoal Tickle Corbets Harbour, {Olear} Harbour to.
29. Returned to Boulton Rock M. Clarks. Evening Prayers and Sermon.
30. In a Skiff to Penguin and Styles Harbour. Where Evening Prayers and Sermon then to Venison Tickle. Where the Whale Boat was to have been waiting for me.

- 31.** At Venison Tickle - The Whale Boat not having arrived.
- Sept. 1.** Do. Walked to Indian Harbour. Evening prayers and sermon --
- 2.** In M. Bowes boat to Square Island. Evening prayers and sermon
- 3.** M. Bowes put in to St. Francis Harbour. Where found the whale boat.
- 4.** Sunday. Morning and Evening Prayers and Sermon in the Church.
- 5.** Detained at St. F. H. by high wind.
- 6.** Do. Walked to Sayer Cove and St. F. H. Bight. Evening prayer with sermon in the Church.
- Sept 7.** In Whale Boat to Ship Harbour walk to Occasional Harbour. Evening Prayer with Sermon at M. Rupert's Ship Harbour
- 8.** Sail to Scarmmy, thrice to Square Island, walk to Fanny's Cove Evening Prayer with Sermon at M. Bownes.
- 9.** Sail to Fishing Ship Harbour there a to S.F.H. Bight walk to S.F.H. Whale Boat going round.
- 10.** Walked to Williams Harbour
- 11.** 16th Sunday after Trinity. Morning and Evening Prayer with Sermon at S.F.H.
- 12.** Walked to {half line left blank} and S.F.H. Bight.
- 13.** Walked to Williams Harbour and crossed to Chateau Harbour (high wind)
- 14.** Sailed in M.S. for Spear Harbour.
obliged to put back, Sailed there in Evening. Walked to Seal Bight, Evs. Prayers with sermon at Spear Harbour.
- 15.** Sailed to Petty Harbour. Evening Prayers with Sermon at M. Leaves.
- 16.** Sailed to Deep Water Creak, that in very high wind- Prayers with Sermon twice.
- 17.** Morning and Evening Prayers with Sermon at D.W.C. walked to Fox Harbour. High Wind.
- 18.** Morning Prayer with Sermon at D.W.C. Sailed to Battle Harbour where Evening Prayers with Sermon. (17th Sunday after Trinity).
- 19.** At Battle Harbour.
- 20.** Do -A young man drowned there.
- 21-22.** At Battle Harbour, Matthews Cove, or Trap Harbour.
- 23.** At Battle Harbour-opened a day school at Parsonage.
- 24.** At Battle Harbour. Day School.
- 25.** 18th Sunday after Trin. Morning and Evening Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.
- 26th _30th.** At Battle Harbour (Day School).
- Oct. 1st.** Do.
- 2nd.** 19th Sunday after Trinity. Morning and Evening Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.
- 3-18.** At Battle Harbour.
- 9.** 20th Sunday after Trinity. Morning and Evening Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.
- 10_15.** At Battle Harbour - Day School.
- 16.** 21st Sunday after Trinity. Morning and Evening Prayers with Sermon and Holy Communion } At Battle Harbour.
- 17-22.** At Battle Harbour - Day School.

23. 22nd Sunday after Trinity. Morning and Evening Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.

24-29. At Battle Harbour - Day School.

30. 23rd Sunday after Trinity. Morning and Evening Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.

October 30th. 23 Sunday after Trinity. Morning and Evening Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.

_31st -Nov. 5. At Battle Harbour Day School.

Nov. 6. 24th Sunday after Trinity. M. and Evs. Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour

7th-12th. At Battle Harbour. Day School

13th. 25th Sunday after Trinity. M. and Evs. Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.

14th to 19th. At Battle Harbour - Day School.

_19th. Went to Indian Harbour. Evs. Prayers with Sermon at M. Hills.

_20th. 26th Sunday after Trinity. M. and Evs. Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.

_27th. Advent Sunday M. and Evs. Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.

_28th to Dec. 3rd. At Battle Harbour. Day School.

Dec. 4th. 2nd Sunday in Advent. M. and Evs. Prayers with Sermon at Battle Harbour.

_5th to 10th. At Battle Harbour. Day School.

_11th. 3rd Sunday in Advent. M. and Evs. Prayers at Battle Harbour.

12 to 17. At Battle Harbour. Day School.

18. 4th Sunday in Advent. M. and Evs. Prayers at Battle Harbour.

19 to 24. At Battle Harbour. Day School.

25. Christmas Day. M. Evs. Service with Holy Communion at Battle Harbour.

26 to 31. At Battle Harbour.