

RESISTANCE TO BISHOP EDWARD FEILD IN
NEWFOUNDLAND 1845-1857
HARBOUR BUFFETT: A CASE STUDY

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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

(Without Author's Permission)

CALVIN HOLLETT

Resistance to Bishop Edward Feild in Newfoundland

1845-1857

Harbour Buffett: A Case Study

by

Calvin Hollett, B.A., B.Ed., M.C.S.

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

Department of History
Memorial University of Newfoundland

October 2002

St. John's

Newfoundland

Abstract

This thesis sees religion as a major category of social history. Its focus is the evangelical opposition from 1845 to 1857 to the Tractarianism of Bishop Feild of the Church of England. The people of Harbour Buffett, Placentia Bay, and Thomas E. Collett were catalysts in that opposition which echoed back to England, itself. Refusals to pay to the Church Society were not the source of the opposition but merely one avenue of resistance to the theology and practice of Bishop Feild.

Bishop Feild introduced Tractarianism to Newfoundland in the context of a robust Roman Catholicism under Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming and a vibrant, expanding Methodism. The latter cooperated with the evangelical Anglicans in the Newfoundland School Society. Feild drove both to toward political collaboration with Roman Catholics in bringing about Responsible Government by pressing for a denominational school system under the control of his clergy,

These factors were prominent in Placentia Bay with its expanding economy, population and access to government services. Harbour Buffett was founded out of a desire of a scattered and mobile people, mainly of the evangelical Church of England, to centralize and establish a community with a school and a church. In this effort Archdeacon Wix and Bishop Spencer provided leadership. The Methodists and Newfoundland School Society were also a significant support in the community's evangelicalism which became a major obstacle to the introduction Bishop Feild's Tractarianism to Newfoundland. That evangelicalism, however, did not succeed.

Acknowledgements

So many by their help and support have enabled me to do this thesis.

I thank God; my wife, Myrna Hollett; my father, Llewellyn Hollett; my mother, Susan Hollett (now deceased); and a number of friends - Marion Forsey, Martin and Anne Mack, Brian Shaw, Joy and Louis Best, Roger and Donna Down, Louise Best, Ed Chafe and Ken Tulk. I am especially grateful to Mrs. Rita Collett and David Collett who were so generous with a rich vein of primary sources.

Professionally, I thank Dr. James Hiller, my supervisor, who oversaw all aspects of the thesis. I also thank Dr. Linda Kealey, Dr. Christopher English, Dr. Shannon Ryan, Dr. William Reeves, Dr. Jeff Webb, Dr. Christopher Youe and Fran Warren of the History Department; the Graduate Studies Department; and my Examiners, Dr. Barry Moody and Dr. John FitzGerald.

The people at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies were enormously helpful - Joan Ritcey, Debbie Andrews, Glenda Dawe, Colleen Field, Jackie Hillier, Carl White, Jane Deal, Janet Gates, Susan Hadley and Rosmary Healey; as were Cal Best, Melanie Tucker and Ron Kirby at the Public Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador. Thanks also, to Julia Mathieson at the Anglican Diocese of Eastern Newfoundland and Labrador Archive and the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist Archive; Larry Dohey at the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's; Joanne Costello and Rose Marie Power at the Maps Division of the QE II Library; Susan Foley at Queen's College; and the volunteers at the Newfoundland and Labrador Archives of the United Church of Canada.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Abbreviations	v
Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
Chapter 2 - Tractarianism: Theology and Politics	25
Chapter 3 - Placentia Bay	58
Chapter 4 - Harbour Buffett	99
Chapter 5 - Opposition to Bishop Feild: Harbour Buffett, 1849-1852	135
Chapter 6 - Opposition to Bishop Feild: 1853-1857	179
Chapter 7 - Conclusion	231
Bibliography	239
Appendix: Archive of the late Thomas Collett, Harbour Buffett	253
Map: Placentia Bay	272
Map: Harbour Buffett	273

Chapter 1

Introduction

On August 10, 1851, when Bishop Edward Feild of the Church of England visited Harbour Buffett, Placentia Bay on one of his episcopal voyages, a mere 13 communicants attended the church. What is more, a number of these were “strangers who arrived on the previous day.”¹ The population of the settlement was at least 240, of whom nearly 200 were members of the Church of England.² The contrast with Bishop Aubrey Spencer’s visit in 1844 was pronounced. On that occasion, 23 persons were confirmed and “the whole congregation accompanied [him] to the boat.”³ A writer to *The Public Ledger* who spoke of these events asked, “What has caused that ... change?”⁴ This is the question that I will investigate in this thesis, and in endeavouring to answer it, I will study the people of Harbour Buffett.

The focus of the thesis is the opposition to the Tractarian Bishop Edward Feild at the local level. Before Feild’s arrival in 1844, there was in Newfoundland an indigenous evangelical Anglicanism characterized by substantial local initiative, ownership and vitality. The thesis claims that it was this evangelicalism which presented the major

¹Thomas E. Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland* (St. John’s: Joseph Woods, 1853), p. 15.

²CNS, *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1845, p. 18. By 1857 the population had increased to 313. *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1857, p. 76.

³Collett, *Church of England*, p. 16.

⁴*Public Ledger*, August 26, 1851.

opposition to Bishop Feild with his aggressive, novel agenda of Tractarian ritual and theology, and of central church financing.⁵ As a case study, I will focus on the opposition in the settlement of Harbour Buffett in the middle of Placentia Bay. It was the headquarters of a Mission which consisted of such settlements as Oderin, Isle Valen, Spencer's Cove and Haystack, and the major resistance took place there between 1849 and 1855. The controversy generated pamphlets, and correspondence and letters to newspaper editors. By 1855 the clergyman of the Mission of Harbour Buffett who was at the centre of the controversy had moved elsewhere, as had the two colonial governors who were sympathetic to evangelical Anglicanism.

The study of the religion of a people is an important element in understanding the past. In his article "A Note on 'Region' in Writing the History of Atlantic Canada," Ian McKay objected to 'regionalist' history being lumped together with other 'limited identities' history such as "feminist, working class and multicultural."⁶ Michael Gauvreau made a similar objection to diminishing the significance of religious history in Canada. He observed that "the new social history" of Canada with its attention to "local,

⁵Tractarianism was a 'high church' movement within the Church of England toward a pre-Reformation emphasis. For example, clergy were elevated in authority as 'priests'. They wore surplices to denote that authority. The Holy Communion rite replaced preaching as the focal point of the service. The Communion Table became 'the altar'. Baptism replaced confirmation as the focal point of spiritual rebirth. Liturgy and ceremony pervaded all.

⁶Ian McKay, "A Note on 'Region' in Writing the History of Atlantic Canada," *Acadiensis*, XXIX (Spring 2000) : 91.

class gender, ethnic, regional and occupational identities,” disparaging of and inimical to national history, still joined hands with national history “in marginalizing the religious experience and in failing to recognize its creative role in shaping cultural traditions, social forms, and political ideologies.”⁷ Religion is a major hinge on which the door of history swings. Instead of being a ‘limited identity’, religion “supplies a vantage point from which the historian can begin to consider and integrate issues of gender, class, ethnicity and region – all of which involve religious dimensions.” It is not the only vantage point, of course, but it is one “by which the ‘limited identities’ of the ‘new social history’ can be synthesized into a broader pattern of cultural meaning.”⁸

To clarify the study of religion Mark McGowan has suggested two divisions of religious history, namely, humanist and social.⁹ The former category refers to the ‘top-down’ history of leaders, elites, ideas and institutions. He succinctly summed up this scholarship as “the tendency to see religion as church and church as its clergy and leadership.”¹⁰ Religion, however, is not just an institutional matter. It often constitutes in part the mentality and relationships in society. It is a matter of people. In his study of the

⁷Michael Gauvreau, “Beyond the Half-Way House: Evangelicalism and the Shaping of English Canadian Culture,” *Acadiensis* XX (Spring 1991) : 158.

⁸*Ibid.*, p . 177.

⁹Mark G. McGowan, “Coming out of the Cloister: Some Reflections on Developments in the Study of Religion in Canada, 1980-1990,” *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 1-2 (Spring-Fall 1990), p. 179.

¹⁰*Ibid.*,

social dimension of religious history, McGowan observed that English-Canada historians have been “undoubtedly reductionist” in their treatment of religion and have not recognized it as “a vital force in the Canadian social fabric.”¹¹ He suggested that the social history of religion could be organized in three broad categories. Religion and society would encompass such sub-specialties as gender, labour and class. Religion and culture would include values, assumptions and commitments. A third category, with the designation “symbolic universes and practices,” would examine the religion of ordinary people through such sources as artifacts, symbols and journals, to observe such phenomena as their “devotional life ... resistance to ecclesiastical authority and use of liturgical language.”¹²

It is primarily within the latter two categories that I will pursue this study of the opposition of the people of Harbour Buffett to Bishop Feild. It will be a local case study, but not one in isolation. Outside influences affected the settlement from the beginning. The settlers themselves brought their attitudes, values and ideas with them when they moved there in the early 1800s.¹³ The people continued to be influenced from the outside through the travels of fishermen and mariners, through the services of schoolteachers and clergy, and through the impact in Placentia Bay of initiatives of government and the

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

¹³Victor Butler, *The Little Nord Easter* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1980), pp. 47-48.

institutional church.

The opposition to the Tractarianism of Bishop Feild has not been studied in depth. Two major works have been written on Bishop Feild, one in the 19th century and one in the 20th. In his 1877 biography, H. W. Tucker held that much of the opposition derived from Feild's establishment of a central fund through the Church Society: "the pledge to contribute to this [was] the sign of church-membership and of the desire to receive the ministrations of the clergy." Because Feild set up this financial requirement within 12 months of arriving in Newfoundland, "no doubt his popularity was shipwrecked by the line he took, but popularity ... he held very cheaply."¹⁴ Tucker claimed that "unscrupulous attempts were made to upset the financial system" which Feild had established, and Tractarianism was "dragged into the controversy" over money.¹⁵ Thus, his conclusion was that the main opposition to Bishop Feild was related to a general reluctance of the people of the church to pay for the support of their church. Theological opposition was secondary. Tucker provided few details on this issue, and simply stated that the opposition was so intense that Bishop Feild wrote that he was "more than ready, more than willing to resign," but that he had forgiven his "enemies, persecutors, and slanderers."¹⁶

¹⁴H. W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild* (London: W. Wells Gardner, 1877), pp. 44-45.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 140-144.

Yet, it would appear that there was a theology and culture of the people that Bishop Feild came up against and set out to change. Tucker said, for example, that in 1844, “the preference for ... pulpits in the center of the building was very strong” in the churches that Bishop Spencer had visited between Twillingate in Notre Dame Bay and Harbour Buffett.¹⁷ The position of the pulpit at the centre in the front of the church pointed to the priority of preaching in evangelical Anglicanism. Tucker noted that the evangelical Newfoundland School Society, affiliated with the Church of England, “often gave infinite trouble to the bishop,” but he did not elaborate.¹⁸ He concluded that as a result of changes that Bishop Feild brought about, “in not a few instances he saw his people desert to other folds,” but he did not see any remedy “in idle concessions” to them.¹⁹ Tucker’s biography is essentially hagiography.

Frederick Jones completed the other major study of Bishop Feild as a 1971 doctoral dissertation.²⁰ It is indeed a prodigious work, but his aim was “to rediscover the forgotten bishop, to examine his work, and to make a contribution to the history of

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 188. Cf. also p. 235, At Twillingate the church “unfortunately” was built with “the pulpit and prayer desk in front of the altar.”

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 286.

²⁰Frederick Jones, “Bishop Feild: A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland” (Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1971).

Newfoundland by studying the interaction of politics and religion during his lifetime.”²¹

It was, of course, a necessary work, but his “sympathetic” study does not examine in detail the resistance to the bishop at the local level.²² In studying the opposition to Feild, Jones pointed to the evangelical clergy, especially those connected with St. Paul’s congregation in Harbour Grace and St. Thomas’s congregation in St. John’s. He also referred to Governor K. B. Hamilton and certain local papers and merchants as playing a key role.²³ Yet, his focus was primarily on Bishop Feild, and not on the opposition or on the people involved in that opposition.²⁴ He did discuss what he termed “the Collett Case” at Harbour Buffett, but concentrated almost totally on the payment for church membership issue, and merely noted the Tractarian “auricular confession” charge.²⁵ He pointed out that as a result of Collett’s efforts Bishop Feild could no longer charge church

²¹Jones, “Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland,” p. v.

²²*Ibid.*

²³Jones, “Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland,” p. 125. Cf. also his “The Early Opposition to Bishop Field [*sic*] of Newfoundland,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, Vol. XVI, 2 (June 1974), pp. 30-41.

²⁴Jones, “Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland,” p. v.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 147-148. He said simply that Collett “accused White of refusing communion to a dying woman because she refused to make a detailed particular confession of sin,” p. 148.

members a designated amount for membership.²⁶ However, Jones just sailed on by Harbour Buffett. He did not actually enter the harbour to see what was happening among the people of the settlement. He interpreted the incidents as mainly about Collett and not about the community. He concluded that Collett “had little support” there.²⁷ Yet, he did say that Collett raised “the bogey of Tractarianism” in the continuing evangelical Tractarian controversy.²⁸

Thomas Edwards Collett, a lay reader, teacher and trader in Harbour Buffett was an evangelical member of the Church of England who opposed Bishop Feild’s Tractarianism. In 1853 he wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Church of England in Newfoundland* describing the conflict with the local clergyman, William Kepple White, and with the bishop. A year later he wrote a second pamphlet, *The Church of England in Newfoundland, No. 2*, further describing the Tractarian attack on “sound and honest Protestant principles.”²⁹

It will be argued that “the Collett Case” was in fact ‘the Harbour Buffett case’. Moreover, the people resisted without the leadership of an evangelical clergyman, unlike the situation at St. Paul’s in Harbour Grace and at St. Thomas’s in St. John’s. They did,

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 150.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 148.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.

²⁹Thomas E. Collett, *Church of England, No. 2* (St. John’s: Joseph Woods, 1854), p. 2.

however, have the influence of the Newfoundland School Society behind them. Instead of just Collett resisting Bishop Feild, nearly the whole community did. What was happening there, to use E. P. Thompson's words, was "a vigorous self-activating culture of the people" which was "resistant to any form of external domination," or at least, to that form of Tractarian domination which Bishop Feild was attempting to impose upon them through his clergyman, the Rev. William Kepple White.³⁰ The refusal to pay the fees that the bishop required was secondary. In a way, it was merely the avenue of resistance, rather than the resistance itself. It is through this "resistance to ecclesiastical authority" that I hope to get a window into a non-elite group, the people of Harbour Buffett.³¹ This window should be quite clear, since Tractarians also had such a 'material culture' of vestments, sacraments, artifacts and architecture. People were fixated with candles, for example, because they were an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual Tractarianism. Since it is true that changes in material culture "reflect a deeper shift in the mentality of its users," it is also true that resistance to such changes emanating from an external source can reveal the values and attitudes of a people.³²

³⁰E. P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-century English Society: class struggle without class?" *Social History*, 3, 2 (May 1978), p. 164.

³¹Mark G. McGowan, "Coming out of the Cloister: Some Reflections on Developments in the Study of Religion in Canada, 1980-1990," *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 1-2, (Spring-Fall, 1990), pp. 183-184.

³²Matthew Johnson, *An Archaeology of Capitalism* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1996), p. 15. Cf. also Jules Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17:1 (1982), 1-2. "The

Thus, the focus of the thesis is the spiritual values of the people of Harbour Buffett midway through the 19th century. The study will attempt a narrative history along the lines of Peter Burke's 'new history'.³³ He noted that "the traditional opposition between events and structures is being replaced by their interrelationship, and a few historians are experimenting with narrative forms of analysis or analytical forms of narrative."³⁴ As a theme in historical writing the new history emphasizes interrelationship, rather than isolation between events and structures, high and low, and micro and macro. I will pursue the resistance to Bishop Feild to his apex of power as bishop. It was from there that Feild started the various initiatives which the people at Harbour Buffett resisted. From there too he dealt with opposition. The task as Burke sees it is to write a narrative "thick enough to deal not only with the sequence of events and the conscious intentions of the actors in these events, but also with structures - institutions, modes of thought, and so on - whether these structures act as a brake on events or as an accelerator."³⁵ Micronarrative, once regarded as "the miserable chronicle

underlying premise is that objects made or modified by humans, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, reflect the belief patterns of the individuals who made, commissioned, purchased or used them, and, by extension, the belief patterns of the larger society to which they belonged."

³³Peter Burke, "Overture: the New History, its Past and its Future," in Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 1-17.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Burke, "History of Events and the Revival of Narrative", p. 240.

of an obscure village,” may instead reveal values of society, class barriers and institutional structures.³⁶ In *Whigs and Hunters*, for example, E. P. Thompson’s study of the laws of the elite is fundamental to an understanding of what is happening in the everyday life of ‘the Blacks’. Everyday life which was “once dismissed as trivial” by historians is now widely viewed as “the centre to which everything else must be related.”³⁷

There are two other theses related to Tractarianism in Newfoundland. One is another ‘leader’ oriented thesis written by Patricia J. Leader who studied Feild’s architect, William Grey. Apart from his influence as a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) missionary, he had a large impact on the cultural history of Newfoundland through his internal and external design of Gothic Revival churches from Battle Harbour to Placentia Bay.³⁸ Laura Morgan’s “Class and Congregation: Social Relations in Two St. John’s, Newfoundland, Anglican Parishes, 1877-1909” is a more recent scholarly study within the setting of the Church of England.³⁹ By assigning each family in the two parishes “a class designation” in a six-part social structure, Morgan was able to come up

³⁶Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 11

³⁸Patricia J. Leader, “The Hon. Reverend William Grey, M.A.” (MTS thesis, Queen’s College, Memorial University, 1998).

³⁹Laura Bonnie Morgan, “Class and Congregation: Social Relations in Two St. John’s Newfoundland Anglican Parishes, 1877-1909” (MA thesis, Memorial University, 1996).

with the class composition of each parish.⁴⁰ An interesting result she found was that the High Church St. Mary's was more egalitarian than the Low Church St. Thomas's.⁴¹ Morgan's study is thus in line with McGowan's first category in the social history of religion, that of gender, class and labour.⁴²

Scholarly study of the Church of England in 19th-century Newfoundland has focused largely on hierarchical Tractarianism and its political, educational and social effects. The study of Methodism has also been preoccupied with its effects. It was evangelical Methodist clergy who ministered to the Church of England residents in Placentia Bay long before their own clergy arrived. Methodists spread out in the northern part of the bay, for instance, from Sound Island to such places as Kingwell and Haystack. They were an ever-ready alternative for members of the Church of England when the Tractarian heat was turned up too high.

Local history is not prominent in the study of Methodism in Newfoundland although the denomination has received a notable amount of attention from scholars. That attention has resulted in an uneven caliber of historical writing. Two early theses stressed the social dimensions of Methodism. H. A. Batstone was keen to stress its social

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 41, 36.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 182-187.

⁴²McGowan, "Coming out of the Cloister", p. 183.

uplift in “Methodism in Newfoundland: A study of its Social Impact.”⁴³ In his eagerness to see a great social improvement, possibly, he did not inquire sufficiently into the conditions in Newfoundland during the first years of Methodism. Batstone made the remarkable claim that Newfoundland had “a lowered moral fibre.”⁴⁴ He figured that three environmental factors contributed to this state, namely, constant flirtation with death, absence from the community for extended periods to fish, and the destruction of natural resources to survive.⁴⁵ One wonders if Batstone engaged in the naive thinking of the urban dweller when confronted with rural society or whether he wrote open prejudice. He wrote that the moral declension of Newfoundland outports was reversed by the Methodist underscoring of temperance, the Lord’s Day and the family.⁴⁶

Batstone did draw attention to the possible relationship between the ubiquitous after-service and the high number of lay ministers in Newfoundland. Methodism thus

⁴³H. A. Batstone, “Methodism in Newfoundland: A Study of its Social Impact” (Master of Sacred Theology thesis, McGill University, 1967).

⁴⁴Batstone, “Methodism in Newfoundland,” p. 92.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 99-100. For a totally opposite opinion of the salutary effects on character of the Newfoundland environment see Lewis Amadeus Anspach, *A History of the Island of Newfoundland* (London: Printed for the Author, and sold by T. and J. Allman, 1819). Anspach writes:

It has also been observed that the character of a population is essentially influenced by the nature of the ‘country’. Where the land is barren, and the necessities of life are not acquired without toil and labour, little leisure is left for the indulgence of vicious pastimes, and the course of life is generally moral and regular. This is likewise true of the native inhabitants of Newfoundland ..., p. 463.

⁴⁶Batstone, “Methodism in Newfoundland,” pp. 114-127.

“offered a type of religious expression that the fisherman and sailor could take with him. It did not depend on altars, vestments or large cathedrals for effective expression.”⁴⁷

Similarly, in “The Origin and Growth Newfoundland Methodism 1765-1855,” Jacob Parsons gave as the justification for his study, “the effect that Methodism has had on the social and political life of the island.”⁴⁸ Again, he painted a bleak picture of “degeneration and complacency” because of isolation. As a result of anti-settlement laws the settlers spent most of the year in idleness, misery and poverty.⁴⁹ He seemed to be depending on McLintock for this “wretched eighteenth-century inhabitants” portrayal of life in Newfoundland, maybe excusable in 1964.⁵⁰ Still, as he noted, by 1800 Carbonear was “a distinct Methodist community.”⁵¹ This seat of Methodism had taken root not in some supposedly degenerated isolated hamlet, but in the island’s most populous bay. Moreover, the bay was not extremely degenerate. Lewis Amadeus Anspach who went to Harbour Grace in 1803 stated later:

If the character of the natives of Newfoundland, in general, agrees with that of those of Conception-Bay, which he [the author] had greater

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴⁸Jacob Parsons, “The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism 1765-1855,” (MA thesis, Memorial University, 1964), p. v.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁰ A. H. McLintock, *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832: A Study of Retarded Colonisation* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941), p. 14.

⁵¹Parsons, “The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism,” p. 49.

opportunities to appreciate during a residence of upwards of ten years among them, no where can a race be found more remarkable for indefatigable industry, for contempt of danger, for steadiness of temper and of conduct, sincerity and constancy of attachment, and a strong sense of religious duty.”⁵²

Parsons tracked the development of Methodism through the period under study. For example, he considered its stress on education starting with the first Methodist school in Old Perlican in 1774.⁵³ His conclusion was that Methodism in Newfoundland “did more for moulding character and defining values than any other single institution.”⁵⁴

Naboth Winsor’s thesis on “Methodism in Newfoundland 1855-1884” has very little speculation. He drew attention to various factors that led to the growth of Methodism. For example, although “bigotry and prejudice” led to the Education Act of 1874 and Methodists were against it, still the act “gave Methodism a status and influence which contributed greatly to its growth.”⁵⁵ So also did the migration of Methodist fishermen northward along the northeast coast.⁵⁶ The biggest factor, however, was

⁵²Anspach, *A History of the Island of Newfoundland*, pp. 477-478.

⁵³Parsons, “The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism,” p. 95.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 147

⁵⁵Naboth Winsor, “Methodism in Newfoundland 1855-1884” (MA thesis, Memorial University, 1970), p. 84.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 137. It was migration from Conception Bay that enabled the founding of a Methodist Church in St. John’s. See David G. Pitt, *Windows of Agates: A Short History of the Founding and Early Years of Gower Street Methodist (now United) Church in St. John’s Newfoundland* (St. John’s: Gower Street United Church, 1966), p. 6.

revivals – “the membership and strength of the church was governed largely by them.”⁵⁷

This is in line with S. D. Clark’s ‘frontier thesis’ as an explanation of revivals in general and the rapid growth of Methodism in particular. Institutional and traditional organization experienced a complete breakdown in frontier society, “among people who stood on the margin.” Methodism, a religion “directed towards the emotions and feelings” provided “an effective socially reorganizing influence as a replacement for the traditional which was lost.”⁵⁸

Winsor emphasized, too, that Methodism was a ‘people’ religion that ‘moved and had its being’, so to speak, by and in lay involvement. He mentioned, for example, that in 1874 while there were only 13 clergy and 24 probationers, there were 376 class leaders engaged in teaching, preaching and pastoral care.⁵⁹ Methodism demonstrated the belief that every believer was a priest, “not only by its lay ministry, but by its exhorters, class leaders, prayer leaders, and the religious activity to which it has trained its laity generally.”⁶⁰

⁵⁷Winsor, “Methodism in Newfoundland”, p. 158. Likewise Richard Carwardine states, “Methodism was wholeheartedly a revival movement; it had been born of a revival; its churches grew through revivals; its ministers preached revival; its success was talked in terms of revival.” *Trans-Atlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America 1790-1865* (Wesport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 10.

⁵⁸S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), pp. 145-150.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 176.

There has been some debate over the identity of Methodism in Newfoundland. In a more recent thesis, “John Wesley and Newfoundland Methodism,” Cyril Chaulk pointed out the constant contact of Newfoundland Methodism with English Methodism, through such links as a “continuous stream of immigrants” from England with a first hand experience of Methodism, English ministers, the prevalence of Wesley’s sermons, and the singing of Methodist hymns.⁶¹ In this way he questioned the assertion of the uniqueness of Newfoundland Methodism. Arthur Kewley, for instance, stated that Methodism in Newfoundland was unrelated, except in name, to John Wesley, or to any other Methodist bodies.⁶²

The largest opportunity for further study in Methodism is in the area of ‘people history’, since lay ministry played such a large role in Methodism in Newfoundland and elsewhere. There has been an emphasis on the social impact of Methodism, but the religious impact of Methodism – for example, the revivals which inspired and motivated people – has not been studied.⁶³ Naboth Winsor identified revivals as a key factor in the

⁶¹Cyril R. Chaulk, “John Wesley and Newfoundland Methodism” (M. Div. thesis, Atlantic School of Theology, 1980), pp. 132, 144-147.

⁶²Arthur E. Kewley, “The First Fifty Years of Methodism in Newfoundland 1765-1815,” *The Bulletin* 26, 1977, *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XIX (March-June 1977) : 7.

⁶³Hans Rollmann has written on the revival under Coughlan, “Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism,” in Charles H.H. Scobie and John Webster Grant, eds., *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), pp. 62-67.

growth of Methodism.⁶⁴ Moreover, as George Marsden has written, revivals should be studied as religious history and what he said of revivals in particular, should be applied to religious history in general:

Most contemporary interpreters of revivals have explained them in terms of their social and psychological functions and effects. Rawlyk recognizes the importance of such themes, but he avoids the temptation to reduce revivals to what else they do. He does not take the common academic approach of assuming that revivals are important only if they can serve some higher (or lower) purpose, such as providing people with a sense of identity, self-value, liberation, community, moral superiority, political zeal, emotional release, sexual interest, personal power or economic gain. While Rawlyk looks at such multi-faceted dimensions of revivalism, he also makes clear that the people involved regarded their religious experiences as valuable in their own right.⁶⁵

Compared to Anglicans and Methodists there is little written on other Protestants in Newfoundland, such as Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Then again, their comparative influence has been small. The menological "A History of the Presbyterian Church in Newfoundland 1842-1967" by W. M. Moncrieff provided much needed information and shows that the church existed in a half-dozen places outside of St. John's. He highlighted the Gaelic Cape Breton connection in the Bay of Islands, for example.⁶⁶ Presbyterians are a component in a MA thesis by J. S. S. Armour, "Religious

⁶⁴Winsor, "Methodism in Newfoundland," p. 158.

⁶⁵ Forward to George A. Rawlyk, *Wrapped up in God: A Study of Several Canadian Revivals and Revivalists* (Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1988), p. vii.

⁶⁶W. M. Moncrieff, "A History of the Presbyterian Church in Newfoundland, 1842-1967," Center for Newfoundland Studies, p. 89.

Dissent in St. John's 1775-1815." Armour traced the older Calvinist Dissent in Newfoundland back to England and showed their cooperation in worship with Baptists, Congregationalists and Methodists until 1815.⁶⁷ Congregationalists are the main focus of the study, for example, their predominance in Dorset and Poole and their engagement in the Newfoundland trade from there.⁶⁸ Missionaries such as John Jones came with the flow. Congregationalists did not multiply because they were too complacent and had "no zeal to supply lay preachers to the outports."⁶⁹ Armour concluded that their 'ecumenical spirit which would rather co-operate than compete," while no doubt bringing them accolades, prevented them from taking missions seriously.⁷⁰

Roman Catholics were a major part of the population of Placentia Bay. In many settlements they worked side by side with Protestants. This was the case at Harbour Buffett, where the merchant premises were within one kilometer of the Roman Catholic community of Port Royal (Mussel Harbour). There were also a few Catholics within Harbour Buffett itself.

The scholarly study of Roman Catholicism in nineteenth-century Newfoundland has largely restricted itself to the role of Roman Catholics in politics. One exception is

⁶⁷J. S. S. Armour, "Religious Dissent in St. John's 1775-1815" (MA thesis, Memorial University, 1988), p. 2.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 36-46.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 180.

the articles in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* by Raymond J. Lahey, a major historian of Roman Catholicism in Newfoundland. In the 1980s, he wrote about Bishop Patrick Lambert noting his friendly relationship with the bishop of Quebec, his trouble with Leinster and Munster factions and the large number of conversions to Roman Catholicism under his episcopate.⁷¹ Similarly, he wrote of Bishop Thomas Scallan, speaking of his tenure during the difficult economic time after 1815, his dismissal of two priests and his “unparalleled relationship” with the Protestants. Scallan, however, was “firm in upholding Catholic rights.”⁷² Lahey wrote also of the priest, John Power and placed his conflict in Newfoundland in the context of the Leinster-Wexford and Munster-Waterford immigrant factions on the island and even in Labrador.⁷³

John P. Greene, in his 1970 MA thesis, “The Influence of Religion in the Politics of Newfoundland, 1850-1861,” filled a need left by Gertrude Gunn in her study of the period.⁷⁴ Greene shows how the future looked bright in 1855 for the Catholic Liberal

⁷¹*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. V (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), “Patrick Lambert,” Raymond J. Lahey, pp. 473-474.

⁷²*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, “Thomas Scallan,” Raymond J. Lahey, pp. 690-694.

⁷³*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, “John Power,” Raymond J. Lahey, pp. 613-614.

⁷⁴John P. Greene, “The Influence of Religion in the Politics of Newfoundland, 1850-1861,” (MA thesis, Memorial University, 1970), p. i. Gertrude E. Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1864* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).

Party with its Wesleyan support.⁷⁵ The latter was due mainly to the Church of England Tractarian push for a split Protestant grant in education.⁷⁶ The Liberals, however, did not share patronage with the Methodists and as a result by 1859 there were signs of a falling away of Wesleyan support. Not only this, independent Catholics rose up against Bishop John Thomas Mullock's de facto leadership of the party so that "the Liberal Party lay impaled on its own altar."⁷⁷ As a result, in the 1861 election the Church of England Conservatives became prominent again.

Frederick Jones, in his article "Early Opposition to Bishop Feild of Newfoundland," identified much of that opposition as arising from the "policy of Irish nationalism and ultramontaniam" of Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming.⁷⁸ This is the theme John FitzGerald has taken up in his Ph.D. thesis, "Conflict and Culture in Irish-Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850." Chagrined by Bishops O'Donel and

⁷⁵Greene, "The Influence of Religion in the Politics of Newfoundland, 1850-1861," p. 147.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁷⁸Jones, "Early Opposition to Bishop Field [*sic*] of Newfoundland", p. 31. In "Bishop Fleming and the Politicization of the Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland, 1830-1850," in Terence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne, (eds.), *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada* (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1987), pp. 81-97, Phillip McCann argued that the historiography of Fleming and the Catholics of the time has "been coloured by the extreme nature of the sentiments of Fleming's contemporary opponents," p. 82. He is keen to show that the Irish of St. John's were not a "passive instrument" of priests and bishop, but were instead acting "autonomously in accordance with rational principles," pp. 87-88.

Lambert, and scandalized by Scallan's compromising with the Protestant political and religious elites, Bishop Fleming refused to even consider receiving a colonial pension.⁷⁹ He was an O'Connellite Irish nationalist.⁸⁰ He was also a thoroughgoing ultramontane.⁸¹ FitzGerald observed that historians have missed how Bishop Fleming's ultramontanism "served a vital tactical purpose for Irish bishops in dealing with British colonial rulers and with London: it served as a hedge against British attempts to control the church's bishops, priests and its representatives."⁸² Fleming's ultramontane reforms caused heated division among Catholics since they "threatened the power base of the Wexford faction within the St. John's congregation."⁸³ Fleming was not daunted by opposition from within or without. The Cathedral itself is a manifest testimony to the force and vigour and independence that was Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming. FitzGerald concluded that

⁷⁹John Edward FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture in Irish-Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850" (Ph. D. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), p. 72.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. iii.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, pp. 90-91. Ultramontanism "looked to Rome for moral teaching, regulation of liturgical practice, clerical moral and intellectual formation and discipline, for inspiration in ecclesiastical architectural and artistic styles Much of the intellectual and ideological impetus for ultramontanism came from Rome itself in response to European conditions." John Webster Grant in *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington, Ont.: Welch Publishing Company, Inc., 1988), showed how the Catholic Ultramontanists, the Anglican Tractarians and the Free Churchmen of Scotland were alike a reaction of the church against the assertion of the state and a romantic movement against rationalism, pp. 19-20. He explained how ultramontanism revealed itself in controlling politics and education in Quebec, for example, pp. 69-72.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 150.

through him, “Newfoundland culture and society were changed and reinvented by the church, which in turn placed a permanent cultural and religious stamp on the character of a place and a people.”⁸⁴ In this way FitzGerald is able to transcend writing about Roman Catholicism solely in terms of its role in politics.⁸⁵

In summary, much of the scholarly literature on religion in Newfoundland in the 19th century is of an institutional or “leadership” nature. There has been a tendency, however, to move away from this focus to the people who actually made up each denomination, a trend toward the social history which presently predominates in the profession. In addition, there has been departure from a history of the social effects of religion to an interest in religious history, itself. It is the latter that this study will emphasize in the evangelical reaction to Bishop Feild. I will study “resistance to

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 446. The last half of M. F. Howley’s book, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* (Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1888), is totally devoted to Bishop Fleming, for example, his cathedral, his visitations and his nuns. M.F. Howley was a man of various views. He sided with Newfoundland against the Catholic French, which as an ultramontanist, he saw as a land of Enlightenment infidelity, pp. 161-162. He was for Confederation, p. 171. Speaking of the Cathedral he stated that “still the building up of the moral temple in the souls of his faithful children must rank as a holier and nobler work before the eyes of God,” p. 275. He was a Newfoundland nationalist, saying that the Cathedral was “a grand protest that Newfoundland was no longer to be merely the home of a migratory fishery population,” p. 361. His history is valuable as the reflection of a man on his century. For further information on Howley, see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XIV (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), “Michael Francis Howley,” Barbara Crosbie, pp. 512-514.

⁸⁵Bishop Fleming’s action in the political arena to obtain Catholic rights was the main theme of Lahey’s article in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. VII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), “Michael Anthony Fleming,” Raymond J. Lahey, pp. 292-300.

ecclesiastical authority,” to use McGowan’s phrase, a resistance which was quite pronounced since Bishop Feild was set in his views and clear in his vision and determined in carrying it out. The reaction to him by evangelical Anglicans and Methodists provides a promising window on the religious and other values of Newfoundlanders in the 19th century.

Chapter 2

Tractarianism: Theology and Politics

O men well clothed, and warmed, and filled
 While God's poor children fast,
 The very churches that ye build
 And deck with pomp and carve and gild
 Will judge you at the last.

R.T.S. Lowell¹

Bishop Feild brought an abrupt change of direction to the Church of England in Newfoundland, as other bishops elsewhere, when he introduced Tractarianism in 1844. It was a change which generated widespread opposition. Bishop Spencer before him had capitalized on the work of the Newfoundland School Society to build an evangelical Church of England diocese. The Anglican evangelicals opposed Feild, as did other evangelical Protestants. The Methodists especially were opposed to him theologically for claiming apostolic authority for himself and his clergy, while relegating them to being a mere sect. They opposed him politically when he petitioned the House of Assembly to subdivide the Protestant grant for education. The Roman Catholicism of the day was markedly influenced by the Irish nationalism and ultramontanist of Bishop Michael Fleming, and Irish Catholics were outraged by Feild's large appropriation of the 1846 fire relief funds to build his cathedral. They became even more inflamed by the majority Church of England's stand against the granting of responsible government. The

¹[Robert Traill Spence Lowell], *Fresh Hearts That Failed Three Thousand Years Ago; With Other Things* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), "The Christ Forgotten In Our Days," p. 39.

Methodists and many evangelical Anglicans joined with the Roman Catholics in campaigning for responsible government in an effort to frustrate Feild's Tractarian and educational projects. Local editors articulated the debates according to their religious or political perspectives.

In 1839 Newfoundland and Bermuda were separated from the Diocese of Nova Scotia and made a separate diocese. Aubrey George Spencer became the first bishop.

That he was an evangelical is clear from his sermons:

The atonement made by the Son, who in the voluntary sufferings of his human nature, himself without sin, received the sins of the world by imputation, and dying a sufficient sacrifice, 'the just for the unjust,' has become the mediator for all. Let us never then lose sight of 'so great salvation;' ... it is but by the influence of 'one name under heaven that man can be saved;' and that through the intercession of Jesus Christ and that through the intercession of Jesus Christ alone, we are generally and individually reconciled to an offended God.²

And again:

Let but a popular cry be raised against the *alarming* influence of the priesthood, or some paltry, private prejudice be conceived against the individual minister, and what becomes of our religion? Why, without ever pausing to ask the only question allowable to faith and charity, - is this man instrumental to the advancement of God's truth, does he preach the Gospel, or does he preach it not?³

The Church of England in Newfoundland was languishing. There were a mere six

²Aubrey G. Spencer, *Sermons on Various Subjects* (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1827), pp. 244-245.

³*Ibid.*, p. 331.

SPG missionaries, none of them on the island's south coast.⁴ The Rev. Charles Blackman wrote in 1838 that missionaries from England were going to recently settled places like New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, which were deemed to be more exotic. No new missionaries had come to Newfoundland for years.⁵ Spencer was able to overcome this inertia. Helped by an increased annual salary of £200 from the SPG for missionaries, he increased their number to 27.⁶ He got them wherever he could find them, and being an evangelical, one of his sources was the Newfoundland School Society.

The Society did not prefer Bishop Spencer taking some of its teachers for clergymen, as he did with William Jeynes.⁷ He sent Jeynes to the south coast, to a new mission in inner Placentia Bay which was intended to include five churches at Harbour Buffett, Sound Island, Woody Island, Isle Valen, Oderin and smaller stations such as Spencer's Cove, which acquired the bishop's name. Rock Harbour, Burin, Flat Island and Lamaline made up a second mission.⁸ J. Haslegrave, the Society's secretary, told Spencer that while he could fully appreciate the bishop's need for missionaries, he could

⁴Philip Tocque, *Newfoundland: As It Was, And As It Is in 1877* (Toronto: John B. Magurn, 1878), p. 390.

⁵PANL, GN2/2 43/2/5 Letter, Charles Blackman to Governor Le Marchant, December 27, 1838.

⁶Charles H. Mockridge, *The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland* (Toronto: F.N.W. Brown, 1896), pp. 98-99.

⁷PANL, SPG, MG598 A194 Spencer to A.M. Campbell, Secretary to SPG, March 25, 1841.

⁸A194 Spencer to Campbell, March 5, 1841.

not “but be apprehensive” about asking the School Society’s teachers to take on this role in addition to their responsibilities with the Society. It might lead them to “a less diligent discharge of their scholastic duties’ and in this way “the primary object of the Society – that of educating the children of the colony – [might] be overlooked.”⁹

Samuel Codner, the Society’s founder in 1823, was an evangelical Devonshire merchant at Petty Harbour.¹⁰ His focus was free education for the poor.¹¹ Thomas Millman notes that the 44 day-schools in place by 1846 were “a remarkable contribution” to education at the time. “For about twenty-five years the Newfoundland School Society stood practically alone in providing religious and secular education for the outports.”¹² There is no doubt that the education was within an evangelical context, for the Society saw itself as promoting “those blessed truths which alone are able to make men wise to salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ.”¹³ The education was also according to principles

⁹PANL, SPG, MG598 A195 Haslegrave to Spencer, January 27, 1841.

¹⁰See *The Codner Centenary, or the Performance of a Vow: A Short Review of the Rise and Progress of the Colonial and Continental Church Society 1823-1923* (s. l.: s. n., 1924?).

¹¹Frederick Rowe, *A History of Education in Newfoundland* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1952), p. 39.

¹²Millman and Kelley, *Atlantic Canada to 1900*, p. 87. W. Gordon Handcock concludes that the legacy of Codner was “positive change in Newfoundland’s social, cultural, and educational life.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. VIII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), “Samuel Codner,” W. Gordon Handcock, pp. 164-167.

¹³PANL, MG 595 P-15 *Proceedings of the Church of England Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, 1848-1849* (London: George Barclay, 1849), p. 1.

“as received and taught by the Church of England.”¹⁴ Philip McCann in reflecting on the role of the Society in Newfoundland asked: “Why did members of the Evangelical wing of the Church of England play the leading role in the activities of the society?”¹⁵ They did it because of their faith, since their “fundamental aim was conversion rather than education.”¹⁶ He admitted, though, that during the heyday of the Society’s work, 1832-1857, the literacy rate increased from 35 to 57 percent.¹⁷ McCann argued that merchants got involved in educating the fishermen’s children, not just for literacy, but for “socializing them for life in a merchant-dominated economy.”¹⁸ This explanation is not convincing and does not explain why it was largely evangelical merchants who supported the Newfoundland School Society. It is difficult as well to see the point of his charge of “cultural imperialism” since most of the children in the seats were in fact “England’s children.”

Spencer was able to recruit an evangelical missionary from Boston, Robert Traill

¹⁴MG 595 P-15 *Proceedings of the Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor, 1840-1841* (London: Moyes and Barclay, 1841), p. 1.

¹⁵Phillip McCann, “The Newfoundland School Society 1823-55: missionary enterprise or cultural imperialism?,” in J. A. Mangan, ed., *‘Benefits Bestowed’?: Education and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 95.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 105

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 98.

Spence Lowell, whom he met at Harvard in 1842.¹⁹ This was the exception. He had a problem getting missionaries from England also. In order to draw upon Newfoundland itself for missionaries, he started a small theological college in St. John's with six students enrolled.²⁰ He activated the Church Society to organize local financial support for the mission, and he organized the diocese into deaneries. As one of his last acts he laid the foundation stone for the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist. Thus in four years he laid an institutional foundation for the Church of England in Newfoundland on which his successor could build.²¹ Maybe because he did not have the required "pedestrian powers beyond those of an Irish gossoon," he departed for Jamaica.²² It was a predominantly evangelical church that he left behind in 1843.

When Bishop Edward Feild arrived on July 4, 1844 he found a Church of England led by such evangelical clergymen as Charles Blackman, John Chapman, Robert Lowell and Johnstone Vicars.²³ When he delivered his *Order and Uniformity* charge to them on

¹⁹*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), "Robert Traill Spence Lowell," Hans Rollmann, p. 574.

²⁰Millman and Kelley, *Atlantic Canada to 1900*, p. 95.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

²²Spencer quoted in Mockridge, *The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland*, p. 99.

²³*Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the year 1844* (London: Printed for the Society, 1844), p. xiii.

September 21 there was little that was inspirational or encouraging to their ears.²⁴

Instead, there were many instructions detailing ‘order’ in ceremonial matters, such as facing east while praying, wearing the surplice, observing saints’ days, moving the pulpit at the front of the church from the center to the side, and raising the communion table to make it more visible. As the *Record* observed later, there were “twenty-eight closely printed pages with scarcely one word of Gospel doctrine.”²⁵ Before the clergy arrived in St. John’s for their annual visit with the bishop, Feild determined to make alterations at St. Thomas’s, such as moving the pulpit to the side so that it would not obscure the altar. In this way the clergy could see for themselves “the proper arrangements of a church.”²⁶ Blackman and his congregation were probably not amused.

But the Rev. Thomas F.H. Bridge proceeded with haste to introduce the bishop’s ‘order and uniformity’ at the main church of the parish, the St. John’s Church. Bridge became the champion of Bishop Feild and his Tractarianism and was made Archdeacon by him on September 20, 1850.²⁷ He was already secretary to the Newfoundland Church

²⁴Edward Feild, *Order and Uniformity in the Public Services of The Church According to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland: The Substance of a Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Newfoundland* (St. John’s: John W. McCoubrey, 1844).

²⁵*Record* (London), January 28, 1850.

²⁶H.W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild, D.D., Bishop of Newfoundland* (London: W. Wells Gardner, 1877), p. 35.

²⁷Cathedral of St. John the Baptist Archive, CA 1/2/2.

Society and possibly its most influential member.²⁸ At his death in 1856 it was noted that “by him nearly all the annual Reports of the Society were framed and in greater part composed.”²⁹ This is noteworthy since the reports show a keenness to enforce collections for the Society and a thoroughness in detail. Bridge was an indefatigable worker.³⁰ Bishop Spencer had made him rector of the Parish Church of St. John’s in 1840.³¹ At the time he was evangelical, at least, according to his preaching:

Let us, then, consider whether we are yet in our sins - still “alienated from God ...” or, “hath the Father delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the Kingdom of His dear Son,” enabling us to believe the “faithful saying ... that CHRIST JESUS came into the world to save sinners;” and preparing us to meet, in the peaceful confidence which nothing but that record, received into the heart, can inspire”³²

Daniel Woodley Prowse, a late 19th historian, was profuse with accolades for Bridge, but Jones suggested the clergyman was disingenuous, being neither sincerely evangelical at

²⁸*Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, September 22, 1847 (St. John’s: J.C. Withers), p. 3.

²⁹*The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, July 1, 1856 (St. John’s: John T. Burton), p. 11.

³⁰As Superintendent of the Protestant Education Board he chaired a committee which drew up “Rules and Regulations” detailing textbooks, student fees, teacher returns and prayers. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, Appendix, Education, pp. 79-82.

³¹Cathedral of St. John the Baptist Archive, CA 1/2/2.

³²T.F.H. Bridge, *Three Sermons Preached in St. John’s Church* (St. John’s: Henry Winton, 1839), p. 27.

first, nor sincerely Tractarian later.³³

Out of disgust with Bridge's alterations, a meeting of the upset parishioners was held in February, 1845, which decided to wait until Bishop Feild returned from Bermuda in the spring. At that time he practically had a revolt on his hands since the congregation had "by a unanimous vote" rejected the innovations.³⁴ So great was the "state of commotion" that upon his return, Feild conceded "all the contested points" except one, wearing the surplice in the pulpit.³⁵ This, however, was just a tactical move. In his 1847 Charge he told the clergy that he was not sorry for his instructions of 1844, or their results. It was still his "opinion and wish" that they "pursue a greater approximation to order and uniformity in the public service."³⁶

A year after his *Order and Uniformity* charge to the clergy, Bishop Feild introduced a "plan" to carry out his Tractarian program. The "plan" was to collect five shillings a year "per head, from each and every church member, old and young." He

³³D.W. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland From The English, Colonial, and Foreign Records* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1895), p. 469. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. VIII, "Thomas Finch Hobday Bridge," Frederick Jones, pp. 103-104.

³⁴Anglican Diocese of Eastern Newfoundland and Labrador Archive, Box 2, File 4, Feild to Scott, May 20, 1845.

³⁵Collett, *Church of England, No. 2*, pp. 11-12. See also, excerpt of *An Address read to the Congregation of St. John's, Newfoundland, by the Bishop, 19th May, 1845* in the *Record*, January 28, 1850.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 14.

proposed it to the Committee of the Church Society which gave its approval.³⁷ A writer in Collett's *Church of England, No. 2* noted later that neither the clergy nor the people were consulted. It was "required" of the clergy as a "sacred duty" to collect, report and return the money to the bishop or to the Church Society. So that all money for salaries would come to the bishop directly or through the Church Society, Feild declared that "all other collections for, or payment to, the Clergyman, must ... altogether cease." The writer saw this as a strategic move by Bishop Feild not just to raise money, but through the control of clergy salaries to gain power over the clergy and people to carry out his Tractarian vision. It showed that Feild was "a man ambitious of power, intolerant of any obstruction to the promotion of his peculiar views, and seeking to have everyone completely subject to his domination." Feild perceived that people would be reluctant to donate to clergy who were bringing about "Puseyite innovations" so he ordered the clergy to hold out the stick of denial of Church offices to any who objected to paying.³⁸ The clergy were under considerable pressure both to introduce the Tractarian changes and to collect the money whether they were "young men desiring ordination at his hands, or Deacons looking to be Priested, or Priests seeking a removal to a better mission."³⁹ The writer also saw the Great Fire at St. John's in 1846 as a "most fortunate circumstance" for

³⁷Edward Feild, *An Address to the Congregation of St. Thomas's Church* (St. John's: J. C. Withers, n.d.), Feild to clergy, October 28, 1845, pp. 27-28.

³⁸Collett, *Church of England, No. 2*, pp. 19-22.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 16.

Bishop Feild. In the old Parish Church Feild had to contend with the interests of those who asserted their “private proprietorship” due to pew rents. After the fire he had a clean slate to build and arrange the interior according to “his own medieval notions,” replete with such characteristics as looking to the east, candlesticks on the altar, and a credence table.⁴⁰

Bishop Feild had been drinking from a well from which water had not yet been drawn in Newfoundland. The Tractarian or Oxford Movement, led by John Keble, E. B. Pusey and John Henry Newman, began in 1833 with a sermon preached by Keble entitled “National Apostasy.” Keble was alarmed that the state had determined that it had authority to suppress ten Irish bishoprics “without the Church’s consent.”⁴¹ In his view, the Church of England lacked momentum and was subservient to the state. This was to change. “What the Oxford Movement did more than anything else ... was to restore among the clergy and some lay members of the Church of England a confidence in the church as a divine institution, capable of independent action, of reforming its own abuses, defining its own theology and organizing its own liturgy.”⁴² The name “Tractarianism” came about as a result of the publication of a series of pamphlets entitled *Tracts for the*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴¹James C. Livingstone, *Modern Christian Thought From the Enlightenment to Vatican II* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), p. 117.

⁴²Nigel Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism* (London: The Historical Association, 1984), pp. 22-23.

Times. The first tract, written by Newman, underscored the authority of clergy by claiming apostolic succession.⁴³ The movement began with a theological emphasis which in time acquired a physical setting of Gothic architecture, raised altars, lighted candles and other high church decor. These changes caused anger and disgust on the one hand, and joy and elation on the other. It was a time of keen estrangement and ardent loyalty, both of which could be ignited by a single candle. But as Nigel Yates pointed out:

The debate over minute questions of ritual and vesture strikes the modern mind as unbelievably trivial, and in a sense it was. But the issues that divided the church and public opinion were symbolic of a greater division over matters of strong religious principle. Those who were prepared to go to prison rather than give up the use of vestments or incense felt themselves to be defending much more than mere matters of ceremonial.⁴⁴

Owen Chadwick saw the movement as a romantic reaction to the Age of Reason, a movement of the heart.⁴⁵ Instead of the prevailing empiricism of scientific positivism, Tractarianism delighted in transcendence and mystery.⁴⁶ Much of that mystery was anchored in a romantic notion of the medieval past.⁴⁷ The old High Churchmanship of the 18th century was an unfeeling religion of duty, a 'high and dry' religion.⁴⁸ It was the

⁴³Livingstone, *Modern Christian Thought*, p. 118.

⁴⁴Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism*, p. 32.

⁴⁵Owen Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), p. 11.

⁴⁶Livingstone, *Modern Christian Thought*, p. 117.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴⁸Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*, p. 26

religion of the rationalist William Paley, not of E. B. Pusey. The Tractarian difference from the old High Church was “not so much a difference of doctrine ... It was primarily a difference of Atmosphere.”⁴⁹ With the evangelicals, however, it created an atmosphere not just of incense and smoke, but of fire. Its espousal of such doctrines as baptismal regeneration and the real presence at the Eucharist were bellows that turned the evangelical fire white hot.⁵⁰

The Tractarians were not impressed since they “considered Evangelical preaching irreverent for it exposed the most sacred mysteries to the indifference and mockery of the crowd.”⁵¹ The Tractarian clergy were more priests officiating over rites, than preachers of the gospel. The altar replaced the pulpit as the primary vehicle of spirituality. For the evangelical Anglicans, spirituality was neither ceremonial nor sacramental. They focussed on receiving salvation by asking forgiveness for their sins through the blood of Jesus shed on the cross. Preaching this message was paramount. Their theological vocabulary was the standard Protestant nomenclature that Rev. Johnstone Vicars later used to describe his preaching at St. Thomas’s in St. John’s – “justification,

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁰Baptismal Regeneration meant that at the baptism rite of the infant and not at later conversion, a person was born again and made part of Christ’s church. ‘Real Presence’ meant that Christ’s body and blood were actually present in the elements at the Holy Communion service. Evangelicals, on the other hand, saw the elements as symbols of Christ’s death. Whatever was taking place spiritually was taking place in the individuals present and not in the elements.

⁵¹Livingstone, *Modern Christian Thought*, p. 125.

righteousness, sanctification and redemption.”⁵² Peter Toon described the movement:

An Evangelical Anglican has a strong attachment to the Protestantism of the national Church with its Articles of Religion and Prayer Book. He believes that the Bible is authoritative in matters of faith and conduct and is to be read individually and in the home as well as in church. He emphasizes the doctrine of justification by faith but with good works and a specific (holy) life-style as the proof of true faith. He claims to enjoy a personal relationship with God through Christ, the origins of which are usually traced not to sacramental grace but to conversion experience. And he sees the primary task of the Church in terms of evangelism or missions and so emphasises preaching at home and abroad.⁵³

Bishop Feild was an active Tractarian and a personal friend of one of its founders.

An account of an evening spent with Feild in St. John’s shows how endeared he was to the movement: “The evening was passed at the Bishop’s, when the conversation was about Oxford, and Keble, English personages and Christian art. A few poems were read from Keble’s *Christian Year*, and commented on by the Bishop, who is a personal friend and admirer of the poet.”⁵⁴

Tractarianism, of course, was not a unique Newfoundland phenomenon in the colonial religious experience of British North America. The movement became prominent in New Brunswick under the leadership of Bishop John Medley of

⁵²*The Public Ledger*, September 6, 1853.

⁵³Quoted in Richard W. Vaudry, “Evangelical Anglicans and the Atlantic World: Politics, Ideology, and the British North American Connection,” in G. A. Rawlyk, Editor, *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), pp. 158-159.

⁵⁴Louis L. Noble, *After Icebergs with a Painter* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1861), p. 74.

Fredericton.⁵⁵ The bishop was particularly attuned to the Tractarian 'habits of reverence and awe' engendered by Gothic architecture.⁵⁶ The humble Medley, whose learning was surpassed only by his graciousness, was able to carry out his mission without alienating the Saint John evangelicals.⁵⁷ Tractarianism came to Nova Scotia in the person of Bishop Hibbert Binney who had to face much more opposition in Nova Scotia than Medley did in New Brunswick.⁵⁸ Many of the wealthiest and most influential Anglicans of Nova Scotia were "not in sympathy" with Tractarianism, and Bishop Binney met the focus of that opposition particularly at St. Paul's in Halifax and at King's College in Winsor.⁵⁹ Nova Scotia had experienced the zeal of religion in the form of revivals long before Tractarianism came to its shores.⁶⁰ These revivals brought about an "appeal of

⁵⁵Headon, "Developments in Canadian Anglican Worship in Eastern and Central Canada 1840-1868," p. 28. See also, Millman and Kelly, *Atlantic Canada to 1900*, pp. 147-162.

⁵⁶Alan Gregg Finley, "Habits of Reverence and Awe: Bishop John Medley and the Promise of Ecclesiology," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 35 (April 1993) : 4.

⁵⁷Millman and Kelly, *Atlantic Canada to 1900*, pp. 158,151.

⁵⁸Henry Roper, "Evangelical-Tractarian Conflict over Divinity Education at the University of King's College," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 36 (April 1994) : 37-57. See also, Philip Griffin-Allwood, "The Evangelical Doctrinal Consensus: An Implication of the St. Paul's (Halifax) Secession of 1825," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 36 (April 1994) : 5-18.

⁵⁹Roper, "Evangelical-Tractarian Conflict over Divinity Education at the University of King's College," p. 40.

⁶⁰George A. Rawlyk, "New Lights, Baptists, and Religious Awakenings in Nova Scotia 1776-1843: A Preliminary Probe," in Mark G. McGowan and David B. Marshall,

evangelicalism on the people” and as a result it was not just the wealthy and influential who were out of sympathy with Tractarianism.⁶¹

In Upper Canada the evangelical Bishop Benjamin Cronyn of Huron battled with Bishop John Strachan of Toronto over his ‘Romish’ doctrines. Bishop Strachan disparaged Cronyn as “a low churchman and better fitted for a political agitator than a Bishop.”⁶² The Church of England in Upper Canada was disestablished in 1854 and its members “looked increasingly towards the Oxford vision of a revived church to buoy their sense of mission.”⁶³ They may have been “set adrift by the state,” but they dressed up their ship as never before. Many of the clergy in Upper Canada at the time were Tractarians right out of Oxford, and “were keen on reproducing the church of their youth in their new country.”⁶⁴ Not everyone in the pew agreed with the changes. Rev. Francis

eds., *Prophets, Priests, and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History, 1608 to the Present* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1992), pp. 37-60. See also, George A. Rawlyk, *Wrapped up in God: A Study of Several Canadian Revivals and Revivalists* (Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1988).

⁶¹Rawlyk, “New Lights, Baptists, and Religious Awakenings in Nova Scotia 1776-1843: A Preliminary Probe”, p. 35.

⁶²Brad Faught, “John Charles Roper and the Oxford Movement in Toronto,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 36 (October 1994) : 118. It was a battle that continued. See, for example, Darren Marks, “William S. Rainsford: Forgotten Founder of Toronto’s Evangelical Anglicans 1877-1882,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 40 (Fall 1998) : 157-178.

⁶³Faught, “John Charles Roper and the Oxford Movement in Toronto,” p. 118.

⁶⁴Christopher F. Headon, “Developments in Canadian Anglican Worship in Eastern and Central Canada 1840-1868,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XVII (June 1975) : 27.

J. Lundy at Grimsby gave his church a pair of candlesticks, but “a parishioner strode down the aisle and blew the candles out.”⁶⁵ The parishioners who were against Tractarianism did not prevail, however. One estimate is that by 1880 in Toronto 80 percent of the clergy were of that persuasion.⁶⁶

In Newfoundland, Bishop Feild did not just disturb evangelical members of the Church of England with his Tractarian theology. He proceeded to alarm Protestants in general. In his ‘charge’ to the clergy of Bermuda in 1845, he declared that voluntary societies were “self-formed” and therefore have “no foundation.” He called upon his clergy to speak out against “such inventions of men.”⁶⁷ He was able to put this belief into practice when he returned to St. John’s in 1846 and the British and Foreign Bible Society invited him to be president. He refused, and printed his reply for all to see in the newspaper, but he specifically addressed it to his “own flock ... and all friends of the Church.” He said that such a society in Newfoundland was not “requisite or desirable.” The main supporters of the Bible Society were Dissenters, who claimed that they were separated by only “unimportant differences.” In this way, Feild said, they showed “a disregard of the distinctive character of the Church, as the body to which ... truth is intrusted.” The result was that the Society appeared to give legitimacy to “the system of

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶⁶Faught, “John Charles Roper and the Oxford Movement in Toronto,” p. 118.

⁶⁷*Times*, May 17, 1845.

dissent” and lowered the proper position of ‘the Church.’⁶⁸ The letter must have caused dismay in St. John’s and elsewhere. Feild’s biographer concluded that his rejection of the Bible Society “utterly destroyed for him all chance of popularity for some years,” but Feild had “utter contempt” for “popularity” anyway.⁶⁹ “Popularity” was actually a trifling word to use in that context.⁷⁰ What Feild lost was respect. Wesleyans, Congregationalists and Presbyterians could not accept his exclusionist views. They agreed that while they differed over forms of church government, what was central was “the glorious gospel.”⁷¹ Their clergy often attended one another’s events.⁷² Feild had replaced ‘the Gospel’ with ‘the Church,’ that is the Church of England, and in that way divided a Protestant community that had been reasonably ecumenical in its interrelationships.

There was also friction with Roman Catholics. The 1846 fire destroyed the “mean and miserable” parish church.⁷³ Feild went to England to collect funds for a cathedral as

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, June 3, 1846. He included a letter from the Bishop of Salisbury pressing for exclusion from the Bible Society itself.

⁶⁹Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild*, p. 48.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷¹*Public Ledger*, August 17, 1847.

⁷²*Courier*, July 10, 1850; May 28, 1853, November 25, 1857. *Public Ledger*, July 16, 1847; February 19, 1850; August 15, 1851; June 4, 1852; May 27, 1853; *Express*, August 27, 1856.

⁷³Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild*, Feild to correspondent, June 12, 1846, p. 48.

a replacement, and for the 10,000 homeless. Of the £29,000 collected, Feild claimed £14,000 for his cathedral.⁷⁴ Frederick Jones argued that “Feild’s part in the whole affair was entirely honourable.”⁷⁵ He had already intended to appeal for funds for a cathedral. The appeal mentioned both “relief of the sufferers and the rebuilding of the episcopal church,” though Lord Grey at the Colonial Office only mentioned ‘the sufferers’ in official correspondence.⁷⁶ The Relief Committee in St. John’s had already paid ‘the sufferers’ and had a surplus. There was plenty of work for ‘the sufferers’ in rebuilding. Roman Catholics in St. John’s, the majority of ‘the sufferers,’ sent at the time £500 to help famine victims in Ireland. Petitions for relief were “easy to produce” because most of the people were illiterate. The poor in St. John’s were better off than other parts of the empire.⁷⁷ Such arguments used by Feild and the Church of England elite to justify themselves, however, did not convince the Roman Catholic population. It was evident that the former had received £14,000 to replace a building worth £400.⁷⁸ Flare-ups continued for years. In 1850 the *Patriot* was still reporting how the fire fund was

⁷⁴Frederick Jones, *Edward Feild Bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-1876* (St. John’s: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1976), pp. 21-22.

⁷⁵Frederick Jones, “Bishop Feild: A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland,” p. 166.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 163-168.

⁷⁸*Patriot*, July 29, 1847.

“wantonly and wickedly ... defrauded.”⁷⁹

Before Feild started to pursue his Tractarian version of the Church of England, Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming had already created a robust Roman Catholicism in Newfoundland that was heavily influenced by the Irish nationalism of Daniel O’Connell. For his mission Fleming enlisted only priests from Ireland who were “militant ... in asserting Roman Catholic rights and aspirations.”⁸⁰ Patrick O’Flaherty is correct in saying that Fleming wanted only “a Catholic of a certain type.”⁸¹ But that ‘type’ was a blend of Irish nationalism and ultramontaniam. In asserting the supremacy of the Pope, even to the degree of being above the state, ultramontaniam also asserted the supremacy of his representative, the bishop. Whether in the church or in politics, therefore, the only response to his authority that Bishop Fleming deemed proper was one of obedience.

Thus with a zeal fueled by both Irish nationalism and ultramontaniam, Bishop Fleming set about establishing an assertive and unapologetic Roman Catholic culture in Newfoundland. His cathedral was the centerpiece in that vision. It was not by chance that its architecture was of the Romanesque style, and not that of “Victorian neo-gothicism.”⁸² Fleming buttressed his Catholicism with vigorous efforts in education. He

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, August 3, 1850.

⁸⁰*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol.VII, “Michael Anthony Fleming,” Raymond J. Lahey, p. 293.

⁸¹O’Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland A History to 1843*, p. 157.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 312.

sought out Presentation Sisters and Sisters of Mercy from Ireland to establish girls' schools for the poor and the rich. He found Franciscan brothers to run the Benevolent Irish Society's Catholic school for boys.⁸³ He gave equal energy to politics, grasping for government influence and the appointments which Catholics deserved. This caused a division with more moderate Catholics such as Patrick Kough, Timothy Hogan and Joseph Shea, who had developed a lifestyle of accommodation with the Church of England elite.⁸⁴

Bishop John T. Mullock who replaced Fleming in 1850 was a strong advocate of responsible government. Unlike Fleming, he championed a Newfoundland nationalism instead of an Irish one. Through responsible government Newfoundland Roman Catholics could obtain rights and privileges which were then held by Anglicans out of all proportion to their numbers. The campaign for responsible government gained considerable momentum from Philip F. Little, a lawyer recently arrived from Prince Edward Island, who entered the Assembly on January 23, 1851. He soon became the effective leader of the Liberal party, which was closely allied with the Roman Catholic Church. The British government replied negatively to the Assembly's request "to pray your Majesty to concede to us the boon of self-government" which the neighbouring

⁸³*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. VII, "Michael Anthony Fleming," Raymond J. Lahey, pp. 293, 298.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 294.

colonies already had.⁸⁵ Bishop Mullock then published a letter to Little in the *Newfoundlander* which ensured that the issue would be debated on religious lines. He said that the reply from the Colonial Office was “an insult to myself and my people” and charged that the predominantly Church of England government in Newfoundland was an “irresponsible, drivelling despotism, wearing the mask of representative institutions, and depending for support alone on bigotry and bribery.” Newfoundland was kept from progressing as a colony in order “to fatten up in idleness, by the creation of offices exorbitantly paid, the members of a clique.”⁸⁶ The ‘war of creeds’ reply by ‘Ben Johnston’ to the editor of the *Times*, February 25, 1852, was typical:

And is it to come to this, that the people of this country are to be styled Bishop Mullock’s people? Let the Protestants of the country mark this well, for these two words, “my people,” contain a volume in themselves. A single feather thrown in the air will shew how the wind blows, and so this one expression alone shews in what light this person looks on the inhabitants of this island.

It was the view of the Governor John Gaspard Le Marchant that responsible government would mean Catholic rule in Newfoundland, which would enthrone the Roman Catholic bishop as the actual ruler of the island.⁸⁷ He took an energetic role against such a possibility.⁸⁸ Yet he somewhat endeared himself to much of the population

⁸⁵*Newfoundland Journal of the House of Assembly 1851*, p. 194.

⁸⁶*Newfoundlander*, February 12, 1852. See Gertrude E. Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1864*, pp. 123-125.

⁸⁷Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation*, pp. 221-222.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 225-226.

since he was comfortable out and about beyond the confines of Government House. He was particularly noted for promoting agriculture, allotting £22,416 to that pursuit, and to roads and the repair of buildings.⁸⁹ Henry Winton at the *Public Ledger* considered that Le Marchant deserved the “highest credit” for governing Newfoundland at such a difficult time, starting with the fire of 1846.⁹⁰ He tended rather to act unilaterally, more like a commander-in-chief. Le Marchant came straight out of the military to Newfoundland and thus had no experience in governing, certainly none in promoting democracy.⁹¹

In order to obtain responsible government, Roman Catholics had to overcome a major hurdle. The Protestant proportion of the population had increased from a minority in 1836 to a majority of 2,540 in 1845.⁹² That the Protestants themselves were not united provided a way for the Catholics to proceed. The Tractarian efforts of Bishop Feild had divided the Protestants, especially his persistent effort to subdivide the Protestant education grant. Bishop Feild saw himself as the bishop of “the Church” descended from the apostles, distinct from the Wesleyans whom he regarded as just another Protestant sect. He wanted Anglicans to have the same educational privileges as Roman Catholics,

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 439. Poole, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 3, “John Gaspard Le Marchant,” p. 278.

⁹⁰*Public Ledger*, June 24, 1851.

⁹¹*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. X (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), “Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant,” P.B. Waite, pp. 438-439.

⁹²Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1864*, pp. 206-207, Appendix E Tables II & III.

who had separate schools. Hence the request that “a proportionate part of the yearly grant according to population, may be awarded for the support of schools in connection with the Church of England, to be placed under the direction of the clergy and other members of that Church only.”⁹³ Wesleyans, however, did not want their own separate schools because they did not have sufficient numbers to support them. Their response in general was that of the Wesleyans of Sound Island in particular, namely, that subdivision was “most prejudicial to the interests of Education, generally, in this island.” What was needed was money for additional schools and teachers, instead of dividing denominationally what already existed.⁹⁴ As John P. Greene pointed out, the Liberals did not have a sufficient number of seats in Catholic districts to carry the Assembly in favour of responsible government. Thus they appealed to the Wesleyans who held the deciding vote in the Conception Bay and Burin districts by siding with them against the Church of England request for subdivision of the Protestant education grant.⁹⁵

Wesleyans in Burin area had additional reasons not to be sympathetic to the Church of England. William Rozier came as a priest to Lamaline in 1851.⁹⁶ With his

⁹³CNS, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1850, pp. 23-24.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 1851, p. 19. The evangelical Anglicans of St. Paul’s Church in Harbour Grace and St. Thomas’s Church in St. John’s were also against subdivision, *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 54.

⁹⁵John P. Greene, “The Influence of Religion in the Politics of Newfoundland 1850-1861” (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University, 1970), p. 15.

⁹⁶Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, p. 859.

Tractarian view that only priests of ‘the Church’ had apostolic authority, he rebaptized several people who had already been baptized by Wesleyan ministers. Stephen Olive Pack also accused Rozier of making several “bigotted and illiberal attacks” on Wesleyans from the pulpit.⁹⁷ Because of this, ‘Wesleyan Methodists’ quit attending services of the Church of England and instead “spend their Sundays in walking about or in their boats.” Pack added that Rozier attacked the Roman Catholics “in the same spirit.”⁹⁸ Catholics and Wesleyans were thus joined together politically while theologically being very much apart.

Newspaper editors took positions according to their religious and political beliefs. Henry Winton at the *Public Ledger* printed a letter on April 23, 1851 from the ‘Burin District’ on the charges of rebaptism at Lamaline.⁹⁹ Winton was a Congregationalist who believed that all Protestants were united in their primary emphasis of the Gospel and were different only in such secondary matters as church government.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, he was against the subdivision of the Protestant grant for education.¹⁰¹ He considered the

⁹⁷PANL, GN2/2 1851 Box 37 Letter Stephen Olive Pack to Colonial Secretary, July 30, 1851.

⁹⁸*Ibid.* See also, Pack to Christopher Ayre, Acting Colonial Secretary, October 7, 1851.

⁹⁹*Public Ledger*, April 23, 1851.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, August 17, 1847.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, February 15, 1850.

Tractarianism of Bishop Feild to be “mummeries of religion,” like Roman Catholicism.¹⁰²

Politically, Winton was against responsible government. As Patrick O’Flaherty noted, when Bishop Mullock and Philip Little joined together to bring about responsible government, Winton spent his last four years “in a desperate, losing battle” against it.¹⁰³ This may explain why, after the spring of 1851, Winton’s paper avoided criticism of Bishop Feild, who was also against responsible government, thinking that it would be “disastrous for the Church.”¹⁰⁴ Winton could not afford to attack an ally.

Joseph Woods, the Methodist editor of the *Courier*, reprinted the *Ledger’s* charges of rebaptism at Lamaline in his new magazine, *The Newfoundland Guardian and Christian Intelligencer*.¹⁰⁵ The *Guardian* held it as a basic tenet that “all the sects of the Protestant Church differ only in ceremonial details” and they have “but one centre of unity - the Lord Jesus Christ.”¹⁰⁶ It is not a coincidence that the first two articles in the magazine spoke out against the Tractarian teachings of “the Church,” and “Baptismal

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, February 11, 1851.

¹⁰³*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol IX (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), “Henry David Winton,” Patrick O’Flaherty, p. 950.

¹⁰⁴Feild to Hawkins, October 21, 1854. Quoted in Jones, “Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland,” p. 181. Jones stated, however, that for Feild it was mainly a class issue, and not a religious one, “a battle of ignorant and uneducated have-nots against able and educated haves,” p. 190.

¹⁰⁵*The Newfoundland Guardian and Christian Intelligencer* (St. John’s: Joseph Woods), May 1851, Vol. 1., No. 5, pp. 118-119.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, January 1851, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 2.

Regeneration.”¹⁰⁷ Both were held dear by Bishop Feild. Woods was a proponent of responsible government and thus, unlike Winton, he intensified his attacks on Puseyism and subdivision after 1851. For example, he reprinted the *Ledger*’s Lamaline article in the *Courier* in 1852 and twice again in 1854.¹⁰⁸ He ran as a candidate for Burin District in 1855, but lost. He continued to support the Liberal cause.¹⁰⁹

Robert John Parsons, a Presbyterian and editor of the *Patriot*, also championed the Liberal cause of responsible government.¹¹⁰ He often spoke out against the Church of England elite, and continually held up before his readers the funds “filched” for Bishop Feild’s cathedral, taken from the sufferers of the fire of 1846.¹¹¹ The cathedral was built “upon the moans and blood of the suffering poor.”¹¹² He charged Feild with trying to establish Church of England “ascendancy.”¹¹³ By 1854, however, Parsons was speaking out against Governor Ker Baille Hamilton and others who would “defame the pure and

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 2-6.

¹⁰⁸*Courier*, December 22, 1852; September 23, 27, 1854.

¹⁰⁹*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. X, “Joseph Woods,” Elizabeth A. Wells, pp. 716-717.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 673. “John Robert Parsons,” by Leslie Harris.

¹¹¹*Patriot*, July 24, 28, 29, August 10, 26, 30, 1847; August 3, September 28, 1850.

¹¹²*Patriot*, January 12, 1848. Quoted in Jones, “Bishop Feild: A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland,” p. 170.

¹¹³*Patriot*, June 21, 1852.

exalted character of the Bishop.”¹¹⁴ Parsons had come to see Hamilton as the primary impediment to responsible government and thus made him the target of his pen, instead of Feild.¹¹⁵

Parsons charged that Anglicans had hired the *Express* to speak out against Joseph Woods in the Burin election.¹¹⁶ The editor of the *Express*, James Seaton, also a Presbyterian, did consider running for the Conservatives against Woods at Burin. After a visit to the district, however, he saw that his chances were slim, withdrew, and recommended a Wesleyan instead.¹¹⁷ He did not withdraw from the campaign, however. He continually defended the role of the Church of England in government and attempted to convince Wesleyans that they would be the losers for joining up with Catholics.¹¹⁸ Theologically, Seaton was keen to include items against Tractarianism in his paper, for example, the opposition at Harbour Buffett and Pinchard’s Island.¹¹⁹ He reprinted several articles against Tractarianism from the English press.¹²⁰ He also reprinted the striking

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, June 24, 1854.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, April 15, 29, June 24, November 11, December 30, 1854; January 29, February 5, 1855.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, March 26, 1855.

¹¹⁷Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation*, p. 257.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

¹¹⁹*Express*, May 10, September 27, 1853.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, January 3, 1852; June 15, 17, August 26, 1854.

poem, “What is a Puseyite”:

Pray tell me what’s a Puseyite? ‘Tis puzzling to describe,
This ecclesiastical Janus, of a pious hybrid tribe;
At Lambeth and the Vatican, he’s equally at home,
Although ‘tis said he’s wont to give the preference to Rome.¹²¹

The *Times* too was against responsible government, fearing that it would be run by Bishop Mullock and his clergy.¹²² It attempted to be a moderating influence in the controversy between Tractarians and evangelicals. For example, when Bridge made the Tractarian changes to the St. John’s parish church in 1845, John McCoubrey, the editor, frankly admitted that it would be “useless to deny” that a “schism ... very generally prevails.” He advised avoidance of extremes, and instead of “extravagant opinions,” encouraged all to see that both Blackman and Bridge were doing their best “for the promotion of God’s glory.”¹²³ Similarly in 1851, having given space to H. P. Disney to reply to a letter in the *Record* criticizing Bishop Feild and his cathedral, he then reprinted the letter from the *Record* at the request of Thomas Dunn of the Newfoundland School Society. He hoped that there would then “be an end to the painful discussion.”¹²⁴

William Charles St. John, a Wesleyan at Harbour Grace, presented an evangelical viewpoint on religious issues as editor of the *Herald*. As early as 1845 he spoke out

¹²¹*Express*, September 20, 1853.

¹²²Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1864*, pp. 123-125.

¹²³*Times*, February 26, 1845.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, January 8, 1851.

against Tractarianism.¹²⁵ He reprinted Collett's letter to the *Times* stating that Episcopalians were refused baptism in Placentia Bay.¹²⁶ He agreed that ministers of the gospel should be supported by the congregations, but "it must be THE *gospel* that they preach." If they did preach the gospel, there would be "no want of liberality."¹²⁷ St. John was not around for the responsible government election, since he left for Boston in 1854.¹²⁸

Edward Dalton Shea, editor of the *Newfoundlander*, was an avid proponent of the Liberal Party and responsible government. He reprinted Bishop Mullock's "despotism" letter of February 7, 1852, noting that the *Ledger* and *Express* held it up as a "scarecrow to their readers." He challenged them to read it and see that Bishop Mullock had no desire "to rule the country." Instead, the letter just communicated the bishop's revulsion at "misrule" in Newfoundland.¹²⁹ Governor Hamilton was not high in the paper's estimation.¹³⁰

H. W. Hoyles and Bryan Robinson helped Feild against his opposition. Hoyles, a lawyer, was elected in 1848 as a Conservative member of the House of Assembly

¹²⁵*Weekly Herald and Conception-Bay General Advertiser*, February 5, 1845.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, May 28, 1851.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, June 22, 1853.

¹²⁸See *Ibid.*, May 24, 1854. His last newspaper was on June 28, 1854.

¹²⁹*Newfoundlander*, September 28, 1854.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, November 30, 1854; May 3, April 9, 12, 16, 19, 1855.

representing Fortune Bay. He fought for Bishop Feild against a General Academy or public secondary school. Feild had opened a denominational school upon his arrival in 1844 “to mitigate the evil of a public academy on liberal principles (*i.e.* religion excluded),”¹³¹ Hoyles was successful in 1850 with the setting up of publicly funded denominational academies for the Church of England, Methodists and Roman Catholics. He then became a director of the Church of England Academy.¹³² This division just involved three schools in St. John’s. He then worked energetically for denominational schools all over Newfoundland by arguing in the House of Assembly Bishop Feild’s case for subdivision of the Protestant grant.¹³³ An ‘Evangelical Churchman’ said he was “the organ of the Puseyite party” and that “no man has ever worked harder for his party than Mr. Hoyles has done.”¹³⁴ Hoyles was on the Church Society Committee, and campaigned against responsible government.¹³⁵ He became Premier in 1861 and Chief Justice in 1865.¹³⁶

¹³¹Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild*, p. 35.

¹³²*Public Ledger*, May 31, 1850.

¹³³*Times*, January 8, February 22, 1851; *Patriot*, February 22, 1851.

¹³⁴*Public Ledger*, April 16, 1852.

¹³⁵*The Twelfth Annual Report of the Newfoundland Church Society* (St. John’s: J.T. Burton, 1853), p. 8. Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation*, pp. 249-250.

¹³⁶Smallwood, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 2, “Sir Hugh William Hoyles,” pp. 1098-1101.

Bryan Robinson was also a member for Fortune Bay from 1842 to 1848.¹³⁷ In his election platform for Bonavista in 1852 he stated that he was “by birth, education, and conviction, a Protestant; that there should be subdivision in settlements where “funds are adequate” for it; and that responsible government was “wholly unsuited” to Newfoundland.¹³⁸ In 1855 he intended to run for Burgeo-La Poile, but deferred to Robert Prowse, on the promise of an appointment to the Legislative Council from Governor Hamilton.¹³⁹ He was president of the Agricultural Society.¹⁴⁰ As a barrister he took on famous cases such as *Kielley vs. Carson*, provided legal advice to the Legislative Council and served as assistant Supreme Court judge.¹⁴¹ He was also a Queen’s Counsel.¹⁴² He was a member of the Committee of the Church Society in 1845 and served for several years.¹⁴³

In conclusion, in bringing Tractarianism to Newfoundland Bishop Feild brought a

¹³⁷Poole, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 4, “Bryan Robinson,” p. 612.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, October 16, 1852.

¹³⁹Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation*, p. 264.

¹⁴⁰*Courier*, January 18, 1851.

¹⁴¹Poole, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 4, “Bryan Robinson,” p. 612.

¹⁴²*The Twelfth Annual Report of the Newfoundland Church Society* (St. John’s: J.T. Burton, 1853), p. 8.

¹⁴³*Times*, October 18, 1845. See lists of officers in Newfoundland Church Society’s annual reports.

division in Protestantism which played an important role in the battle for responsible government. The editors of the papers aligned themselves with the issue according to their religious beliefs, the exception being Robert John Parsons. Governor Hamilton became embroiled in the division by defending evangelical Anglicans. In this way he aided the responsible government cause by giving support to an arm of the Church of England which was in sympathy with the Wesleyans. In the fight, Hoyles and Robinson were close to Feild's side and ready to do his bidding. St. John's was the focal point of the Tractarian-evangelical controversy since it was the administrative centre of the churches in Newfoundland and the government. Decisions made in St. John's, however, were effectively executed in the outports. The next chapter will focus on the setting of inner Placentia Bay in general and Harbour Buffett in particular and examine how the various influences from St. John's impacted in the area.

Chapter 3

Placentia Bay

This chapter highlights various historical trends in Placentia Bay. It notes the rise of Burin in the early 19th century as the economic and religious center of Placentia Bay. The population of the bay in general, however, was spread out and mobile. The bait trade with the French at St. Pierre and Miquelon provided the economic impetus for a population movement into the bay along the western shore where herring were plentiful. The rise of Harbour Buffett demonstrates the mobility of the population, and a desire to resettle for church and school purposes. This coincided with a representative government which began to expand its services in education, roads, relief and mail delivery. It also coincided with a new and concerted effort of the Church of England to establish itself in Placentia Bay in competition with Roman Catholics and Methodists, who had been serving the people there for decades. At Harbour Buffett religious sentiment became particularly intense when Bishop Feild introduced Tractarianism, a change in theology and practice which was opposed by the evangelical Anglicans in the community.

In the latter half of the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th, there were two major mercantile centers in Placentia Bay – Placentia and Burin. The other major economic influence was the French island of St. Pierre. The population aligned itself geographically with the economic activity of these centers. Placentia was the hub of the eastern side of the bay. One of its merchants, Thomas Saunders, reported to a House of Commons committee in 1793 that there were 2000 men employed in the fishery at

Placentia.¹ It had an only slight majority of Catholics in the 1760s. Each summer afterward, however, the new population who came were “almost exclusively Irish” so that by the 1770s Placentia was three-quarters Irish.² Father Cain or Kean came as the Roman Catholic priest in 1770.³ The SPG appointed John Harris to serve the Church of England population in 1778, but the last SPG missionary left Placentia in 1798.⁴ It became a government administrative center also, with a court house built there in 1774.⁵ Trade, however, moved to the other side of the bay. By 1807 Placentia may still have been “the bay’s distributing center for bread and flour,” but Burin had become the mercantile center of the bay importing “half again as much salt meat, almost all the rum and molasses, and twice as much salt” as Placentia.⁶ Governor Erasmus Gower reported in 1805 that Placentia was down to one merchant, but Burin and other harbours on the western side of

¹Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Reports from the Committee on the State of the Trade to Newfoundland, severally reported in March, April, June, 1793* (London: 1803), p. 440.

²C. Grant Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976), p. 156.

³M. F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* (Boston: Doyle and Whittle, Publishers, 1888), p. 182.

⁴C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.* (London: The Society’s Office, 1901), pp. 857-858.

⁵Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 653.

⁶Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, pp. 235-236.

the bay had “a considerable number.”⁷

Burin thus became the new center of economic activity in Placentia Bay in the first quarter of the 19th century. The population grew accordingly. Charles Blackman, the SPG missionary at Ferryland, who visited in 1825, said it had the highest population in the bay with “upwards of a thousand inhabitants.”⁸ J. D. Rogers concluded that its impetus of growth was the bait trade with St. Pierre,

In 1818 Burin was but little known ... in 1841 its shipping was four times as much as Placentia. The new influence which made men drift westward, against the stream and with the sun, was St. Pierre, which was now the baiting-place of the big bounty-fed Bankers of old France. The old French capital was being eclipsed by the new French capital.⁹

Burin was also the administrative center for the western shore of Placentia Bay. At the turn of the century a court house was built and in 1813 a magistrate appointed.¹⁰ It became the headquarters of a Roman Catholic Mission in 1809 or 1810.¹¹ Methodists

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 236. See CNS, CO 194/44, f213, Gower to Right Honorable Viscount Castlereagh, November 28, 1805.

⁸*A Sermon Preached Before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ... together with The Report of the Society for the Year 1825* (London: G. Woodfall, 1826), p. 52.

⁹J.D. Rogers, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, Vol. V, Part IV, *Newfoundland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), p. 210.

¹⁰Joseph R. Smallwood, Editor, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 1 (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers (1967) Limited, 1981), “Burin,” p. 291.

¹¹*The History of Burin by its Senior Citizens* (Marystown: South Coast Printers Limited, 1977), p. 209.

followed in 1817.¹² The Church of England sent a clergyman, Thomas Grantham, in 1816 but he remained only a year.¹³ The next was not appointed until 1841.¹⁴ Thus the Church of England had no clergy in Placentia Bay for two decades, while the Roman Catholic Church had at least two, and the Methodists one.

The year 1830 marks a watershed in the history of inner Placentia Bay. The bankruptcy of the Spurriers of Poole signalled the end of the English mercantile house era.¹⁵ The main Spurrier premises were at Burin, but there were also extensive rooms at Oderin, Barren Island and Isle Valen.¹⁶ The downfall of the business was precipitated by a poor fishery, but a contributing factor was Christopher Spurrier's "penchant for luxury and gambling."¹⁷ William Jeynes, the first Church of England missionary stationed in inner Placentia Bay, thought so. When in 1840 he visited "the huge and valuable premises" at Barren Island he reflected on the scene: "As I looked at the ruin I became impressed with the awful nature of sin which has evidently been the cause of this

¹²T. W. Smith, *Methodism in Easter British America*, Vol. 2 (Halifax: The Methodist Bookroom, 1890), p. 57.

¹³Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, p. 858.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 857. It was George B. Cowan.

¹⁵Derek Beamish, John Hillier and H. F. V. Johnstone, *Mansions and Merchants of Poole and Dorset* (Poole: Poole Historic Trust, 1976), p. 22.

¹⁶*Ibid.* For a detailed account of the assets in each place see advertisement for auction of the bankrupt estate of Christopher Spurrier & Co., *Royal Gazette*, April 19, 1831.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

destruction.”¹⁸ More relevant is his remark that “where doubtless many Protestants once lived,” there was now only one Protestant family amidst the Roman Catholic population. There were also many Protestants among the Spurriers’ 150 servants at Oderin farther out the bay. Many of them too had to look elsewhere for a living when the Oderin business was taken over by the much smaller operation of the Irish-born merchant, James Furlong.¹⁹ Ken Tulk concluded that it was the end of the English merchant era which gave the impetus in the 1830s for a migration to the islands and perimeter of inner Placentia Bay.²⁰

Howard Brown suggested another factor was the decline of Placentia “when a number of merchants who had amassed considerable fortunes left the place.”²¹ This enabled businessmen to become established elsewhere in the bay, a trend stimulated by the fact that St. John’s merchants preferred to deal with small outport merchants and traders who took on the risk of credit to the fishermen.²² One of those St. John’s

¹⁸A194 Letter of William Jeynes to Rev. T.F.H. Bridge, December 21, 1840.

¹⁹Poole, Editor, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 4, “Oderin,” p. 153.

²⁰Ken A. Tulk, *Arnold’s Cove: A Community History* (St. John’s: Robinson-Blackmore Printing and Publishing Limited, 1997), p. 19.

²¹*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1872, Appendix, p. 624. Report of Captain Brown, H.M.S. *Danae* on protection of the Fisheries, 1871 in Howard Brown, “Inner Placentia Bay: The Evolution of Settlement and Trade” (B.A. Dissertation, Dept. of Geography, Memorial University, 1974), p. 38.

²²Shannon Ryan, *Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade, 1814-1914* (St. John’s: Breakwater Books Limited, 1986), p.65 in Howard Brown, “Inner

merchants was William Thomas, who was appointed treasurer to receive subscriptions for the building fund for a church at Harbour Buffett.²³ It is likely he was asked to do so because of his business connection with the community. Similarly, William Jeynes reported that “Mr. Greave [*sic*] of the Firm of Baine Johnston and Co.” was appointed treasurer to receive subscriptions for a church on Sound Island.²⁴ C. F. Bennett & Co. bought the Spurrier premises at Isle Valen, and stationed George LeMessurier as agent there.²⁵ Alexander Chambers, from Nova Scotia, was the merchant at Burgeo (Chamber’s Island) about half way between Bar Haven and Isle Valen.²⁶ He is listed in the Methodist records as a contributor or “subscriber” to the Methodist Society in 1839 and 1840.²⁷ He was also a justice of the peace.²⁸ He was likely the brother or father of the C. D. Chambers who set up a business in Harbour Buffett, probably in the 1830s.²⁹ Brown

Placentia Bay: The Evolution of Settlement and Trade,” p. 36.

²³A194 Jeynes to Spencer, October 12, 1840. In the same letter “the firm” of William Thomas is mentioned in reference to Woody Island.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵Brown, “Inner Placentia Bay,” p. 36. A194 Letter of William Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

²⁶Wilfred Wareham in Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, p. 153.

²⁷Newfoundland and Labrador Conference Archives, United Church of Canada, WY 200 Box 1 “Burin,” Circuit Book, Board of Trustees 1836-1847.

²⁸*Royal Gazette*, October 2, 1849.

²⁹Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, pp. 60, 62. Butler names three brothers – Archibald, James and Charles D. Chambers.

noted that Harbour Buffett was “undoubtedly the main center of inner Placentia Bay” by the 1870s, and the growth of other centers such as Sound Island occurred in the context of this changeover.³⁰

However, the growth of inner Placentia Bay was part of another trend which contributed to the growth of Burin – the expansion of the French fishery on the Grand Banks, based at St Pierre and Miquelon which had been returned to France by the Treaty of Paris in 1815. It is difficult to exaggerate the impact of this fishery. The provision of herring for bait, and other goods such as firewood, timber and caribou meat did for the South Coast what Shannon Ryan has concluded the seal fishery did for the northeast coast.³¹ Moreover, unlike sealing, the large South Coast bait fishery for the French sidestepped St. John’s merchants.

Bounties were the key to the French fishery. The French government introduced bounties per fishermen and per quintal of fish to expand the cod fishery in order to recoup the loss of seamen during the Napoleonic Wars.³² Their purpose was to train seamen to build up the navy. They at least built up the fishery. By 1830 France had 300 to 400 vessels and about 12,000 men in the fishery.³³ The annual bounty payments rose from

³⁰Brown, “Inner Placentia Bay,” p. 37.

³¹Shannon Ryan, *The Ice Hunters: A History of Newfoundland Sealing to 1914* (St. John’s: Breakwater Books Limited, 1994), p. 404.

³²Harold A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 375.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 218.

365,000 francs in 1817 to 4,400,000 francs in 1829.³⁴ The population of St. Pierre and Miquelon increased from 800 in 1820 to 1,100 in 1831, and to 2,910 in 1860. By 1858 there were 12 mercantile houses operating on the islands.³⁵ Coupled with bounties, the new fishing method of the trawl or bultow system brought about “a marked increase in the demand for bait and extensive purchases from the English on the south shore of Newfoundland.”³⁶ The value of the bait trade to the fishermen on the south coast in Fortune and Placentia bays in 1851 was estimated to be £20,000.³⁷ In 1856 the estimated value of bait was £55,826 for herring and capelin, not to speak of the value of squid.³⁸

This meant that the people of Placentia Bay had an economy with a measure of independence from the St. John’s merchants. It meant that a family could procure a whole winter’s diet and other supplies from St. Pierre, introducing an element of competition for the St. John’s merchants. The latter protested. C. F. Bennett, for example, desired for the colony “an increased revenue” calling for a cutter to stop the smuggling so that people would have “to purchase articles of consumption, paying duty,”

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 378.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1851, Appendix, p. 151 in Innis, *The Cod Fisheries*, p. 378.

³⁸*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1856, Appendix, p. 91 in Innis, *The Cod Fisheries*, p. 379.

from local merchants.³⁹ Neither did the English firm of Newman and Hunt at Harbour Breton in Fortune Bay like such competition. Their agent, Andrew Ellis, wrote to the Collector of Customs, John Kent, that “the injurious effects resulting from the contraband goods being vended in competition with legally imported merchandize will be too apparent to you to require any comment.”⁴⁰ The people of Placentia Bay had found a whole new source of supply. At St. Pierre, in addition to “brandy, rum, tobacco, wine,” they could also procure “flour, bread, pork, coffee, molasses, sugar and a variety of manufactured goods.”⁴¹ St. Pierre was near enough to be reached in relatively small decked boats, a practice still happening 75 years later, as described by Victor Butler:

It was surprising how much illicit trade was being carried on by owners of jack boats who resided in the harbours and coves of Placentia Bay When this boat tied up at the pier in St. Pierre, the residents swarmed onto the pier. On the deck of the jack boat they had crates of live fowl, crates of live lobsters, barrels and tubs, scallops, cocks and hens, mussels gathered from the rocks at low tide, sea urchins, wrinkles (or sea snails) gathered from the rocks at low tide, and birch and withrod brooms. The hold of the boat was filled with birch junks used for fuel in the bakeries in St. Pierre. All these articles were in demand, for ready cash, at St. Pierre. By afternoon everything on the boat had been sold. With the proceeds of this sale, the men bought flour, sugar, tea, tobacco, and many other essential articles, nor forgetting a supply of rum.⁴²

³⁹*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1845, Appendix, Fisheries, p. 245.
 “Remarks on the fisheries by the Hon. C. F. Bennett,” pp. 244-246.

⁴⁰GN 2/2 1850 Box 36, July to December, p. 173. Andrew Ellis to John Kent, August 22, 1850.

⁴¹GN 2/2 1846 Box 32, pp. 2-3. Thos. E. Gaden, Sub Collector, Little Bay to James Spearman, Collector of Customs, November 6, 1845.

⁴²Victor Butler, *Buffett Before Nightfall* (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1982), p. 76.

Other sources of supplies were schooners from Nova Scotia and the United States.⁴³

Such goods were cheaper than products with duty added which were supplied by the merchants in St. John's.⁴⁴

In 1837 Captain Bennet of H.M.S. *Rainbow* reported much commercial activity between the French and fishermen in Placentia Bay, and along the rest of the South Coast. Already in April many fishermen had left their winter tilts and were in St. Pierre selling their winter's produce of "wood, game and other things." He reported that during the summer there were "articles of every description being smuggled into the Out-Ports, not only from the French Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, but also from Halifax, Quebec, and even from America ... exchanging Brandy, Rum, Sugar, Tobacco, Tea, Molasses, Clothing, Furniture, &c. for Fish ... to the prejudice of the English Merchant, and the serious loss of the Colonial Revenue."⁴⁵ To catch the revenue being lost, Commander J. Hope recommended an officer and ten men with four 'four-oared' whale boats, a ship's cutter, a pinnace, a gig and a jolly boat.⁴⁶ Yet, Hope conceded in 1835 that the trade

⁴³GN 2/2 1850 Box 36, January to June, p. 129. Letter of Joshua G. Falle, to James Crowdy, February 18, 1850. Cf. also MG 598 A194, the SPG Report of William Jeynes to Rev. T.F.H. Bridge December 21, 1840 when "a Halifax trader" interrupted his worship service at Rock Harbour.

⁴⁴See, for example, *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1840, Appendix, Customs' Returns, Port of St. John's.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 1837, Appendix, Fisheries, Letters dated August 31, 1836, September 15, 1837.

⁴⁶*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1836, Appendix, Fisheries, Report of August 6, 1835, p. 223.

“considerably benefitted the fishermen.”⁴⁷ This, of course, is why they were engaged in it, despite the impact on the revenue and local merchants.⁴⁸ A clear case could be made for the former. There were few tears shed over the latter. The people had found a trade which was ‘to their advantage’ – a rare phenomenon formerly, under the British merchant.

The people of Placentia Bay formed a scattered and mobile population. Although there were major outports such as Merasheen, Isle Valen and Sound Island, many people lived in groups of six or fewer families scattered among coves and harbours throughout the bay. In speaking of Burin, the largest center in the bay, for example, Bishop Spencer observed that it was impossible for any one school to serve it “in consequence of the very great distances between the exceeding small hamlets that compose this settlement.”⁴⁹ William Kepple White of Harbour Buffett spoke of his Mission comprising “settlements and their outports.”⁵⁰ The population was scattered, because having to row and sail in small craft to the fishing grounds made proximity to them a determining factor in choosing where to live. There was little wood available in some places, but that concern was generally addressed in the winter. Fresh drinking water was seldom a problem.

Inner Placentia Bay began to be inhabited at the beginning of the 19th century,

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 1841, Appendix, Fisheries, Report of Captain Milne, p. 44.

⁴⁹A194 “Bishop Spencer’s Visit, Placentia Bay, 1843,” July 3.

⁵⁰SPG MG 598 A197 Christmas, 1853 Harbour Buffett Report to SPG.

except for Merasheen which was settled by Irish, English and Scotts in the late 1700s.⁵¹

Settlers began coming to Sound Island in 1805 and by 1820 “a small Protestant congregation” had formed.⁵² Two Irishmen came to Red Island in 1811.⁵³ Haystack was the first community on Long Island; the Peaches and Bendles were there in 1821.⁵⁴

Harbour Buffett was settled comparatively late, though the name was applied earlier. Buffet Island is noted on Captain Cook’s map of 1775, and Harbour Buffett on *The English Pilot* map of 1780.⁵⁵ John Haddon, a Newfoundland School Society teacher, wrote a short history of the community which is recorded in his 1848-1849 Report. He claimed the place was first settled in 1831, and before that it was used as a refuge in storms and to procure timber and furs in the fall. He wondered why it was inhabited so late since it had such a fine harbour. He thought it might be because of its “dark and gloomy appearance” since it was surrounded by woods and “quite shut in from the ocean.

⁵¹Poole, Editor, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 3, “Merasheen,” p. 510.

⁵²*Ibid.*, Vol. 5, “Sound Island,” p. 235.

⁵³*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, “Red Island,” p. 542.

⁵⁴*Haystack Reflections*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵*A General Chart of the Island of Newfoundland with the rocks & soundings*, James Cook and Michael Lane and others. London: Publish’d according to Act of Parliament by Thomas Jeffreys Geographer to the King, 1775. (London: Printed for Robt. Sayer & Jno. Bennett). *The English Pilot, the fourth book, A Chart of the South-East Coast of Newfoundland* (London, Tower Hill: Mount and Page, [1780].

view.” The first inhabitants were five families, but three of them departed the next year.⁵⁶ He gave no details. It is possible that these were people from the western shore of Placentia Bay, attempting to relocate because of insecurity due to the Spurrier bankruptcy. In that area of the bay Bishop Spencer came upon a “romantic glen” abandoned by “the whole settlement” because the fishery did not prosper there.⁵⁷

Writing in the 20th century, though, Victor Butler was “nearly positive” that the first inhabitants of Harbour Buffett settled in the North East between 1816 and 1826. They were Patrick Power, Edward Paynter, Job Traverse, “a man named Williams,” and his grandfather, James Butler.⁵⁸ It is likely, however, that Haddon is correct about the year.⁵⁹ Elsewhere, Butler supported Haddon’s testimony in stating that James Butler “must have come to Buffett in the early 1830's since he had a number of servants employed in 1837. I have a wooden box with the name *John Boon Ap[ril] 17th 1838* engraved on the bottom. This man was a servant of James Butler.”⁶⁰ Collett wrote in

⁵⁶MG 595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1824-1853. *Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixth year, 1848-1849* (London: George Barclay, 1849), p. 14.

⁵⁷A194 “Bishop Spencer’s Visit, Placentia Bay, 1843”, July 3.

⁵⁸Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, p. 47.

⁵⁹Victor Butler did not have access to written records, but instead was relying on “the good authority of old men many years ago.” *Ibid.*, p. 47. He was born in 1896. His father was Henry Butler who was born in 1857, the son of James Butler, so his oral tradition is probably generally reliable.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 59.

1836 that Butler “resides there” and had wished “for some time past” that a church be built there.⁶¹ James Butler is likely the “Mr. Butler of Buffett” recorded in the 1837 Subscriptions to the Methodist Society of the Burin District, and in William Kepple White’s statements “that a Mr. Alexander Chambers and a Mr. James Butler were the first to move the good work of Education and Religion here,” and that “James Butler & Co, Buffet” contributed £5.5 to the cause “in or about 1837.”⁶²

The settling of Harbour Buffett demonstrated that the population of Placentia Bay was scattered and mobile. Haddon stated that “in the summer of 1836, several families, who had been living some years by themselves in little creeks and coves in the vicinity of Harbour Beaufette, and had felt all the disadvantages of living in seclusion from society, removed here all at once. Among those who came at this time was a Mr. C.”⁶³ This was Thomas Edwards Collett, referred to earlier, who moved there from Collett’s Cove, having come from Petty Harbour a couple of years previously.⁶⁴ Collett did not move to

⁶¹SPG MG 598 A168 Collett to Wix, May 13, 1836.

⁶²WY 200 Box 1 “Burin,” Circuit Book, Board of Trustees, 1836-1847. A216 Letter of White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

⁶³MG 595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1824-1853. *Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixth year, 1848-1849*, p. 14.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 15. “Mr. C.” referred to Collett, not Chambers, since Haddon spoke of him being paid by the Board of Education at Placentia for teaching at Harbour Buffett in 1837. See *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1837, Appendix, “Education Returns.” Collett last subscribed to the Newfoundland School Society in Petty Harbour in 1833. MG 595 P-59 *Proceedings of the Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor, Eleventh Year, 1833-1834* (London: Compton and Ritchie, 1834), p.

Harbour Buffett till after the spring of 1836.⁶⁵ The Bendles, who may have been another of the families, were also quite mobile. Having come from England, they lived in Jean de Bay on the western shore of Placentia Bay where their third child was born. Two more children were born while they lived at nearby Rock Harbour. Then they moved to Haystack on Long Island where a child was born in 1835, and finally to Harbour Buffett where their last child was born in 1839.⁶⁶

It is possible that John Haddon referred to only North West Harbour Buffett and not the North East or the Tickles in speaking of settlement in 1836. The latter areas were closer to the fishing grounds and were much more accessible by sail. One possible provenance of the name Harbour Buffett is “Havre Buffee, Squally or Puffy Harbour.”⁶⁷ The attraction of the place was its sheltered harbour, a characteristic, however, which would often require a lot of rowing in the early days.⁶⁸ Then again, it is possible that Buffett Island was named first and the harbour simply received its name from the island at its entrance.

Harbour Buffett experienced phenomenal growth in its early years. In 1836 it had

33.

⁶⁵A168 Collett to Wix, May 13, 1836.

⁶⁶*Haystack Reflections* (Haystack Reunion Committee, 1997), p. 84.

⁶⁷Michael Francis Howley, “Newfoundland Name Lore,” printed in Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, p. 171. Spelled “Beaufette” in the Haddon report.

⁶⁸Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, p. 47.

only 57 inhabitants, 21 years later the population had risen to 313. This rate of growth was much higher than that of nearby communities. Merasheen, for example, had 188 inhabitants in 1836, and 274 in 1857. Sound Island increased from 157 to 289.

Interestingly, Woody Island, Bar Haven and Burgeo (Chambers Island) experienced a population decline during the years 1836 to 1857. Burgeo's was drastic, from 118 to 44, and may have been due to the Chambers moving a major part of their business to Harbour Buffett.⁶⁹ A ledger found on the premises at Harbour Buffett, showing a debtor balance of over £13,000 in 1846, is evidence that it was a large business.⁷⁰ Some people may have come from these islands on the western shore of the bay to Harbour Buffett. There also seems to have been a population movement from the Burin area to inner Placentia Bay, and to Harbour Buffett. The Allens, Bendles, Bugdens, and Pauls of Haystack came from the Burin region.⁷¹ James and Jane Hodder came to Harbour Buffett from Rock Harbour, but returned again.⁷² There seemed to be continued communication; for example, Samuel Kirby, one of the first residents of Harbour Buffett, married a second time "to a girl from Burin whose name was Mary."⁷³

The settlers of inner Placentia Bay were Protestant English migrants who arrived

⁶⁹CNS, *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1836, 1857.

⁷⁰Wilfred Wareham in Victor Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, p. 88.

⁷¹*Haystack Reflections*, pp. 83-85, 90.

⁷²Tulk, *Arnold's Cove*, p. 139.

⁷³Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, p. 47.

in the early 19th century. Headstones in Harbour Buffett show that Thomas Bendle came from Hampshire, and Thomas Hann from Montacute, Somersetshire. Thomas E. Collett came from Bromsgrove, Worcestershire.⁷⁴ John Hollett, who was married in Harbour Buffett in 1840, came from Beaminster, Dorset.⁷⁵ In addition, Victor Butler stated that several residents of the North East – Charles Shave, James Dicks, John Dicks, a family named Curtis, Nelson Burton, George Burton, and Moses Burton – were of English descent.⁷⁶

We have seen, though, that many of these residents did not come directly to Harbour Buffett from England. Some of them may have “come out” with the Spurriers to Burin, Oderin, Isle Valen, and Barren Island. The small merchants and traders in the bay became their new employers after the Spurrier bankruptcy. James Butler & Co. of Harbour Buffett hired fishermen to catch cod, herring, mackerel and salmon, had a cooper shop and had two schooners to freight the fish “to St. John’s and bring back supplies.” One of his servants was Stephen Roberts: “He was a deserter from the British Army and he had his army musket with him. The musket was a muzzle-loading flint and steel gun with brass mountings.”⁷⁷ Thomas Hann, “the first to operate a business in North West of

⁷⁴Collett family records in the possession of David Collett, St. John’s, Newfoundland.

⁷⁵Hollett family document in the possession of Alice Brown, Little Harbour, Placentia Bay, Newfoundland. PANL, Parish Records, Methodist Miscellaneous, Box 1

⁷⁶Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, p. 47.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 60.

Buffett,” also hired servants, “most [of whom] were employed as fishermen while three or four worked on the room”⁷⁸ The family fishery did not yet seem to have taken over.⁷⁹

The increase of population in Harbour Buffett was probably due in large part to the labour demand of the merchants Hann, Butler and Chambers. There was also quite a high birthrate. Thomas Edwards and Ann Collett had 13 children and Thomas and Bridget Bendle had at least ten.⁸⁰ In the census of 1869 only 38 persons were born in England, and by 1884, only 25.⁸¹ This supports the theory that it was the old English firms that brought out servants from England up to 1831, and that the smaller merchants and traders later hired these servants instead of getting new servants from England. By 1884 they were nearly all deceased. The population increase in Placentia Bay overall after 1831 was due largely to the high birthrate. As late as 1853 W. Kepple White stated he had “several young Englishmen in the Mission who have had the advantage of Charity or National Schools of late years before they migrated.”⁸² Proportionately, however, these were very few.

Before the grant of representative government in 1832 there was little schooling in

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁷⁹Shannon Ryan, *Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914*, p. 61.

⁸⁰Collett family records. *Haystack Reflections*, p. 84.

⁸¹Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, Tables, Table 4.

⁸²MG598 A197 White, Harbour Buffett, Report to SPG, Christmas, 1853.

Placentia Bay. In 1794 the SPG appointed Peter Saunders as a schoolmaster at Burin as a result of a request by Rev. John Evans, the SPG missionary at Placentia who served the whole bay. Saunders also read the “the Prayers of the Church” every Sunday.⁸³ Later William Tulk served in the same capacity and in 1818 requested schoolbooks, tracts and pamphlets from the SPG to help in his endeavour.⁸⁴ While he was in England during the winter of 1821 the Wesleyan missionary “kept a Sunday School and a day school” at Burin.⁸⁵ In 1824 Tulk moved to Great St. Lawrence saying that he was more needed there since a Wesleyan Minister “performs the Service of the Church” at Burin while “several places in this district,” like St. Lawrence, had no clergyman or schoolmaster.⁸⁶ Later, in 1833 a Methodist merchant opened a school in Oderin.⁸⁷ The Newfoundland School Society was not present.

Education in Newfoundland received a significant impetus in 1836. The Education Act of that year provided £2100 annually for five years for education, and of

⁸³PANL, SPG MG 598 A191 Peter Saunders to Rev. Dr. W. Morice, Secretary to SPG, Burin, November 17, 1794.

⁸⁴A191 William Tulk to Charles Bicknell, Treasurer, SPG, Burin, November 16, 1818.

⁸⁵A191 Tulk to Rev. A. Hamilton, Sec. to SPG, Burin, December 27, 1821.

⁸⁶A191 Tulk to SPG, Burin, November 29, 1823; Great St. Lawrence, August 20, 1824.

⁸⁷“Minutes of the Newfoundland District Meeting, 1833,” Burin, p. 124, in “Minutes Newfoundland District, Wesleyan Methodist Church, England, 1829-1850.” WY 100 Box 1, 1829-1873.

that amount, £200 was allotted to Placentia and St. Mary's District and £100 to the District of Burin. Boards of Education were set up in each electoral district and they included "the senior or superior Clergyman of each of the several Religious Denominations, being actually resident within the District."⁸⁸ The Commissioners of the Placentia and St. Mary's Board attempted to service some of the islands in Placentia Bay right away. They gave education grants to Red Island and Harbour Buffett, with £10 going to Mr. T. E. Collett to be the school master at Harbour Buffett. They resolved to give education grants to Sound Island, Burgeo, and Barren Island but cancelled them when teachers could not be found. The Board regretted it did not have the means to fund teachers for Woody Island, Isle Valen, Burgeo, Merasheen, Presque, and Paradise.⁸⁹ By 1839, however, there were schools also at Merasheen, Presque and Barren Island.⁹⁰ The need for schools increased dramatically with the population in Placentia Bay. White in his 1848/1849 Report for the Protestant Board of Education, Placentia, estimated with some alarm that only 111 Protestant children out of 1,200 in Placentia Bay were being educated. He wrote: "It is hoped that the necessity of the appeal for further funds will be attempted by the legislature."⁹¹

⁸⁸Newfoundland Laws, Statutes, Etc. Cap. XIII. "An Act for the encouragement of Education in this Colony," May 6, 1836.

⁸⁹*Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1837, Appendix, "Education Returns."

⁹⁰*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1840, reported that there were also schools at Merasheen, Presque and Barren Island in 1839. Appendix, Education, p. 50.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 1848/49, Appendix, Education Reports, p. 404.

An increase in revenue was needed to fund education and other government services. One effort to protect revenue was the Pickled Fish Act of 1845, which imposed a duty of “3s. sterling per cwt.” on herring sold in bulk. This completely stopped schooners from Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Canada coming into Placentia and Fortune bays for the barter trade in “provisions, coals, clothes, and other necessities.” In 1849 a Select Committee chaired by H. W. Hoyles recommended that the duty be repealed, except on exports to St. Pierre and Miquelon. Patrick Hogan, a Placentia merchant, testified that the export of herring in bulk “was very profitable to the people of the Bay, particularly the poorer inhabitants” since the herring fishery was carried on in early spring before the cod fishery and since the cost involved was only for a net and a boat.⁹² The Assembly repealed that part of the act forbidding “Exportation from this Colony, to any part of the British Dominions, of Herrings in Bulk, whether Fresh, Salted or Pickled.”⁹³ The act would have been unbearable had it been enforced during the years 1847 to 1849 when the people had the double curse of a failed fishery and potato blight.

The variety of demands on government revenue increased. In 1843 the House of Assembly resolved that £800 be allotted to the district of Placentia Bay and St. Mary’s for roads and bridges in such places as Woody Island, Sound Island, Harbour Buffett and

⁹²*Ibid.*, 1848/49, Appendix, pp. 671-677.

⁹³Newfoundland Laws, Statutes, Etc. Cap VII, “An Act to repeal an Act ... to regulate the Packing and Inspection of Pickled Fish for Exportation from this Colony,” April 23, 1849.

Oderin.⁹⁴ In 1843 a Select Committee of the House of Assembly also presented evidence from a number of individuals for the largest transportation project up to that time – a “Road to the Westward” or “Great Western Road” from St. John’s to Placentia Bay and Trinity Bay.⁹⁵ Petitions for road grants continued each year. For example, in 1844 “Thomas E. Collett and others, Inhabitants of Harbor Beaufet, in Placentia Bay” asked for money “... to complete a road around the said harbour, to enable petitioners’ children to attend the day school established there.” Another petition from John Williams prayed for a grant “to open a road between Muscle Harbor and Harbour Beaufet.”⁹⁶ In 1845 the government granted over £273 for roads at Merasheen, Barren Island, Presque, Isle Valen, Woody Island and Sound Island.⁹⁷

Postal and passage services were also demanded. John Marshall and others, “inhabitants of Placentia and Fortune Bays,” petitioned for “a Packet Boat with good accommodation for passengers to run between Burin and Great Placentia once a fortnight calling at the harbours of Merasheen, Isle of Valen, Paradise, and Oderin.”⁹⁸ This

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 1843, Appendix, p. 156.

⁹⁵For example, evidence from George LeMessurier at Isle Valen. *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 424-426.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 1844, p. 17.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 1845, p. 43.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 1846, pp. 131-132.

contract was granted in 1849 to Sweetman & Co. of Placentia.⁹⁹ A couple of weeks previously, Thomas Kelly had been appointed to carry the mail overland between St. John's and Placentia.¹⁰⁰ In 1850 the Assembly decided to provide postal services between St. John's and the outports "by running a line of Packets and Messengers" north, south and west.¹⁰¹ A clear trend of spending had developed to meet the greater demand for government services. Maybe William Jeynes best caught the mood of the times. In his 1845 Report for the Placentia Protestant Board of Education he expressed the desire of the board that "the rising generation may participate more largely in the benevolent intentions of the Local Government of this Colony."¹⁰²

In addition to the economics of codfish and bait, and the expansion of government services, religion also was a significant factor in the settlement of Placentia Bay. Roman Catholics and Methodists made the first missionary efforts, the Church of England came later. When John Lewis was appointed to Burin in 1817, the first Methodist missionary in the area, he set the scope of the mission which later missionaries followed for over 30 years. Stating that he did "not intend to confine my labours exclusively to Burin, but to visit other places," he then proceeded to visit "the Protestants scattered about the many

⁹⁹GN 2/1/A Vol. 47, E.E. Rushworth to Attorney General, May 30, 1849, p. 262.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, E. E. Rushworth to F. L. Bradshaw, Placentia, May 17, 1849, p. 253.

¹⁰¹*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1850, pp. 220-221.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 1846, Appendix, p. 116.

harbours and islands at Placentia Bay.”¹⁰³ In the first year he baptized 19 children on Sound Island, including five children of John and Ann Hollett and five of John and Mary Gilbert. He also baptized 13 children at Isle Valen and others at Burgeo (Placentia Bay), Oderin and Jean de Bay.¹⁰⁴ Sound Island became the mainstay for Methodism at the northern extremity of the Mission. Throughout the 1820s it had a members’ class of approximately ten people with John Hollett, Sr. as the class leader. That such a class existed on Sound Island was significant. In Methodism, its purpose was “to give members an opportunity to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation from the leader, to relate to one another their Christian experience, to watch over one another in love, and to help one another in working out their salvation.” It was composed of up to twelve people and met once a month to carry out this objective.¹⁰⁵ The qualifications of the leader were high. The person was to be “not only moral, but truly pious; of sound judgement, zealous for the salvation of souls, of good report, apt to teach.”¹⁰⁶

In comparison to Sound Island, Oderin generally had only a two-member Methodist class in the 1820s. In 1828 a class was formed at Haystack on Long Island

¹⁰³Smith, *Methodism in Easter British America*, Vol. 2, p. 57.

¹⁰⁴WY 200 Box 1 “Burin,” “Register of Baptisms in the District of Burin 1817-1818”, John Lewis, Methodist Missionary.

¹⁰⁵Naboth Winsor, *Hearts Strangely Warmed: A History of Methodism in Newfoundland 1765-1925, Vol. 1, 1765-1824* (Gander, B.S.C. Printers (1982) Limited, 1982), p. 11.

¹⁰⁶J. Crowther, *A Portraiture of Methodism* (London: Richard Edwards, 1815), p. 267 in Winsor, *Hearts Strangely Warmed*, p. 12.

with Thomas and Ann Budgen, and Thomas and Bridget Bendle as members.¹⁰⁷ William Wilson, the Methodist minister, noted the event in his annual report: “In the arms of affection Haystack, 21 leagues from Burin, four individuals have been brought under a concern for their souls and are formed into a society.”¹⁰⁸ Throughout the 1830s there were Methodist subscribers in many communities on the islands of inner Placentia Bay. John Smithies reported in 1832 that “the principal of these places are Sound Island, Woody Island and Haystack on Long Island amongst which we have 12 members who meet and regularly hold services amongst themselves Two places of worship are about to be erected by the people.”¹⁰⁹ In 1833 he reported that Mr. James H. Hamilton, a local merchant, was conducting a weekly service at Oderin. Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, “both members of our society,” had also opened a school. “This is totally a new thing in this part of the mission, this school has about 24 scholars.”¹¹⁰ In 1836 Collett reported that “a Methodist Missionary” visited Long Island annually.¹¹¹

Harbour Buffett appeared in the Methodist records for the first time in 1837, when

¹⁰⁷WY 200 Box 1 “Burin,” “Account Book,” 1821-1835.

¹⁰⁸“WY 100 Box 1, 1829-1873, “Minutes of the Newfoundland District Meeting for the year 1829” Burin, p. 10, in “Minutes Newfoundland District, Wesleyan Methodist Church, England, 1829-1850.”

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, “Minutes Newfoundland District” 1832, Burin, p. 124.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 1833, pp. 164, 175, 214.

¹¹¹A168 Collett to Wix, May 13, 1836.

a Mr. Butler, probably James, subscribed 10s.¹¹² In 1838 a Methodist class was formed there, with Thomas Bendle, who had moved from Haystack, as class leader – at least, his name was first on the list. Thomas Hann, a small merchant was also a member. The class continued in the records until 1844, with Collett having become a member in 1839. James Butler was a subscriber for some time, but appears not to have been a member.¹¹³ By 1840 there were seven to eight members at Sound Island, Woody Island and Harbour Buffett, but Sound Island had the most subscribers by far at 15. In 1844 Spencer's Cove on Long Island was noted for the first time with four subscribers.¹¹⁴

It has to be asked, how 'Methodist' were the people denoted as 'subscribers' and 'members'? William Kepple White, the local Church of England clergyman, later charged that Collett and others were Dissenters and some of them had even "received the sacrament at the hands of a Wesleyan Minister."¹¹⁵ It would appear that subscribers were just sympathetic to Methodism. They paid the preacher on his annual visit around the bay, possibly attended his meeting, and received such services as baptism for their children and marriage. Even C. F. Bennett, an ardent member of the Church of England, was a Methodist subscriber at Isle Valen.¹¹⁶ Membership in the local Methodist Society

¹¹²WY 200 Box 1 "Burin," Circuit Book, Board of Trustees 1836-1847.

¹¹³*Ibid.*

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵Collett, *Church of England*, p. 14.

¹¹⁶Circuit Book, Board of Trustees, 1839-1840.

denoted much more commitment. Naboth Winsor called the societies “the heart and strength of the Methodist movement.”¹¹⁷ But still one has to ask how distinct from the Church of England did members of such societies regard themselves. Did many of them see themselves as a movement within the Church of England? Glen Lucas, Archivist-Historian of the United Church of Canada, concluded that “the ambivalent relationship between Wesleyan Methodism and Anglicanism found in England in the early 19th century continued in Newfoundland until the episcopate of Bishop Feild.”¹¹⁸

It appears that in Placentia Bay a dividing line began to be drawn with the arrival of Church of England missionaries in 1840. When Bishop Spencer visited Burin in 1843, he noted it was “difficult to distinguish accurately between Church members and the Methodists, many persons attending the Church service and the worship of the Methodists indiscriminately.”¹¹⁹ This was certainly the practice on Sound Island. John Hollett, Sr. was a pillar of the Methodist Society there. In the minutes of the Newfoundland District Meeting for 1831, for example, he is referred to as “a member of our Society who had for years been in the habit of reading the liturgy and a sermon.”¹²⁰ Yet, it would seem that when Archdeacon Edward Wix visited Sound Island in 1835

¹¹⁷Winsor, *Hearts Strangely Warmed*, Vol. 1, p. 11. See also, Winsor, “Methodism in Newfoundland 1855-1884,” pp. 4-5, 143-145.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, “Foreward.”

¹¹⁹A194 Journal “Bishop Spencer’s visit, Placentia Bay, 1843,” July 3, 1843.

¹²⁰“Minutes Newfoundland District, 1829-1850,” p. 90.

Hollett was a member of the Church of England. On that occasion Wix read from a Prayer Book sent from England by an individual who had heard of “Mr. Hollett’s reading of the church service on the Lord’s Day, in his house on Sound Island.”¹²¹ When Charles Blackman, the SPG missionary at Ferryland, had visited 10 years earlier, he too had mentioned that its “many Protestant families ... are regularly assembled by Mr. John Hollett, who reads the prayers of the Church for them.”¹²² Yet there is a hint of a difference at Sound Island. When Blackman visited Woody Island, he commented that “it was pleasing to witness the strong predilection they entertained for the Service of the Church.”¹²³ This passion is not noted for Sound Island. Still, the bond between many members of the Church of England and Methodists was that they were “friends of evangelical truth,” who had much in common.¹²⁴ Rev. William Wilson wrote that Methodists cooperated for a time in the Newfoundland School Society because that society was of a “liberal and evangelical character.”¹²⁵

Still, the arrival of Church of England missionaries in 1840, for the first time

¹²¹Edward Wix, *Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary’s Journal from February to August, 1835* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1836), p. 48.

¹²²*A Sermon Preached Before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ... together with The Report of the Society for the Year 1825*, p. 51.

¹²³*Ibid.*

¹²⁴Wix, *Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary’s Journal*, p. 49.

¹²⁵William Wilson, *Newfoundland and Its Missionaries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Dakin and Metcalf, 1866), p. 267.

since the Methodists had arrived, obviously caused some stress on a relationship that had little cause for tension up to that time. The Methodist clergyman, James England, wrote from Burin:

Our Subscriptions this year [1841] have fallen far below their usual amount, owing partly to the bad fishery, but principally to a division among the people. Last summer a Church Missionary came to establish himself here, who holds service in the Court House and is soliciting subscriptions from the people whom we alone have served for more than twenty years, to build a New Church and Parsonage – and in Placentia Bay where part of our subscriptions has been formerly raised, another Church Missionary has been sent, who is putting four or five small Churches; consequently that which used to be paid toward our support is now given unto others.¹²⁶

These were indeed the plans of Bishop Spencer. George B. Cowan was appointed to the Mission of Burin, made up of Rock Harbour, Burin, Flat Island and Lamaline.¹²⁷ William Jeynes was appointed to the Mission of Harbour Buffett, chosen by Bishop Spencer as the residence of the Mission because there “the people are willing to make great exertions for his accommodation, and whence he may easily visit the surrounding settlements.”¹²⁸ By 1841 five churches were in progress at Harbour Buffett, Sound Island, Woody Island, Isle Valen and Oderin. Doors, windows and pulpits were to be made in St. John’s and brought to the settlements by schooner. Each community in addition to obtaining wood for a frame and building the church, was also responsible for building a parsonage for the

¹²⁶“Reports of the Work of God in the Newfoundland District 1840-1849,” Burin, 1841-42, p. 38.

¹²⁷Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., 1701-1900*, p. 857.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, March 5, 1841.

missionary.¹²⁹ An SPG grant of £500 provided a major part of the funding.¹³⁰ Spencer looked forward with confidence. “The result I trust, will be that I shall be enabled to consecrate the five churches on Mr. Jeynes’ Mission before the end of the ensuing summer.”¹³¹

Charles Blackman, the SPG missionary then at Porte de Grave, wrote in his 1839 Report to the Governor that in the Placentia and Burin districts, “a pious and active clergyman might there under God, effect an immensity of good.”¹³² He signaled the great need for at least four clergy on the South Coast, an area he had visited. Bishop Spencer and the new initiative from the SPG may have been the answer to that cry for help. Of the five churches he had in mind, only two, at Isle Valen and Harbour Buffett, were sufficiently completed for Spencer to consecrate before his departure in 1843.¹³³ A church was finally built at Oderin in 1853 during William Kepple White’s ministry.¹³⁴

The church envisaged by Bishop Spencer was never built on Sound Island. On his

¹²⁹A194 Spencer to Campbell, November 16, 1841.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, Spencer to Campbell, March 3, 5, 1841.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, Spencer to Campbell, March 5, 1841.

¹³²GN 2/2 43/2/5, Blackman to Prescott, December 27, 1838.

¹³³A194 Bishop Spencer’s Visit to Placentia Bay, 1843. Yet Bishop Feild reported in 1845 that the church at Isle Valen was “in a very unfinished state.” *Times*, September 29, 1845, “Visitations of the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland.”

¹³⁴*The Gospel Missionary for 1853*, Volume the Third (London: George Bell), “Erection of a Wooden Church,” pp. 21-26.

first trip there in 1840 William Jeynes reported that all was well. The people were “most attentive” at the service and “a resolution was entered into” that the men would go into the woods to cut timber for a church, and “subscriptions toward the building” were promised.¹³⁵ He had been “heartily received by the old Patriarch of this place – Mr. Hollett,” baptized several people and married one couple. There was one hitch. The people were reluctant to enter into an agreement to build a church because “they had been deceived and disappointed on a former occasion by the Wesleyans” in such a task.¹³⁶ The reality was somewhat different. When George Cowan, the Missionary at Burin, and William Jeynes visited Sound Island together in 1842, they found “the people tho’ hospitable and kind appear to be, many of them, thoroughly prejudiced in favour of the Wesleyans, and consequently deficient in zeal in completing the building.” Cowan noted that they held three services during their visit but “had no communicants.”¹³⁷ Jeynes told Bishop Spencer at Harbour Buffett in 1843 that “an unpleasant dispute as to the property and use of the church” had broken out on Sound Island “which prevented further progress.” Spencer sent Mr. Addison, his assistant, to inquire into this matter and also to check out the slow progress in building the church on Woody Island.¹³⁸ He reported back

¹³⁵A194 William Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, William Jeynes to Rev. T.F.H. Bridge, December 21, 1840.

¹³⁷A195 George Cowan to Bishop Spencer, May 16, 1842.

¹³⁸Addison offered himself as Deacon in 1839 while at Cambridge, SPG A193 Clergy of Essex to Bishop Spencer, September 7, 1839. He served as a missionary in Newfoundland for three years, Pascoe, *Two Hundred years of the S.P.G.*, p. 856.

to the Bishop, rather over-optimistically, that “he had happily cleared away all misunderstanding, and engaged the people to finish their churches by the end of the present year.”¹³⁹ That was not to be. By 1857 there were only two members of the Church of England left on Sound Island where there had been 118 in 1836. The Protestants there had become almost totally Methodist.¹⁴⁰

The Methodists had been ministering in Placentia Bay for nearly 40 years, and Sound Island was clearly their prize. As such, it was also clearly the exception and must not obscure the mutual relationship between Methodists and members of the Church of England in Placentia Bay. Because of this cooperation, when Bishop Feild came to Newfoundland in 1844, he came to an indigenous evangelical Church of England – so evangelical that at times it was barely discernible from Methodism. We have seen, for example, that when Bishop Spencer visited Burin in 1843 he found it “difficult to distinguish accurately between church members and the Methodists.”¹⁴¹ The members of the Church of England in Placentia Bay were of a Protestant bent to whom the Methodists had been ministering for over 25 years.

Roman Catholics too had a major presence in Placentia Bay. When Fr. Edmund Bourke came to Placentia in 1786, he worked for 12 years in a mission which “included

¹³⁹A194 Journal “Bishop Spencer’s visit, Placentia Bay, 1843,” July 14, 15.

¹⁴⁰CNS, Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1836, 1857.

¹⁴¹A194 Journal “Bishop Spencer’s visit, Placentia Bay, 1843,” July 3, 1843.

all Placentia Bay, as far westward as Burin.”¹⁴² Between 1809 and 1810 a Catholic mission was started in Burin and in 1811 residents petitioned Governor John Thomas Duckworth for permission to build a chapel. The petition included such Protestant names as Butler, Kirby and Hollett. Bishop Scallan appointed the first priest to Burin, Fr. John Fitzsimmons, and visited in 1827.¹⁴³ Fr. Michael Berney took over in 1833. He wrote to Bishop Fleming in an attempt to define the boundaries of his mission. Fleming wrote back: “You can go to Placentia Bay, take your departure from Merasheen Head, and go west as far as you like, or as far as you may be able.” Over the next twenty years Berney built chapels at St. Lawrence, Lawn, Beaubois, and Oderin.¹⁴⁴ Bishop Fleming visited the bay in 1835. He was not impressed with either Merasheen Island or the other islands he saw, describing them as “rocky and barren having nothing to recommend them for the habitation of Man save their propinquity to the Fishing places.”¹⁴⁵ However, he must have been impressed with the results of his visit. One of the most notable entries in his journal is that relating to Merasheen. Out of the 86 people he confirmed on the occasion,

¹⁴²M. F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* (Boston: Doyle and Whittle, Publishers, 1888), p. 183.

¹⁴³*The History of Burin by its Senior Citizens*, p. 209.

¹⁴⁴The *Newfoundlander*, October 4, 1881. Vertical File, “A Priest’s Golden Jubilee, Rev. Michael Berney, 1808-1886,” Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John’s.

¹⁴⁵Archive of the RC Archdiocese of St. John’s, Relatio of Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, Vicar Apostolic of Newfoundland to *Propaganda Fide*, Rome, November 26, 1846, p. 240.

26 were converts from the Protestant faith. Not only that, but three more were converted on the spot during his visit.¹⁴⁶

Bishop Fleming sent the controversial Father Edward Troy to Merasheen. in 1839. In his 1846 “Relatio” he stated that he had removed him from St. John’s to comply with the wishes of His Holiness.¹⁴⁷ Troy attended to his new mission with much industry. He built a church and presbytery, and in 1843 he applied for a grant to build a school.¹⁴⁸ In 1845 Rev. Jones reported that “One of the finest school-rooms in the Colony has been erected in Merasheen, under the superintendence of the Rev. E. Troy.”¹⁴⁹ By the mid-1840s Bishop Fleming could boast that Mass was said “every day of the year” at Great Placentia, Little Placentia, Merasheen and Burin.¹⁵⁰

There were five priests in Placentia Bay – two at the Placentias, two at Burin and

¹⁴⁶M. F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, p. 323.

¹⁴⁷Relatio of Bishop Michael Antony Fleming, Vicar Apostolic of Newfoundland to Propaganda, November 26, 1846, p. 239.

¹⁴⁸*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. X, “Edward Troy,” Phyllis Creighton, p. 688. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1843, p. 70.

¹⁴⁹*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1846, Appendix, Education, “Report upon the Inspection of Schools in Newfoundland, by Bertram Jones,” December 27, 1845, p. 147.

¹⁵⁰Letters to the very Rev. Dr. O’Connell (Dublin: SS. Michael and John’s, n.d.) “On the state of Religion in Newfoundland by Most Rev. Dr. M. A. Fleming Bishop of Carpasia and Vicar Apostolic of Newfoundland, January 1843-March 1844, p. 172.

one at Merasheen.¹⁵¹ James England complained about their presence. They were not only caring for Catholics but had “christened several Protestants during the last year.” These were often English youngsters who came out to work with “Romish planters.” The pressure to conform was continued until they were attending Mass with their employers.¹⁵² About 60% of the population of the islands of Placentia Bay was Catholic, and William Frederick Meek later reported to the SPG that Harbour Buffett, with a majority of Church of England members, was an exception in his mission. Generally, his “scattered flocks” were “the minority in the places where they reside.”¹⁵³ Methodists and Anglicans saw Catholics as a continual threat to the progress of their missions. White reported that there were four Roman Catholic priests who visited his mission, “three of whom reside at the most populous places.” This practice had been going on long before the Church of England had missionaries in the bay and as a result “numerous Protestant families ... ‘turned’ as it is called, and with their offspring are now Roman Catholics.”¹⁵⁴

The Church of England lost Placentia to the Catholics comparatively early. The

¹⁵¹Relatio of Bishop Michael Antony Fleming, Vicar Apostolic of Newfoundland to Propaganda, November 26, 1846, p. 240.

¹⁵²“Reports of the Work of God in the Newfoundland District 1840-1849,” Burin, 1843-44, pp. 66-67.

¹⁵³Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, Table 2. A196 William Frederick Meek, Quarterly Report to SPG, Michaelmas, 1857.

¹⁵⁴A197 White, Report to SPG, Christmas, 1853.

last Church of England clergyman stationed there was John Evans in 1798.¹⁵⁵ White reported in 1854 that he performed the first Anglican baptism there since 1797. Many of the inhabitants were once Church of England, but having been long “neglected” with no clergy, “they have almost all apostatized to Roman [*sic*].” However, “the old font,” a bowl of china, had been discovered intact. Also, the fence around the church yard had been repaired and now, at least, everything was “neat and seemly.”¹⁵⁶ The church building had gone “to decay” but there was hope that a merchant from Nova Scotia, “a good churchman,” might come and start a business in Placentia and turn things around so the Church of England could shine there once more.¹⁵⁷

It appears that in the earlier part of the century there were conversions to Catholicism in significant numbers. By 1840 this phenomenon had passed and conversions in far less significant numbers cut both ways, generally by baptism or marriage. The Methodist George Ellidge reported in 1851 that “a few Catholics” attended his services as he went around the harbours of Placentia Bay and “two or three manifested a readiness to subscribe to the Mission.”¹⁵⁸ On William Jeynes’ first trip around the bay in 1840, he reported that a woman became a member of the Church of

¹⁵⁵Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., 1701-1900*, p. 857.

¹⁵⁶PANL, SPG MG 598 A222 White, “Mission of Harbor Buffett,” September 30, 1854.

¹⁵⁷A222 White, Annual Report to SPG, October 23, 1854.

¹⁵⁸WY 100 Box 1 1829-1873 District Journal, 1851, p. 46.

England through marriage because “the Priest her minister had refused to baptize her infant.”¹⁵⁹ Her husband, “a steady Protestant,” had not pressured his wife to convert. She converted, instead, because of the “oppression by her priest Troy and her own observation of our worship.”¹⁶⁰ Yet Jeynes’ reported losses were greater. On a later visit to Flat Islands he baptized a father whose children were all baptized by the Roman Catholic priest.¹⁶¹ He found just one family at Placentia that had not converted, and in 1842 was able to gather up only 13 Protestants for a service there.¹⁶²

On his visit to the Bay in 1843 Bishop Spencer baptized a child whose mother was a Roman Catholic, but he also reported more losses than gains. At Marshall’s Cove near Burin, Mr. Marshall “lamented that his wife and sons had become Romanists” because they had no Church of England clergy. Similarly, at Placentia “the greater part of which was formerly Protestant,” there were then only four Protestant families remaining and “some of those families had lately embraced the Roman Catholic faith.” Because of an outbreak of measles in the harbour, he could “not get a single person” to meet for a service in the church which was “miserably dilapidated.”¹⁶³ The gains were scarce.

¹⁵⁹A194 William Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

¹⁶⁰A194 William Jeynes to T.F.H. Bridge, December 21, 1840.

¹⁶¹A194 William Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, September 16, 1841.

¹⁶²A194 William Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, December 28, 1841. A 195 G.B. Cowan to Bishop Spencer, May 16, 1842.

¹⁶³A194 Bishop Spencer’s Visit to Placentia Bay, 1843.

White did report that at Oderin “a very respectable person” who had been “educated a Roman Catholic” had become a communicant.¹⁶⁴

Yet there were many instances of cooperation. A Catholic wrote to the Methodist George Ellidge thanking him for an Irish Bible and speaking highly of his predecessors.¹⁶⁵ During his 1835 trip along the south coast of Newfoundland, Archdeacon Wix was “most hospitably invited” into the house of O. F. Sweetman, a merchant at Placentia and member of the House of Assembly.¹⁶⁶ He felt that the Roman Catholics of Placentia Bay were “of a character very different from that of the more recent Irish settlers in the vicinity of St. John’s.”¹⁶⁷ Ten days later he was “most humanely treated by a Roman Catholic planter” in Paradise Sound.¹⁶⁸ At Placentia too, Bishop Spencer slept at the house of a Roman Catholic merchant and said his agent paid him “every attention.”¹⁶⁹ At Oderin he was treated “most hospitably” by the Roman Catholic merchant, Furlong, who let him hold a service in his “large store-house, gave him £5 towards the building of a

¹⁶⁴A222 White, Annual Report to SPG, October 23, 1854.

¹⁶⁵“Minutes Newfoundland District, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1831, Burin, p. 90.

¹⁶⁶[Edward Wix], *Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary’s Journal*, p. 34.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁶⁹A194 Bishop Spencer’s Visit to Placentia Bay, 1843. In 1855 Frederick Meek stated that almost all of the merchants of the bay were Catholic. A223, 1855 Annual Return of Mission of Harbour Buffett, Question #11.

church and attended every service the bishop held.¹⁷⁰ Later, Furlong donated 5000 shingles for the Anglican church at Oderin and William Jarvis, another Roman Catholic merchant, “rendered every assistance.”¹⁷¹ White acknowledged much kind treatment from “the more respectable inhabitants of the Bay both Roman Catholic and Protestant.”¹⁷² Bishop Mullock stated that even in “the most Protestant districts” he was treated with “kindness and consideration.” He specifically pointed out that this hospitality was not limited to the merchants. Rather, “the Protestant fishermen were always ready to join the Catholics in manning a boat when I required it, and I am happy to say that the Catholics have acted likewise to their clergymen.”¹⁷³ There were other instances of the people cooperating. At Merasheen Bishop Spencer found that Protestants were fishing on Sundays to help the Catholics pay for their chapel.¹⁷⁴ Oliver Rouse, the Church of England missionary in Conception Bay, reported that at Bay de Verde “Romanists” helped haul firewood for him at the instigation of Father Duffy. They also helped clear rocks from his garden.¹⁷⁵ At another time he mentioned that there were “not

¹⁷⁰A194 Bishop Spencer’s Visit to Placentia Bay, 1843.

¹⁷¹*The Gospel Missionary for 1853*, p. 25.

¹⁷²A197 White, Report to SPG, Christmas, 1853.

¹⁷³John T. Mullock, *Two Lectures on Newfoundland* (New York: John Mullaly, Office of the Metropolitan Record, 1860), p. 55.

¹⁷⁴A194 Bishop Spencer’s Visit to Placentia Bay, 1843.

¹⁷⁵John C. Street, *The Journal of Oliver Rouse, Anglican Missionary in Newfoundland: September 1846 to May 1850* (Madison, Wisconsin: privately printed,

a dozen” in church because they were all attending a Roman Catholic funeral.¹⁷⁶

When Bishop Spencer visited Harbour Buffett he noted that the population was 230 inhabitants, “comprising 180 members of our church.” There is no record of disturbances among the Catholics and Protestants at the time. There were some Catholics in Harbour Buffett itself, but Spencer was probably referring also to the nearby community of Mussel Harbour, later called Port Royal. This community would have been visible from the hill he climbed “to get a correct knowledge of the localities of the settlement.”¹⁷⁷ When Bishop Feild held a church meeting in the school nearly ten years later, it was reported that “some of our Roman Catholic neighbours were mingled” among them.¹⁷⁸ Maybe a common attitude was that of Lowell’s Skipper George, “They’re not all bad ... though they’re all wrong in religion surely.”¹⁷⁹ The Tractarian-evangelical controversy in Placentia Bay was a Protestant conflict. The Roman Catholic people of Placentia Bay did not become involved in it. The denomination itself did provide a contrasting belief to the Protestants bringing the uniqueness of their beliefs into sharp relief. Roman Catholicism, rather than individual Catholics, thus played an important

1983, pp. 140, 151.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁷⁷A194 Bishop Spencer’s Visit to Placentia Bay, 1843.

¹⁷⁸*Public Ledger*, August 26, 1851.

¹⁷⁹[Russell Traill Spence Lowell], *The New Priest in Conception Bay*, Vol. 1 (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1858), p. 77.

role. This was especially so as evangelical Protestants, whether Methodist or Church of England, viewed Tractarianism to be similar to Roman Catholicism.

Placentia Bay thus received two new initiatives in the second quarter of the 19th century. The new local government of the colony began to provide services to the people, for example in areas such as education and relief. Then the Church of England sent two clergymen to the bay in 1840 with plans for building churches and building the denomination. This introduced a strain on the relationship which the Methodists and Anglicans had cultivated for over two decades. The strain became an outright fracture when Bishop Feild came to Newfoundland with a new notion of Anglicanism. It did not end there. Evangelical Anglicans themselves felt estranged from the bishop. Nowhere was that estrangement more pronounced than with the friends of the Methodists, the evangelical Anglicans of Harbour Buffett.

Chapter 4

Harbour Buffett

'Tis a funny thing about Harbour Buffett. I wonder why it was. It was different from Kingwell and any other place. Harbour Buffett seemed to be a little town somehow It was this way as long as I can remember ... 'twas different from other places. What is it? Why was it so different? I don't know and I'll never know.¹

This chapter will focus on Harbour Buffett as a 'planned' town. The people who settled there came with the intention to form a community, instead of just setting up houses in a happenstance way in proximity to fishing grounds. St. John's merchants, the Church of England, and Methodists were participants in the cause of education and religion in the settlement. They, along with Thomas E. Collett, John Haddon and the Newfoundland School Society, played an important role in the evangelical nature of that education and religion. Tractarianism came to Harbour Buffett and to inner Placentia Bay in the person of William Kepple White who was appointed to the Harbour Buffett mission of the Church of England by Bishop Feild in 1847. White adhered closely to the Tractarian program of Bishop Feild and of his administrative arm, the Newfoundland Church Society. It was the task of the Church Society to see that local financing was provided for the Church of England in Newfoundland. However, two factors militated against indigenous financing: the Tractarian nature of Bishop Feild's vision for the

¹Tape F996, 72-13 (MUNFLA). Quoted by Wilfred Wareham in Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, p. 148.

church and a precarious fishery.

The settlers who came to Harbour Buffett in 1836 came with a purpose. That purpose was to form a larger community in order to make progress in two areas they valued highly, religion and education. W. F. Meek, writing in 1859 and having said that the community was not 30 years old, stated:

The formation is owing chiefly to the late Archdeacon Wix who, when travelling on foot through the country during the winter, visited the isolated families about the shores of the bay, and persuaded them to select some commodious harbour where a number of families might be located, and there to build a church and a school.²

According to John Haddon, the settlers formed a “Harbour Beaufette Society” under the leadership of Thomas Edwards Collett to bring these aims into reality.³ William Kepple White, however, stated that Alexander Chambers and James Butler “were the first to move the good cause of Education and Religion here ... in or about 1837,” and he had “the documents and accounts” to prove it.⁴ In fact, all three provided leadership. While on Long Island, but before he had moved to Harbour Buffett, Collett wrote to Archdeacon Wix in May, 1836 asking whether he could help “in any way” toward building “a small

²A225 Annual Report to SPG of W.F. Meek, Harbour Buffett, January 4, 1859. See also, [Edward Wix], *Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal, from February to August, 1835*, pp. 25-62.

³MG 595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1824-1853. *Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixty year, 1848-1849*, p. 14.

⁴A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

Church in that Harbor.” He said that Butler had consulted the people and found that they were very eager to help. Collett said that he was sending his letter by Mr. Chambers who “hopefully agrees with us, and has kindly promised to see you upon the subject.” He thanked him for the books and said he was able to start a “small loan library on the island.”⁵

Haddon reported that the first act of the “Harbour Beaufette Society” in 1836 was “to clear and fence a choice piece of land, to be set apart for sacred purposes, their next was to erect a house for a schoolroom and place for holding divine service.”⁶ Similarly, the Board of Education in Placentia reported that in 1836 they had received “a communication from Mr. T. E. Collett, at Harbour Bouffet” which said that “at a meeting of the inhabitants of that place it was determined to erect a School House there.”⁷ This took “more than common exertions and some self-denial” on the part of the new settlers since they were few in number and were in the midst of building their own houses.⁸

⁵A168 Collett to Wix, May 13, 1836.

⁶MG 595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1824-1853. *Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixty year, 1848-1849*, p. 14.

⁷*Journal of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland*, Appendix, 1837, “Education Returns.”

⁸MG 595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1824-1853. *Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixty year, 1848-1849*, p. 14.

Victor Butler gave a detailed ground-level description of the task these first settlers had in order to make dwelling places for themselves:

First, settlers had to select a suitable place with water nearby. A place in the woods had to be cleared to build a house with the thought in mind that a piece of land could also be cleared for a vegetable patch. As the house to be built would be built with a straight round timber approximately four inches in diameter, while clearing the land all suitable timber would be put by for building, the remainder for firewood. The size house would be determined by the number of members in a family. The largest would be fourteen by twenty feet, the smallest twelve feet by sixteen. Four straight logs would be laid in place as level as possible on wood shores or posts in the ground. Those logs would be notched together in each corner. The tools at those people's disposal would be one or two axes, a hand saw, a hand augur, and some settlers owned pit saws approximately 7 feet long used by the men and probably an adze. As nails were not available all fastenings would be with trenails or wooden pegs driven through holes drilled by hand with an auger. The walls would be round sticks or studs, 6 feet long, placed vertically side by side fastened to the foundation logs. Another log would be placed at the top end of the studs named the wallplate, also fastened with a trenail. When all the walls were erected leaving an open space for the door, rinds would be taken from large straight trees and spread flat out to dry in the sun. The women would be busy picking moss and drying in the sun. The moss would be used to chink the vacancies between the studs to stop the draught and snow from blowing in. The roof would be peaked or on a sort of mansard style so as to form a sort of attic. The boys of the family usually slept in this attic. The roof would be formed with a ridge pole with straight sticks laid on the rafters. The rinds I mentioned would be laid on the rafters with the ridges overlapping. Straight poles would be laid on the rinds and all fastened down with witrods twisted together to form a sort of small rope Without the outside of the house being finished, the work of the interior would be taken care of. As stoves were out of the question, an open fireplace would have to be built. There were only certain places in the bay where suitable stone could be obtained. The principal place was on the east side of the bay, a place named Grebe's Nest. Using a metal wedge and hammer one could cleave out slabs any desire thickness. Using those slabs to build the fireplace and with a hole out through the roof lined with slabs for the chimney perfectly fireproof The only light in those houses was a square hole cut in one wall, ten by twelve inches for light. Cod oil lamps were the only illumination at night. A cod oil lamp was shaped similar to a gravy boat of today. With sheep yarn twisted together and laid in the spout of the lamp and the other end in the oil, red smoky

light would emerge with a foul odor. One end of the house would be allotted for sleeping space. Usually if two men in one family or two men lived near each other and owned a pit saw they would saw logs for floor boards to partition off small bed chambers. Those chambers would be 6 × 4 ft. each. Bunk beds would be built by using slim poles with both ends resting on supports on each wall about two feet from the floor. The space would be used for storage. The slim poles would be placed close together, covered with boughs. If some material were available, a bag would be made and stuffed full of dry hay. When placed on the boughs one could not sleep on a more comfortable bed. A door would be made from sawn boards and parts of an old leather boot would be made as hinges. With a homemade table and stools for seats, those livyers would be as proud of their homes as wealthy people would be of a mansion. The house being finished, every available hour would be spent clearing land for growing vegetables and for meadow land as more than half the food had to be grown and sheep had to be raised. More than half those settlers' clothing would be knit from yarn spun from sheep's wool.⁹

Still, they built a school and it had 27 students in 1839.¹⁰ As with the church building which they started in 1840, in order to build the school they had to "bring out the frame from the woods."¹¹

The people did not go it alone. According to Haddon they were "assisted by some friends in St. John's."¹² Also, Collett told the Education Board at Placentia they were "in possession of some funds they had contracted" to build the school which they hoped to

⁹Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, pp. 81-83.

¹⁰Journal of the House of Assembly, 1840, Appendix, "Education".

¹¹A194 Jeynes to Spencer, October 12, 1840.

¹²MG 595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1824-1853. *Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixty year, 1848-1849*, p. 14.

have finished by May 1837.¹³ And White stated that “Alexander Chambers went to St. Johns and collected” money from John Sinclair, C. F. Bennett & Co., Rennie, John, James, and James William Stewart and Baine Johnston & Co.¹⁴ Apart from the disagreement over their respective roles, therefore, the record shows that there were at least three leaders furthering the cause of education and religion in Harbour Buffett in 1836, making contacts with the Board of Education in Placentia and with merchants and friends in St. John’s. Alexander Chambers did not live in Harbour Buffett, but at Burgeo (Chamber’s Island). It is strange that William Thomas, the treasurer, is not mentioned by White. Collett had connections in St. John’s, and he may have known Thomas, an evangelical Anglican who donated £200 to Spencer’s Cathedral.¹⁵ Maybe White omitted Thomas’s name because he later left the Cathedral and attended St. Thomas’s, protesting Bishop Feild’s Tractarian innovations.¹⁶ It was natural that the St. John’s firms who had agents in inner Placentia Bay, or who were suppliers, should be called on to contribute to the building of churches in the area. The start of a separate church building, begun in

¹³*Journal of Her Majesty’s Council*, Appendix, 1837, “Education Returns.”

¹⁴A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853. He said that James Butler & Co. of Harbour Buffett also contributed.

¹⁵*Times*, May 21, 1851. In a letter to H. P. Disney he stated, “I am generally known to many respectable people in St. John’s.” *Royal Gazette*, March 8, 1842.

¹⁶Frederick Jones, “The Early Opposition to Bishop Field (*sic*) of Newfoundland,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, June, 1974, p. 37.

1840, was the result of an outside impetus unlike the combined school and church structure of 1837. A piece of land had been set aside for that purpose, but it was William Jeynes, the first missionary, who called a meeting which agreed to form a committee and to go into the woods to procure timber for a frame within the month.¹⁷ Subscriptions were taken to the amount of £78.¹⁸

When Bishop Spencer arrived in Harbour Buffett in 1843 he found the church and parsonage “well planned.” The church could hold 200 people. The residents were “apparently very devout, consistent and attached to their minister.” He consecrated the church and cemetery and confirmed 69 people. He was amazed at the rapid growth of the place: “I scrambled to the highest hill within reach to get a correct knowledge of the localities of the settlement in which eight years ago there were not a single inhabitant. The present population is upward of 230.” He departed amid “grateful expressions” and “the whole congregation accompanied me to the boat.”¹⁹ Afterwards 19 individuals signed a memorial thanking Bishop Spencer for his visit to their “long neglected” community and bay. More would have signed it but they were on distant fishing grounds. They were appreciative of his “liberal pecuniary assistance” in erecting churches in the bay, and for a missionary in an area where the oldest people could recall “only two or

¹⁷A194 Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Jeynes to Archdeacon Bridge, December 21, 1840.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Bishop Spencer’s “Visit to Placentia Bay,” 1843, July 14-16.

three visits by ministers of our Church.” They thanked him for their new church, his kindness in granting them “a resident minister,” beautiful Church books, and assistance with their parsonage. They were particularly appreciative that they had an opportunity “to ratify and confirm in our own persons the vows made in our name at our baptism.”²⁰

Much progress had been made since Jeynes had found them “old and young ... with much apparent earnestness reading or learning to recall the word of God.”²¹

The Protestants of Harbour Buffett seem in 1843 to have been a relatively united and peaceful people. Five of the inhabitants continued membership in the Methodist Society until at least 1844, yet it appears they did not see any conflict with being members of the Church of England.²² The two men who were members of the Methodist Society, Thomas Bendle and Thomas Hann, signed the memorial thanking Bishop Spencer for the spiritual benefits he brought to Harbour Buffett. In 1842 “Mr. Collett” was also a member of the Methodist Society and his is the first name on the memorial.²³ Yet, there is no record of any question being raised whether the church would be Church

²⁰A195 “Harbour Beaufet Memorial from the Inhabitants to the Bishop fo the Diocese,” 1843.

²¹A194 Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

²²“Burin” WY 200 Box 1 Circuit Book, Board of Trustees 1836-1837. Sadly, there no records for 1843, the year of Bishop Spencer’s visit, because the Methodist clergyman at Burin, James England, “was not able to visit the Bay.”

²³A195 “Harbour Beaufet Memorial from the Inhabitants to the Bishop of the Diocese,” 1843.

of England or “common to Missionaries” as was the case at Oderin where “Wesleyans had paid some times two visits a year.”²⁴ Instead, they must have seen the Methodist support as an encouragement in their evangelical Anglicanism.

That Anglicanism was reflected in their religious material culture. The only furniture that was sent from St. John’s to the church in Harbour Buffett was a pulpit, the great symbol of Protestantism, with its accent on preaching the Word of God.²⁵ Later, the Tractarian Bishop Feild reflected back on the time of Bishop Spencer and stated:

Bishop Spencer had not been able to extend his visits farther to the north than Twillingate, in Notre Dame Bay ... or than Harbour Buffett, in Placentia Bay In these visits he consecrated nine or ten new churches, but several of them in an unfinished and unfurnished state; a circumstance which need not be regretted, as the preference for pews, and galleries, and pulpits in the center of the building, was then very strong.²⁶

Many people of Harbour Buffett in 1843 were “apparently very devout,” as Bishop Spencer said. His visit in the middle of July was at the height of the caplin scull. J.G. Mountain had described that time of the fishery well:

At this season the poor fellows are literally at work day and night. They do not come in till dark, the task of splitting and salting the fish then occupies several hours, and before dawn they are off again to the fishing ground. I have known men not take off their clothes for a week together, or get more than a snatch of an

²⁴A194 Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

²⁵A194 Bishop Spencer to Campbell, June 12, 1841.

²⁶Quoted in Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild*, p. 188.

hour's broke sleep with their clothes and boots on for the whole time.²⁷

Yet after a day that may have started at 2 am to be followed by another, the fishermen still attended the Church at 9 pm, after they had salted away the last fish and washed up for the occasion. But this was a kind of culmination, a celebration, and they did not want to miss it. They had begun to build their church building in the fall of 1840. Jeynes had held classes for confirmation for which there were "a goodly number" even back in 1840.²⁸ In 1842 the church was "sufficiently forward to be used" and a colleague of Mr. Jeynes judged that the future looked quite good for the mission.²⁹ In 1843 the time had arrived. The bishop came. Sunday morning, July 16 was possibly the high point of the three days. As Spencer recorded in his journal, "a lovely summer morning brought the whole Protestant population with the exception of few persons in the distant fisheries to the Church." Bishop Spencer preached, confirmed 23 people, and celebrated the Lord's Supper with "25 very serious and devout members."³⁰

The following year was an eventful one at Harbour Buffett too, for while Bishop Feild came to Newfoundland, John Haddon came to Harbour Buffett as a teacher for the Newfoundland School Society. Haddon had been educated at the "principal school" of

²⁷*Lives of Missionaries, North America*, p. 213.

²⁸A194 Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

²⁹A195 George Baring Cowan to Bishop Spencer, May 16, 1842.

³⁰A194 Bishop Spencer's "Visit to Placentia Bay," 1843, July 16.

the Newfoundland School Society in St. John's.³¹ Before he came to Harbour Buffett he was a teacher for the Society at Rock Harbour, near Burin. Bishop Spencer visited his school of 40 pupils and was impressed with the "exemplary young man," mentioning that Haddon also read prayers every Sunday in the settlement.³² He taught in Harbour Buffett for five years and for two of them, between the ministries of Jeynes and White (1845-1847) was "left in charge of the church."³³ White said that when he came, he found Haddon "in possession of the parsonage and Glebe."³⁴ This meant that Haddon had enormous influence in Harbour Buffett, since as a teacher he was in the community more than a clergyman who was there in the winter, but visited the other communities in the Mission from May to November.³⁵ He not only 'read prayers' but quite conscientiously taught Sunday School to 60 children. He obviously taught them from an evangelical perspective and did not appear to make any distinction in teaching Christianity during the

³¹MG 595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, *Newfoundland School Society*, Annual Report, 1843, p. 18.

³²A194 Bishop Spencer's "Visit to Placentia Bay," 1843, July 10. Similarly, the 1844 Protestant Board inspector's report of the school at Rock Harbour was quite positive. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1845, Appendix, "Education," pp. 163-164.

³³MG 595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1824-1853. *Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixty year, 1848 -1849*, p. 15.

³⁴A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

³⁵For example, Frederick Meek. MG 598 A196 Letter, Meek, Annual Report to SPG, November 23, 1855.

week or on Sunday. He gave a revealing insight into both the frame of mind of the students and his own emphasis in teaching religion:

They had been taught what they knew by the exercise to the memory without the judgement, which system of education was productive of much evil. They would say their prayers with very little reverence, and no meaning whatever, having a superstitious notion of merit being attached to a form of words called a prayer. They would repeat their catechism and other lessons (always said perfectly) without gathering one fresh idea from them; and afterward, when some had learned to read, your teacher found they would go through any of the most interesting narrative parts of the Bible, or the simplest of our Lord's parables, without discovering the least pleasure in what they read, and on examination it would be found without the judgement being at all exercised. As to religious truths, he believes they had given them up as incomprehensible, for he never could get a sensible answer to question on that subject; and when he attempted to explain any portion of Scripture, instead of trying to understand him, they would sink into a kind of apathy and answer yes or no with seeming indifference. At the Sunday-school, your teacher ... has examined them all separately and carefully to find out the extent of their Christian knowledge; he has ascertained that in all, their knowledge of religion was confused, and of scripture history that it was unconnected; not one could tell me how a sinner may become just before God It is now four years since he arrived here In the Sunday-school, out of 60 that attend 53 can read in the Testament well, and tell the benefits of Christ's death.³⁶

Haddon was not interested in mere rote learning, but rather wanted the exercise of 'the judgement.' This emphasis, combined with his emphasis on Scripture, showed there was a noticeable lack of stress on the Prayer Book and liturgy. The center of both the content of the religious teaching and the exercise of the judgement was the evangelical focus on "how a sinner may become just before God" and "the benefits of Christ's death." He not only stressed the necessity of conversion at school, but also was eager to hear from

³⁶*Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies*, Twenty-sixty year, 1848-1849, pp. 16-17.

parents at home whether the children exhibited any evidences of being “in a state of grace.”³⁷ Haddon had total freedom to reinforce an evangelical understanding of Christianity at Harbour Buffett, in school, at home, and weekly at church for two full years. This he did with much zeal and ability. He was, therefore, a major factor in the strengthening of the Protestant evangelicalism which White met head on upon his arrival in Harbour Buffett.

It can be asked whether Haddon was a Methodist in Church of England clothing. We know that his father William Haddon, who came to Newfoundland as “Clerk of Works” to superintend the building of Government House, led the Methodist choir in St. John’s at this time.³⁸ While in Rock Harbour Haddon contributed to the Methodist Society and continued to do so while in Harbour Buffett.³⁹ While in Bonavista where he moved in 1849, he was called a dissenter by a contemporary.⁴⁰ Speaking of his brother William in 1854 who had moved to the Independent Chapel in St. John’s, he said, “What

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁸Gertrude Crosbie, “Births, Marriages, Deaths in Newfoundland Newspapers 1875-1877” (St. John’s: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1988), p. 44. See *Morning Chronicle*, August 1, 1876. GN 2/2 Box 27, William Haddon to Sir John Harvey, May 24, 1842, pp. 33-34.

³⁹“Burin” WY 200 Box 1 Circuit Book, Board of Trustees 1836-1837. See years 1839-1840, 1843, 1844, 1846.

⁴⁰*Patriot*, December 31, 1853.

a shame for him to forsake the old Methodist Chapel where he was Christianized.”⁴¹

Haddon became a teacher at the Wesleyan Training School at St. John’s in 1855, but later taught at the Church of England Academy.⁴² H. W. Hoyles protested against him being appointed Inspector of Schools in 1861 because he was a Wesleyan.⁴³ It may be that Haddon was open to evangelical Anglicanism but was driven back to Methodism because of White’s attitude toward Dissenters arising from his exclusive views regarding “the Church.” Maybe, like “Omega” who wrote to the *Public Ledger* from Harbour Buffett in 1851 after Bishop Feild’s visit, Haddon saw himself as one of those whose “duty” it was “to abandon the church in this place and seek ... that section of the universal church of Christ ... whose doctrine is pure, and whose ministers, though they may not boast of apostolic succession may eminently possess the apostolic spirit.”⁴⁴

It is possible that Haddon was comfortable as either an evangelical Anglican or a Methodist. There had been a history of mutual respect, communication and fellowship among the evangelicals in St. John’s.⁴⁵ The Wesleyans had greeted Bishop Spencer on his arrival, and he replied that though the Church of England differed from them “in some

⁴¹Appendix, Haddon to Collett, April 7, 1854.

⁴²*Courier*, Advertisement, November 3, 1855. GN 1/3/B Gov. Bannerman to Bishop Feild, May 17, 1858.

⁴³*Courier*, Editorial, April 17, 1861.

⁴⁴*Public Ledger*, August 26, 1851.

⁴⁵J.S.S. Armour, “Religious Dissent in St. John’s 1775-1815,” pp. 2-3, 152, 180.

particulars,” they were both “conscientiously engaged in promoting the great and vital truths of Christianity.”⁴⁶ They preached and shared in fellowship in each other’s churches. For example, the Congregationalist D. D. Evans preached at the Wesleyan Chapel.⁴⁷ St. Andrews presented a copy of Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* to William Faullner, the Wesleyan minister, on his departure.⁴⁸ The Presbyterians and Wesleyans showed up to support the Congregationalists at the laying of the cornerstone for their new chapel.⁴⁹ They worked together in the Congregationalist London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Anglican Newfoundland School Society.⁵⁰ They also cooperated in the Bible Society. The Anglican, William Thomas, was its president. Another Anglican, Robert Prowse, was on the Bible Society Committee with the Congregationalist, Joseph Noad, and the Presbyterian, James Seaton. They assisted Methodist missionaries such as John Peach at Burin and Elias Brett in Fortune Bay.⁵¹ Their attitude was probably best described in the monthly magazine, *The Newfoundland*

⁴⁶*Times*, June 24, 1840.

⁴⁷*Public Ledger*, July 16, 1847.

⁴⁸*Courier*, July 10, 1850.

⁴⁹*Public Ledger*, August 15, 1851. Similarly, at Harbour Grace for the Wesleyan chapel. February 19, 1850.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, August 20, 1847, June 4, 1852; *Courier*. August 6, 1845; May 28, 1853; *Times*, March 18, 1846.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, April 13, 1852.

Guardian which Joseph Woods began to edit in 1851. In the first issue he stated “that there is but one centre of unity – the Lord Jesus Christ – that all the sects of the Protestant Church differ only in ceremonial details, and that they agree in all that is vital, permanent and precious.”⁵²

When Haddon came to Harbour Buffett in 1844, there were evangelical forces already present in the community. Thomas E. Collett, a leader there, was against “the novel introduction of symbols and forms indicative of doctrines not Evangelical.”⁵³ He began teaching in the first school in the community on August 1, 1837. Haddon, his son-in-law, said that he did this for a year without pay, though the Board of Education presented him with £10 in recognition of his “praiseworthy conduct.”⁵⁴ White, however, wrote in 1853 that “in or about 1837” James Butler and Alexander Chambers “employed this Mr. Collett” and gave him time off to fish during the caplin scull to “eke out a support.”⁵⁵ He taught school until at least Jeynes’ arrival in 1840.⁵⁶ While he was

⁵²*The Newfoundland Guardian and Christian Intelligencer, A Magazine Devoted to the interests of Religion amongst Protestants generally*, Vol 1, 1 January 1851 (St. John’s: Joseph Woods), p. 2.

⁵³Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, Preface.

⁵⁴*Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixty year, 1848 -1849*, p. 15. See also *Journal of Her Majesty’s Council*, 1837, Appendix, “Education Returns.” *Public Ledger*, December 6, 1853.

⁵⁵A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853. White probably is implying that Collett was below his status because he had to work for a living, much like Mrs. Vincy was “on condescending terms” with Mrs. Garth in

teaching Collett also read “the morning and evening prayers ... according to the Liturgy of the Church of England” and taught Sunday School also free of charge.⁵⁷ His branch of the Church of England held to “the pure unadulterated Gospel, as Evangelical Churchmen view it.”⁵⁸

Thomas Edwards Collett was born in Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, in 1800 and came to Newfoundland in 1815 to serve a seven year apprenticeship to James Simms as a “notary public general, ship broker, and commercial agent.”⁵⁹ Simms was a trained lawyer and merchant who came to Newfoundland in 1809 and set up businesses in St. John’s, Twillingate and elsewhere. He later became the Attorney General and acting Chief Justice.⁶⁰ Collett was assigned to his business in Petty Harbour. His brother James

Middlemarch because she had to “work for her bread” once before she was married. George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (New York: The Modern Library, 1994), pp. 218-219. Originally published 1871-1872.

⁵⁶A194 Jeynes to Spencer, October 12, 1840.

⁵⁷*Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixty year, 1848 -1849*, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁸Thomas E. Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2 (St. John’s: Joseph Woods, 1854), p. 11.

⁵⁹Information from Collett family records, unless otherwise noted.

⁶⁰Poole, Editor, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol 5, “James A. Simms,” p. 193.

also came to Newfoundland.⁶¹ Thomas married Anne Marshall of St. John's in 1823 and lived in Petty Harbour until at least 1831. He signed a petition to the SPG requesting a clergyman for Petty Harbour in 1824 and subscribed to the Newfoundland School Society from 1828 to 1831.⁶² The 'Family Register' shows that he had 13 children and according to their places of birth he moved to Long Island, Placentia Bay in 1832 or 1833. He may have moved to Placentia Bay to make a new start. On May 26, 1826 he had been "declared insolvent" and in 1831 he was "discharged from debt."⁶³ He first lived in Collett's Cove, named after him, and moved to Harbour Buffett in 1836, although his family remained in Collett's Cove until 1837 where James was born on April 3, 1837.⁶⁴

He seems to have prospered in Placentia Bay. His father in 1845 was glad to hear that he and his large family were "so well and happy." That was a contrast to back in England where it was difficult for even "the most industrious man" to make a living

⁶¹James is mentioned as living in St. John's in a letter of John Collett to his son, Thomas April 15, 1845.

⁶²SPG A190 Box 1A/18, p. 257. MG 595 P-59 *Proceedings of the Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor, Eleventh Year, 1833-1834* (London: Compton and Ritchie, 1834), p. 33.

⁶³Collett family records - Richard Alexander Tucker, Judge of the Central Circuit Court at the Island of Newfoundland, February 21, 1831.

⁶⁴Collett's Land Grant stated that it was Kearney's Cove that was deeded to him, although there is today a Kearney's Cove near Collett's Cove. Grant of Land No. 721. Office Registry of the Souther District, October 17, 1848.

because of “taxes and large payments.”⁶⁵ In Harbour Buffett he was quite involved in the church and the school as we have seen. He was appointed a JP by Governor LeMarchant in 1849.⁶⁶ He was a Road Commissioner.⁶⁷ He became a Way Master in 1853 and his boat was hired to carry “special mails” from Little Placentia and St. John’s.”⁶⁸ He also carried freight.⁶⁹ Haddon said that Collett had “his men” put up the studs for the teacher’s house and “sent three hands two days to assist in covering the roof.” He had animals for meat, a regular supply of milk and a horse named Jack.⁷⁰

Between 1835 and 1839, the Bendles, Thomas and Bridget, arrived from Haystack.⁷¹ It was the Bendles and Bugdens of Haystack of whom William Wilson, the Methodist missionary, wrote in 1829 that “four individuals have been brought under a concern for their souls and are formed into a society.”⁷² The Bendles were probably

⁶⁵Collett family records, Letter of John Collett to his son, Thomas April 15, 1845.

⁶⁶*Royal Gazette*, October 2, 1849.

⁶⁷GN2/19/3 1843-1849 Box 1, pp. 34-35, Crowdy to Butler and Collett, July 29, 1843. *Courier*, June 27, 1845.

⁶⁸Journal of the House of Assembly, 1855 Appendix, p. 249.

⁶⁹GN 2/1/A Vol. 46 1846-1850 p. 453, Crowdy to Commissioners of Relief, Harbour Buffett, December 30, 1847.

⁷⁰*Courier*, April 22, 29, 1854.

⁷¹*Haystack Reflections*, p. 84.

⁷²WY 100 Box 1 “Minutes Newfoundland District, Wesleyan Methodist Church, England, 1829-1850” and “Burin” WY 200 Box 1 Account Book 1828 “Haystack on

pillars of the evangelical Methodist Society. The records, which continue up to 1844, place them at the beginning of the list.⁷³

Another major force for Evangelicalism in Harbour Buffett was the first missionary, William Jeynes. He visited in 1840, but he did not set up residence there until the summer of 1841.⁷⁴ Jeynes had been a teacher with the evangelical Newfoundland School Society since 1825 and on the occasion of his appointment had been its superintendent.⁷⁵ He was still in that capacity in the winter of 1841.⁷⁶ He was one of two, however, adopted by the SPG as “exclusively missionaries” and thus did not teach day school in Harbour Buffett.⁷⁷ As a result, Harbour Buffett did not have a school teacher for two and a half years before Haddon’s arrival in 1844.⁷⁸ It is not clear when Collett finished teaching, but in 1841 the School Society reported that it had “ventured to

Long Island” Class.

⁷³The lists are not alphabetized. “Burin” WY 200 Box 1 Circuit Book, Board of Trustees 1836-1847.

⁷⁴A194 Letter of Bishop Spencer to Campbell, SPG, March 3, 1841.

⁷⁵*Ibid.* See also, *Proceedings of the Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland, Second Year, 1824-1825* (London: R.G. Gunnell and Co., 1825), p. 63.

⁷⁶GN 2/2 Box 24 January - March, 1841. Jeynes to James Crowdy, Colonial Secretary, January 5, March 16, 1841.

⁷⁷A194 Bishop Spencer to Campbell, SPG, March 25, 1841.

⁷⁸*Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixty year, 1848 -1849*, p. 16.

undertake” the school in Harbour Buffett “built by the people” and “offered with its premises to the Society.”⁷⁹ The same report stressed the evangelical “grand object” of the Society which was “the education of the youth of Newfoundland in the principles of God’s revealed truth, as received and taught by the Church of England.”⁸⁰

There is some question regarding Jeynes’ departure in 1845. Haddon stated that he simply “went away”, Kepple White that he left because of “opposition” from Collett.⁸¹ It is possible that in 1845 Jeynes came under pressure from Bishop Feild to change his evangelical emphasis. Bishop Feild issued his *Order and Uniformity* Charge to the clergy in 1844, which came with very specific instructions for ceremonies and the interior of the church building. He stated, for example, that the pulpit should not be in front of the communion table.⁸² This was its position in Harbour Buffett. Did Jeynes attempt to change it? It is also likely that prayers were offered before the sermon. Feild declared in his Charge that this practice “arose, I imagine, in an evil time, and was adopted by

⁷⁹G595 P-15 *Proceedings of the Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor, Eighteenth Year, 1840-1841* (London: Moyes and Barclay, 1841), p. 10.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁸¹*Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-sixty year, 1848 -1849*, p. 15. [White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 5. See also MG 598 A216 “Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffett, August 10th 1851,” pp. 1-2.

⁸²Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 38.

perverse and self-righteous men, to introduce their own conceits and fancied improvements.”⁸³ Did Jeynes come back from St. John’s with the understanding that these orders from the bishop were to be “punctually obeyed.” Jeynes would have felt the pressure keenly since he was a deacon and would need to please his Bishop in order to be ordained a priest.

It appears that Bishop Feild considered well the next appointment for Harbour Buffett in 1847 since an evangelical, John Haddon, had been in charge of the church for two years with much support from the community. The person he chose was William Kepple White who had just arrived from England.⁸⁴ In his application for mission work, White did not make any reference to the evangelical Protestant desire to preach the Gospel. He said, rather, that he wanted to “engage in Holy work, and to endeavour to promote the glory of God.”⁸⁵ Family circumstances had prevented him before, but now at age 25, he wanted to leave the Leeds Post Office and go abroad out of “an ardent love for the church.”⁸⁶ He became a student at Bishop Feild’s Theological Institution for the summer of 1847, was admitted to the order of deacon and was sent to Harbour Buffett.⁸⁷

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸⁴A197 George Hills to G. H. Fagan, February 3, 1847.

⁸⁵A197 White to G. H. Fagan, September 18, 1846.

⁸⁶A197 White to SPG, September 3, 1846.

⁸⁷*Times*, September 25, 1847.

He wanted to be ordained a priest, writing the Bishop that he was “injured” in his “spiritual duties for want of so important a means of grace.” People were going to St. John’s to receive the Holy Sacrament because he, not being ordained a priest, could not give it.⁸⁸ White was the Bishop’s man for the hour, and possibly no one more unsuitable for the people of Harbour Buffett.

The first record of friction in the community was White’s refusal in the fall of 1849 to receive 5s. instead of 10s. from Richard Collett and Samuel Masters as a subscription to the Church Society.⁸⁹ White said that Collett had been encouraging the “young married men in the harbor” to pay 5s. to the Newfoundland School Society and 5s. to the Church Society, instead of paying 10s. to the Church Society alone. This would bring “great injury to the Church Society.”⁹⁰ He saw the “injustice of such a step” and took exception to it and refused the money. He viewed it as Collett attempting to “foster his own private views.” Matters came to a head shortly when a test case arose. Collett’s grandchildren needed to be baptized.⁹¹

1849 was a critical year for White. That was the year the SPG designated in 1846

⁸⁸A197 White to Bishop Feild, 1848?

⁸⁹[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 5.

⁹⁰A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

⁹¹[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 5-6.

for missionary salaries in Newfoundland to be reduced to £100 so that more clergy could be employed. Local congregations had to make up the difference for clergy to be paid more than £100.⁹² Bishop Feild had ordered that the contributions could not be paid to the minister directly, but had to be collected by the minister and paid to the Church Society.⁹³ The Church Society would then pay the minister. Anyone who was not poor and did not pay to the Church Society was not a member of the Church of England, and therefore not entitled to clergy services, for example, baptism.⁹⁴

Thomas F. H. Bridge, Secretary to the Newfoundland Church Society, reported in 1840 that the amount required to be paid annually to be constituted a member of the Society was 10s. The contributions would help pay for missionary salaries, church buildings, and schools “in connection with the church.”⁹⁵ This was a firming up of the rules of the Society whose constitution was agreed to in 1837 under the leadership of Archdeacon Wix.⁹⁶ At that time anyone who paid, annually, “any sum, however small,”

⁹²*Report of the Newfoundland Church Society* (St. John's: J. C. Withers, 1847), p. 12.

⁹³Edward Feild, *An Address on the System of The Church Society in Newfoundland*, p. 5, 15.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹⁵*Times*, October 21, 1840, “The Newfoundland Church Society.”

⁹⁶PANL, GN2/1A Vol. 40 James Crowdy to Archdeacon Wix, February 27, 1838.

would be constituted a member of the Society.⁹⁷ But it was in 1845 that the Society began to assume a more prominent role. At its anniversary meeting Governor John Harvey admonished that the “occasional” giving of the wealthy to the Church Society would not sufficiently relieve the SPG in its increasing task of sending missionaries to the Colonies. What was needed instead was “a plan ... requiring ... every adult member” to pay “some trifling annual contribution” with “undeviating punctuality.” The punctuality was more important than the size of the payment. This payment would provide the evidence of “attachment,” not just to the Church Society, but to the Church of England to which people professed to belong. Bishop Feild was well pleased. He declared “his full concurrence with the opinions his Excellency had delivered.”⁹⁸ The payment would not include money paid to the local church in the form of pew-rents.⁹⁹ In order for the money to be collected, what was needed was “a proper and effective machinery. For this the Church looks to her Clergy: they must declare, they must carry it into operation.”¹⁰⁰ The next year Governor Harvey left the colony and the Society stressed that “the plan”

⁹⁷*Times*, February 28, 1838, “The Church Society of the Archdeaconry of Newfoundland.”

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, October 18, 1845, “Anniversary of the Newfoundland Church Society.

⁹⁹Edward Feild, *An Address on the System of The Church Society in Newfoundland*, Appendix No. 3, p. 29. Feild to clergy, October 28, 1845.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p. 27. Feild to clergy, October 28, 1845.

adopted the previous year be “vigorously carried out.”¹⁰¹ Bryan Robinson thought that the time of cajoling people with “smooth language” was over. All members of the Church, “every one of them,” had the ability to give 5s. a year per head, despite losses by the recent fire and gale.¹⁰² Bishop Feild wrote to his clergy that in three years, when “the plan” was fully implemented, “payments can hardly be considered voluntary.”¹⁰³ The next year, he made the demand a little less stringent, telling Governor Le Marchant that “the plan” was for every member to contribute “according to his ability.”¹⁰⁴ William Kepple White attended that meeting, during which the bishop impressed upon all, that giving to and collecting for the Church Society was “a sacred and solemn Christian obligation.”¹⁰⁵ The Society’s report stated: “It does not seem to be a matter of choice to the Members of the Church of England, whether they will contribute or not, according to the system and average which have been proposed.” The purpose of “the system” was to make contributions “regular and systematic” to provide for a fund which would be

¹⁰¹*Times*, June 24, 1846, “Newfoundland Church Society.”

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, October 17, 1846. “Anniversary Meeting of the Newfoundland Church Society.” At the same meeting Hugh Hoyles said that people were like “spoiled children” who were taking the benevolence of the SPG for granted.

¹⁰³Edward Feild, *An Address on the System of The Church Society in Newfoundland*, Appendix No. 3, p. 24. Feild to clergy, September 15, 1846.

¹⁰⁴*Times*, Feild to Le Marchant, May 15, 1847.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, September 25, 1847. “Anniversary Meeting of the Newfoundland Church Society.”

“vested in the Bishop of the Diocese.”¹⁰⁶ In the 1848 report the Church Society Committee admitted that the collections were “onerous and distasteful,” but it had “no sympathy with objections.” The SPG was reducing salaries of Missionaries by one-half and required the remainder to be made up by contributions. Therefore, “the support of ‘The Church Society’... cannot any longer be considered a matter of choice.”¹⁰⁷ In his Circular to the Clergy in 1849 Bishop Feild urged them to “pursue and promote to the utmost the plan” of collections for the Church Society since they would be providing for their own salaries. All clergy appointed since 1845 had their salaries reduced in 1849 by the SPG, including the “two in Placentia Bay.”¹⁰⁸ As a result of this sequence of events, which had a direct implication for his personal income, White had an added incentive as he did his collections in the fall of 1849. On top of that, he had the solemn charge of his bishop to collect ‘to the utmost.’

However, this was not the optimum time to collect for the Church Society. To give support to the Church Society was to lend support to the Tractarianism of Bishop Feild, who administered the fund. Tractarianism had been repeatedly reported in the

¹⁰⁶*Report of the Newfoundland Church Society* (St. John’s: J. C. Withers, 1847), pp. 11-12.

¹⁰⁷*Report of the Newfoundland Church Society* (St. John’s: J. W. McCoubrey, 1848), pp. 10-11.

¹⁰⁸*Report of the Newfoundland Church Society* (St. John’s: J. C. Withers, 1849), pp. 11-12.

press and brought into public view. For example, in the *Times* in 1847 it was reported that all was not right with Bishop Feild's theology. B.G. Garrett, High Sheriff, in an address welcoming the bishop back from England stated that a clergyman from his own diocese had been "so repugnant" as to write to an English newspaper and to "raise a prejudice against your lordship" and to cast aspersions on the Newfoundland School Society. Bishop Feild replied that he had intentionally not read the letter. Still he gave judgement on it. He said he could not give any weight to it because the clergyman was too recently in Newfoundland to know anything about him, and interestingly, because of other reasons "which I need not at present trouble you."¹⁰⁹ As for the editor of the newspaper who printed the article, the "midnight assassin" was innocent compared with him who engages in such "wretched hire." He encouraged people not "to read or receive such publications."¹¹⁰ The letter was printed in the *Record* on November 19, 1846.

Henry Winton at the *Public Ledger* reprinted the article and commented that the attack on Bishop Feild was "something enigmatical." He offered "a clue" to why the attack was made, which struck the very core of the issue of the day, namely, "the *leaning* which the Lord Bishop has been supposed to possess towards the doctrines of Dr. Pusey

¹⁰⁹He was also living in an isolated settlement. *Record*, April 19, 1847. This was John Roberts at Bay de Verde. See Frederick Jones, "Bishop Feild: A Study of Politics and Religion," p. 131.

¹¹⁰*Times*, February 17, 1847.

and his disciples the tractarians.”¹¹¹ Four days before the article appeared, Parsons at the *Patriot* had published an item reporting that Pusey said he “knew thousands and thousands in the Church of England who now used auricular confession and secret confession to a priest.”¹¹² Later in the same year he reported that John Roberts, the Church of England clergyman at Bay de Verde, had published a pamphlet in which he pitted the “evangelical party” against Bridge who, Roberts said, “keeps his *Crucifix*” in one of the buildings that belonged to the Newfoundland School Society. Parsons called the pamphlet “a mixture of scandal, fanaticism, nonsense and irreligion.”¹¹³

Winton and others had informed Newfoundlanders about Pusey and Tractarianism previously. For example, in a reprinted article in 1845 the Bishop of Worcester told his ordinands that the publication of the *Oxford Tracts* introduced “a mistaken regard for obsolete forms” which brought “discord and dissension.” He cautioned them against wearing the surplice in preaching and to not wear it at all if it is perceived to be “the badge of a party.” He stated that it never had been the custom to preach in a surplice since the Reformation. Though a surplice was of no significance in itself, wearing it “will be sure to shock the prejudices and excite the suspicions of your congregation.” He told

¹¹¹*Public Ledger*, February 19, 1847.

¹¹²*Patriot*, February 13, 1847.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, October 13, 1847.

them not to be distracted from their main focus which was “to win souls to Christ.”¹¹⁴

More hardhitting was the reprint of an article on Bishop Spencer’s address to his clergy in Jamaica:

His Lordship thus alludes to the “Tractarian Doctrines” which have so much divided the Church of England: – ‘I do not think it necessary under the present aspect of the Jamaican Church, to say much on the dangerous tendency of these Romanizing doctrines, which have lately threatened the corruption of the Church at home, and which have unhappily found advocates in men distinguished equally for learning and virtue. I am not disposed to underrate the mischievous effects of these doctrines on the depraved heart of man, which is too well inclined to substitute the easier forms and ordinances of religion, for the harder duties of the Christian life, which must be performed by those who being truly in Christ Jesus, walk not after the flesh but after the spirit.’¹¹⁵

The first bishop was held in high regard in Newfoundland, especially by evangelicals.

Any who read his address would be alerted to the dangers of Tractarianism or would be reinforced in their present antipathy.¹¹⁶ Winton reprinted another article in 1849 which could have encouraged further resistance to Bishop Feild and the Church Society as his agency. The Bishop of Exeter refused to license a Mr. Shore to minister because he did not believe in baptismal regeneration. Shore then said he would become a Dissenter. He

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, February 11, 1845. Also reprinted in the *Times*, February 12, 1845.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, March 4, 1845. Also reprinted in the *Times*, March 5.

¹¹⁶For other articles related to Pusey and Tractarianism in the *Public Ledger* before 1847 see the newspapers of August 1, September 15, November 10, 1843; February 18, July 15, 1845. See also the *Courier* February 24, March 3, May 26, 1845; the *Times*, January 1, February 5, April 30, 1845.

continued to preach the gospel without a license and was put in prison in Exeter.¹¹⁷

There was yet another sequence of events culminating in 1849. After a series of communications Bishop Feild severed his relationship with the Newfoundland School Society, resigning as Vice-President in 1848. White did not have it quite right when he said that it was the School Society which had ceased its connection with the bishop.¹¹⁸ White identified Feild's withdrawal from the School Society as the central cause of Collett's resistance to contribute to the Church Society. Collett had stated that 6s. to the Church Society was all that his son could afford since he was already paying 6s. locally to the church for pew rent and 6s. to the School Society.¹¹⁹ In light of the Tractarianism of Bishop Feild and the evangelical emphasis of the School Society, the precise reason for Feild's resignation, there is no doubt that Collett would have had a prior allegiance to the School Society. It seems that Collett was 'too Protestant' to pay the collection for the Church Society. A question remains whether Richard Collett and Samuel Masters, his son and son-in-law, were 'too poor' to pay it. Was their not paying based on conscience or lack of ability?

The latter cannot be dismissed because 1847 to 1849 were hard times in Placentia

¹¹⁷*Public Ledger*, April 17, 1849.

¹¹⁸[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 5.

¹¹⁹Collett, *Church of England*, p. 3.

Bay and in Newfoundland in general. The year that the Church Society set out to require a 'regular and systematic' collection from each member of the Church of England was a difficult one. Letters of distress over destitution were sent to the papers from all over Newfoundland in 1847.¹²⁰ The *Royal Gazette* reported that it continued to receive "from various parts of the Colony, painful accounts of destitution among a considerable portion of the inhabitants. From Placentia Bay, St. Mary's Bay, Ferryland District, Conception Bay, Trinity Bay, and Notre Dame Bay, appeals are being poured in upon the Government."¹²¹ A letter from Oderin in Placentia Bay stated that people were "in a state threatening actual death from famine."¹²² The two causes were a lack of fish and potatoes. White said that because of these two factors, when he took over the Mission of inner Placentia Bay in 1847 he found the people "almost all deeply in debt."¹²³ Stephen Olive Pack of Lamaline reported to the Colonial Secretary, James Crowdy on September 6, 1849 that the fishery was "so wretchedly bad," yet, most of the fishermen of Lamaline were able to get through by "illegally supplying the French with bait."¹²⁴ However, F. L.

¹²⁰*Times*, Bonavista, Apr. 7; Merasheen, September 15; Conception Bay, October 13, 23. *Public Ledger*, Burin, August 27; Fogo and Twillingate, September 14; Harbour Grace, September 24. *Patriot*, Oderin, October 20.

¹²¹*Royal Gazette*, November 2, 1847.

¹²²*Patriot*, October 20, 1847.

¹²³A197 White, Harbour Buffett, Report to SPG, Christmas, 1853.

¹²⁴GN 2/2, Box 35, 1849, pp. 359-360. Pack to Crowdy, September 6, 1849.

Bradshaw of Placentia reported on September 29 that the potatoes were free of disease.¹²⁵

This was quite unlike 1848 when Philip Tocque reported from Burin that the potato disease had appeared in “almost every place” he visited.¹²⁶

Crowdy sent a letter in 1847 to Rev. James Walsh at Merasheen, Alexander Chambers at Burgeo and George LeMessurier at Isle Valen to provide relief in return for work on the roads for 17 communities on the western shore of Placentia Bay as far as Southern Harbour.¹²⁷ In the spring he sent a letter to John Haddon at Harbour Buffett authorizing the purchase of 20 barrels of seed potatoes to distribute to the “really distressed families.” Able bodied men were to work four days on the roads to pay for the potatoes in labour.¹²⁸ In the fall he sent a letter to White, Butler and Haddon informing them to supervise work on the roads in return for Indian meal and molasses which would be sent for distribution at Christmas and the middle of March. There was also the proviso: “If there are cases requiring immediate assistance, you may give them sufficient to support life.”¹²⁹ In December Crowdy wrote to the Commissioners of Relief of

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 467. F. L. Bradshaw to Crowdy, September 29, 1849.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, Box 34, pp. 746-748. Tocque to Crowdy, September 20, 1848.

¹²⁷GN 2/1/A Vol. 46, p. 347. Crowdy to Walsh, Chambers and LeMessurier, September 28, 1847.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 245. Crowdy to Haddon, May 14, 1847.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 375-376. Crowdy to White, Butler and Haddon, October 16, 1847. Similar letters were sent throughout the island, pp. 332-420.

Harbour Buffett that 35 barrels of Indian Meal and one puncheon of molasses were sent with strict instructions to keep one half of the supply for distribution in the middle of March.¹³⁰ The big concern was obviously the threat of starvation. However, the quantity that had been sent was not enough for “the relief of the destitute Poor of Harbour Buffett.” Another “40 barrels of meal” were sent to the Commissioners on January 20, 1848, of which 20 were to be exchanged for labour and 20 to be sold.¹³¹ Another arrangement was made for the winter of 1848-1849.¹³² And again additional supply was sent on January 16, 1849.¹³³ It was in this context of near starvation that Feild in 1849 told his clergy to “pursue and promote to the utmost” the collection from every member for the Church Society.

In conclusion, Harbour Buffett was able to benefit from the mobility in Placentia Bay and from expanding government services in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Its harbour provided an attractive location for a scattered people who desired to

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, December 30, 1847, p. 453, Crowdy to Commissioners of Relief, Harbour Buffett.

¹³¹GN 2/1/A Vol. 47, p.17. Crowdy to Commissioners of Relief, Harbour Buffett, January 21, 1848. Similarly another 100 barrels of meal were sent to LeMessurier at Isle Valen, March 14, 1848, p. 51.

¹³²*Ibid.*, p. 158. Crowdy to White, Butler, Haddon and Hands [sic], November 29, 1848.

¹³³*Ibid.*, pp. 190-191. Crowdy to Commissioners of the Poor, Harbour Buffett, January 16, 1849.

resettle from various coves to a central location where the services of a church and school could be provided. Motivated by this goal they assiduously applied themselves, even while they, as new settlers, were engaged in the labour intensive task of building their own houses, wharves and stages. The resettlement in Harbour Buffett occurred just at the time that the Church of England was expanding into Placentia Bay under the evangelical Bishop Spencer. The community had an evangelical emphasis from its beginning, for like other Protestant settlements in the bay, it had been served by Methodist ministers from Burin. It compared to Haystack and Woody Island in having a core of Methodist sympathizers, though it did not tend so far in that direction as Sound Island. Beginning in 1837 with the services of Thomas Edwards Collett and later John Haddon, who were schoolteachers, lay readers in church and Sunday School teachers, an indigenous evangelical Anglicanism developed that was quite robust. It was cultivated in day school and Sunday school, preached in church, and reinforced by such people in the community as the Bendles. With no clergy for two years, Harbour Buffett had a flourishing evangelical Anglicanism by the time of White's arrival in 1847. It was this vibrant local faith that proved such a stumbling block to him and to his bishop, Edward Feild. White did not step into a religious vacuum in coming to Harbour Buffett, instead he came when religion was at full tide. Trained by and loyal to his bishop in Tractarian Anglicanism, young and inexperienced in his first pastoral charge, he soon found it a challenge to carry out the bishop's program. The first evidence of opposition was related to the required

subscription to the Newfoundland Church Society.

Chapter 5

Opposition to Bishop Feild: Harbour Buffett, 1849-1852.

When William Kepple White, the Anglican clergyman at Harbour Buffett, began to carry out the financial requirements of the bishop and the Church Society, he encountered resistance at the local level, particularly from Thomas Edwards Collett and his immediate family. White countered that resistance with refusals of baptism. While ostensibly the issue was money, the more substantial conflict at Harbour Buffett was Bishop Feild's use of the Church Society to carry out his new Tractarian program. In his opposition Collett appealed to the public through the press. The evangelical London *Record*, already on a crusade against Tractarianism, enthusiastically broadcasted the Newfoundland conflict in England. Though the issue received much publicity, Feild was able to use his authority as bishop to maintain control within the church. His main obstacle outside the church, locally, was the evangelical Newfoundland School Society school in Harbour Buffett. Action was taken to supplant that school with one that was totally under his control.

In the fall of 1849 White went around the harbour to collect subscriptions to the Newfoundland Church Society. We have seen that Collett's son Richard, and son-in-law Samuel Masters, offered only 5s. which White "declined to receive," because "the required sum" was 10s. or a quintal of fish.¹ Collett objected to White's assumption that

¹White, *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 5-6.

he had authority to refuse the money from the two men, and brought the subscription to St. John's to the Secretary of the Church Society, T.F.H. Bridge, who also refused to accept it.² Matters were brought to a focus when children were born to Richard and Samuel on September 29 and October 6.³ The children needed baptism and the mothers needed to be churched.⁴ White wrote to the young men on October 12 and urged them to pay the 10s. He rejected "the offer made by your parent" because of an "indispensable duty" to the Harbour Buffett Mission, to the Bishop and to the Church Society. He exhorted them to think of the bad example they gave to the rest of the harbour in not paying the "paltry 5s.," and to consider "the sin under which you lie, by opposing Christ's ministers."⁵ Two days later Collett replied on behalf of Richard and Samuel that they had already paid to the School Society and to the Church locally for pew rent, and it was all they could afford.⁶ If the rites of the Church were valued at such a "paltry sum" as 5s., why not "cast it to the winds" and grant them freely? "No quintal of fish [was] attached

²Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 3.

³White, *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 6

⁴See *Book of Common Prayer*, "The thanksgiving of women after child-birth, commonly called the churching of women."

⁵White, *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 6-7. White to Richard Collett and Samuel Masters, Harbour Buffett, October 12, 1849.

⁶Collett's son may have been too poor to pay the required fee to the Church Society, but Collett himself made no such plea. He was too Protestant to pay the Church Society. The Society's 1850 Annual Report showed he paid £2.7 in 1848 and £1 in 1849 to the Church Society. *Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, September, 1850 (St. John's: J.W. McCoubrey, 1850), p. xxxii.

as prices for such privileges” in the Scriptures. If White was using their parents’ inability to pay 10s. to the Church Society as a reason to refuse Collett’s grandchildren baptism, he should say so directly, “to enable me to lay before the public, as it is my intention, a full and true description of the trickery, coaxing, bribery, intimidation, and last of all, rod and terrors” which were used against the people to force them to pay.⁷

This first extant letter by Collett relating to the controversy reveals to a considerable degree his theology and values as an evangelical Christian. If neither White nor other clergy in “the Church of my forefathers” would baptize his grandchildren, he would seek a minister “out of her pale.”⁸ Such a recourse had been quite common for over 20 years, since Methodist clergy had been going into Placentia Bay each fall. In addition to preaching they performed baptisms and marriages.⁹ It was natural, for example, for Samuel Masters ten years later, when he ran into difficulties with Rev. White, to turn to Rev. John S. Peach, the Wesleyan minister, to baptize two of his children.¹⁰ This did not mean that they had turned Methodist.¹¹

⁷White, *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 7-8. Collett to White, Harbour Buffett, October 14, 1849.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹A194 Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

¹⁰Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 4.

¹¹ Masters in his affidavit stated in 1851, “I, Samuel Masters ... a member of the Church of England.” Collett too, says “we are, as we ever were, members of the Church of England,” Collett, *Church of England*, pp. 13, 15.

Collett wrote that he would “await the arrival of some more Christian-like Bishop to the land” to give them confirmation, “the principal Baptism of all.”¹² He thus revealed that he was far from the ‘sacramentalism’ of White. For evangelical Anglicans, like Collett and others in Harbour Buffett, the main spiritual event was not baptism but confirmation since it was at the latter that an individual had the opportunity to be converted through a personal commitment to Jesus Christ and his Gospel. As the memorial from Harbour Buffett to Bishop Spencer said, it was the opportunity “to ratify and confirm in our own person” vows that others had made for them and therefore it was “the principal baptism of all.”¹³

Collett also said that if necessary, he would baptize the children himself.¹⁴ White was so shocked by this belief that he wrote two exclamation marks after quoting it in a letter.¹⁵ He said that such a “pseudo-rite” was “contrary to common decency” and classed with “scandals” which are “so lost to reason.”¹⁶ In his view ‘baptismal regeneration’

¹²White, *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 9. Spencer was not the only S.P.G. evangelical bishop in the colonies, for example, E.O. Vidal, the first bishop of Sierra Leone, Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, p. 765. For his evangelical preaching, see The Bishop of Sierra Leone, *Parish Sermons* (London: James Darling, 1852). Newfoundlanders were aware of him and others, see “Report of Committee of Colonial Church and School Society,” *Public Ledger*, June 5, 1855.

¹³MG 598 A195 “Harbour Beaufet Memorial from the Inhabitants to the Bishop of the Diocese,” 1843.

¹⁴White, *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 9.

¹⁵A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

occurred at the hands of the clergy of the Church of England and, according to his belief in apostolic succession, only they had received the authority to confer it through ‘the laying on of hands.’ However, lay baptism was not uncommon on the south coast of Newfoundland at that time. William Jeynes noted that none of the three children he baptized on Sound Island had been “previously privately baptized,” speaking of it as if it were not an uncommon practice.¹⁷ When James Robertson, a SPG missionary, visited the south coast in 1830 he found that the people at Furby’s Cove in Hermitage Bay had “correct enough notions respecting the distinguishing tenets of the Church of England ” and were “much attached to her communion.” Yet they approved of lay baptism and thought that “a repetition of it by a clergyman a superfluous operation.”¹⁸ Similarly, the Tractarian Jacob George Mountain, who served the Mission of Harbor Breton as Rural Dean of Fortune Bay, said that even up to the last year of his ministry he met people who believed that anyone who had education enough to read was qualified to perform lay baptism. When he “remonstrated against their unlawful practice, he would get the reply, “Why, Sir, the man was a *fine* scholar, he read the service as well as any parson!”¹⁹

¹⁷A194 Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

¹⁸*SPG, Report of the Society for the year 1831* (London: Printed for the Society, 1832), Robertson to Archdeacon Wix, December 22, 1830, p. 101.

¹⁹*Lives of Missionaries, North America* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), p. 222. Mountain held a like view of lay marriage. In 1850 he refused to church a mother or baptize her child because the mother and father would not agree to be remarried by him. They had been married by Thomas E. Gaden, a Justice of the Peace. Gaden said that the refusal to provide these services of the Church was “looked upon as a

Also in October, White refused to baptize the child of George Ingram unless he paid 10s. or a quintal of fish. He had told Ingram he would baptize his child, but when Mrs. Ingram and the child showed up in church on Sunday with godparents, but without money, he refused to carry out the ceremony. He churched Mrs. Ingram who paid him 2s. 6p. for that rite and then told her he would baptize the child after the service. When the service ended, however, he refused to do so, telling Mrs. Ingram about the 10s. requirement. George was not present, maybe he never had suitable clothes for the occasion. He later confirmed the refusal and went on to say that the same evening he “engaged to pay his demand” and worked on the church grounds for White. His child was baptized two weeks later. He was not very well off since that winter he worked on the roads to qualify for “Government meal” to support himself and his family.²⁰ John Haddon, the local School Society teacher, said he was present in the church on the occasion when White promised “in an audible voice” to baptize Ingram’s child after the service. Yet, when the time came he just “walked straight out of Church” and left the people waiting. He said he interviewed Ingram the next day about the matter. Ingram, “a very poor man,” told him that White would not baptize his child unless he would “sign his name to pay one quintal of fish.” Haddon commented that in this way the congregation of Harbour Buffett was made “fully to understand” that in order for them to

great grievance by many parties in the District.” GN 2/2 1853 Box 41, July to December Letter Gaden to Crowdy, Colonial Secretary, October 25, 1853.

²⁰Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 10.

receive the services of the clergyman, they had to pay “the required sum.”²¹

White, meanwhile, made no reply to Collett’s letter, so Collett wrote to the Bishop on December 26 appealing the matter and saying that 6s. was all his relatives could afford. He stated that in addition to the contributions to the Church Society, Richard and Samuel paid 6s. for pew rent and 6s. to the Church of England School Society. Collett said he had been a subscriber to the Church Society at £1.00 per year. He had attended the last two meetings in St. John’s and saw no grounds for White’s actions. Nor did he understand that the bishop had justified White’s requirement of 10s. by what he had previously stated in his Charges to the Clergy.²² Bishop Feild replied on February 26, 1850, that the rites of the Church were not to be refused to the poor, but “the case you refer to is very different.” Richard’s earnings might amount to £30 a year. Mr. White was “quite right, then, in saying that I have directed him to require from every head of a family to whom God has given health and strength to labour ... at least a quintal of fish.” He directed Richard to pay the required amount and, appealing to the Bible, he directed him to trust God to make up the difference. He also appealed to Collett as a man of “influence” at Harbour Buffett to support the church and the clergy.²³

Feild made no reference to the payments for pew rents and to the School Society.

²¹*Courier*, April 12, 1854. See also *Public Ledger*, December 30, 1853.

²²Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 3.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

He was not in favour of the former, since he wanted the money to come to the Church Society.²⁴ As for the evangelical School Society which was partly supported by the Methodists, Bishop Feild had resigned as its vice-president.²⁵ White judged that an arrangement of 5s. to the School Society and 5s. to the Church Society would result in “great injury to the Church Society, even to the amount of one half the collections.”²⁶

On March 23, Collett went to see White again, this time with his son Richard, and asked him to baptize his grandchild.²⁷ White described his response to Collett on that occasion: “As he had the Bishop’s reply, I referred him to that, and declined to recognize him in the matter at all.”²⁸ Likely still stinging from this abrupt dismissal, Collett decided to write back to Bishop Feild on April 11, 1850. He stated again that his son was too poor to pay more, and that anyway, payment to the local church or Church Society should be voluntary. There should be no “toll bar” placed across the church door. Since Jesus did not demand payment for children to come to Him, a child should not be refused “under any circumstances whatever.” He went on to say that if the Bishop was going to refuse children baptism unless the parents paid a certain portion of their income, then he

²⁴*Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, November, 1848 (St. John’s: J. W. McCoubrey), p. 11.

²⁵*Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, 1849-1850* (London: George Barclay, 1850), pp. 1-2.

²⁶A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

²⁷Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 4.

²⁸White, *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 10.

should do it in St. John's with "the children of the rich" starting with "the Governor at the head and descending through all the other grades of society."²⁹

Meanwhile, on Easter Sunday, March 31, White baptized Samuel Masters' child. Masters was about to go to Fortune Bay and had to sign a promise to the bishop that he would pay his 10s. in the fall.³⁰ White refused to baptize his child unless he agreed to do this.³¹ Masters was not impressed, and had his next two children baptized by John Peach, the Wesleyan minister who visited the bay from Burin.³² On June 5, Richard Collett brought his son to Charles Blackman at St. Thomas's in St. John's to be baptized.³³ Blackman said at the time that he had to "once more oppose my bishop." He was "desired" not to baptize the child, but he required from Bishop Feild "a written order, legally and scripturally supported," saying why he should not proceed with the baptism. The order never came, and he baptized the child.³⁴

There seems to have been at least one other refusal of church services. Samuel Kirby testified to Collett in 1851 that White had refused to baptize his child in 1849

²⁹Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 6.

³⁰White, *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 11.

³¹Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 13.

³²Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No.2, p. 4.

³³Parish Records, Church of England, St. John's, 1830 -1870, Box 1. St. Thomas's Parish, Baptisms, 1844-1858. Thomas Edward Collett, baptized June 5, 1850, born October 7, 1849. Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 4.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 36.

unless he paid 5s. "Being too poor" to pay, Kirby said he carried his child to Burin where it was baptized by Rev. John Cyrus Gathercole, the Church of England missionary there.³⁵ White called Kirby's testimony "word for word a mass of falsehoods, as vile as it is possible to utter," claiming that he had baptized Kirby's child and that Gathercole had no such entry in his register.³⁶ Rather, in 1848 at the Court House in Burin, a child from Harbour Buffett was received into the Church, having been already baptized. This was Kirby's. Rev. James Harvey, who was in Burin with the bishop at the time, stated that the parents said they brought the child from Harbour Buffett, "from one Mission to another," because the godparents were at Burin.³⁷ Two prominent lawyers who were members of the Church Society, H. W. Hoyles and Bryan Robinson, were hired by the Society to give a legal opinion on the charges against White. They determined that Kirby's testimony was false. "Kirby had no child unbaptized." Gathercole did not baptize any child of Kirby's. Instead, his child was "received into the Church at Burin by the Rev. Mr. Hoyles."³⁸ The latter was also in Burin with the Bishop on his visitation and it was he who actually received the child into the Church.³⁹

³⁵Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 8.

³⁶A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

³⁷White, *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, Appendix, p. 1. Rev. James Harvey to Bridge, Port de Grave, October 20, 1853.

³⁸*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 5

³⁹*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 2. Rev. W.J. Hoyles to Bridge, Carbonear, October 19, 1853.

Collett replied that Kirby's testimony was substantially true. The child was "privately baptized" at Harbour Buffett because of illness, and then brought to Burin because it was refused the completion of the ceremony by White in the church in Harbour Buffett. The year was 1848, instead of 1849. Kirby got the name of the officiating clergyman wrong, but there were three in Burin at the time because the Bishop was visiting. "Let Mr. White make the most of it," said Collett.⁴⁰ A writer in Collett's second pamphlet noted that White did not deny he refused "the public christening or reception into the church" of the Kirby child. Kirby, "an ignorant man," mistakenly called the ceremony baptism. The comments regarding the godparents being in Burin were perceptive:

As regards the sponsors "residing in Burin," of course they did. How could Kirby and his wife, who were paupers, prevail upon godfathers and godmothers, from Beaufet, to accompany them, sixty miles, in an open boat to Burin? Do the learned gentlemen think it was a party of pleasure on which they carried their child so great a distance upon the open sea, or that they would have travelled so far if they could have had the ceremony performed in their own Harbor?⁴¹

Burin would have been the logical alternative to Harbour Buffett. It was the headquarters of the other Church of England mission in Placentia Bay. In addition, Kirby may have had connections with the place. Later, he "was married a second time to a girl from Burin whose name was Mary."⁴²

⁴⁰Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No.2, p. 5.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴²Butler, *Little Nord Easter*, p. 47.

There were refusals elsewhere in Newfoundland. At Greenspond on April 1, 1848, the Rev. James Gilchrist had refused to baptize the child of J. B. Highmore. When Highmore asked why, Gilchrist told him that “all that is required from the members of the Church is simply to accede to the wishes of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, by becoming subscribers to the Church Society, and you may be certain that you will never be denied the services of the Church to which you profess to belong.”⁴³ Similarly, Jacob George Mountain at Harbour Breton, Rural Dean of Fortune Bay, wrote to a subscriber in his mission in 1852 informing him that the amount he paid was “not sufficient by the Rules of the Society to entitle you as head of a family to the benefits of Church Membership, beyond that of attendance at Church ... ten shillings is the lowest sum now admitted.”⁴⁴

News of refusals of baptism spread beyond Harbour Buffett to England. The editor of the *London Record*, a prominent evangelical Protestant newspaper, mentioned them in an article of August 19, 1850 in which he sounded an alarm over Tractarianism in the colonies. He wrote that parents were refused baptism of their children if they “were too Protestant or too poor to subscribe to the Bishop’s monopolizing Church fund.” He saw the authority of colonial bishops as the key problem. Unlike most bishops back home, the majority of the bishops in the colonies were Tractarian and “with much more arbitrary power in their hands, encourage it to the utmost.” The overall result was that

⁴³Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 21

⁴⁴A216 An accompanying letter William Thomas sent to the Committee of the SPG, December 26, 1853.

they were “gradually and effectually displacing every truly spiritual and Evangelical principle and influence.” He said he had received recent news that Newfoundland was “fast sinking” into the “medieval absurdities” of Bishop Feild. “The most rigorous priestly and Episcopal discipline is enforced ... upon a previously neglected, ignorant, and simple-minded class of fishermen.” Giving hospitality to a Wesleyan had brought threats of excommunication. In addition the Bishop had sanctioned the circulation of books and tracts “of the most ultra character, some of them Popish.” Meanwhile, tracts of the evangelical “Religious Tract Society” were banished. The editorial was a cry of alarm in language that “can hardly be too strong” over what had happened, namely that “the Protestant faith ... is so betrayed in Newfoundland.”⁴⁵

Feild’s Tractarian programme continued. On September 22, 1850 he ordained William Kepple White a priest at the Cathedral in St. John’s. This was no ordinary occasion. The previous day, Saturday, the Cathedral was consecrated so “that the Bishop’s chair might be set up, and Divine Service decently celebrated with all due and accustomed solemnities.” The event was attended by 36 clergy, “all in surplices.” It was a flood tide of sacred ceremony. On Sunday, White was ordained. “The solemn character of the Ordination service was much heightened by the presence of so many Clergy on the platform, and the striking suitableness of the noble Cathedral with all its

⁴⁵*Record*, August 19, 1850.

furniture and ornaments.”⁴⁶ White, now a priest with the authority to minister the Holy Communion, headed back to Harbour Buffett.

Not everyone was impressed. On November 18, 1850 the *Record* printed a letter from a clergyman who had observed the consecration of the Cathedral and presented a very different viewpoint. He mentioned the standard Tractarian trademarks such as a raised chancel to the east, a raised communion table, candle sticks placed on the communion table, a chanted service and surplices. In his Charge to the clergy Bishop Feild was taken up with “rites and ceremonies,” and “spoke largely” on baptismal regeneration, saying he felt “bound to do all in his power” to prevent any of his clergy preaching any doctrines contrary to his. At the Monday breakfast meeting with the clergy, Feild apparently spoke “very strongly” concerning the article in the *Record* (August 19) about baptism, denying that a child had been refused baptism, and saying that the child had not been presented to the clergyman. The reverend author thought this was a quibble over the word ‘presented,’ since the parents in question had asked the clergyman to baptize the child, and he refused because “they had not paid to the Church Society.” Another theme was the significance of signing Bishop Feild’s Address to the Archbishop to revive Convocation for determining matters of doctrine. Some of the clergy did not want to sign the Address, if signing it meant they would be pledging themselves to doctrines they disagreed with, for example, baptismal regeneration. At the

⁴⁶*Times*, September 25, 1850.

Tuesday breakfast meeting there was much “warm discussion” over the Address and six of the 17 or 18 did not sign it. During the whole event “neither the Saviour nor the way of salvation were mentioned.” The author stated that he had spoken several times to the Governor [Le Marchant] who “spoke very warmly against Tractarianism.”⁴⁷

The first charge of Tractarianism in Harbour Buffett, namely, the requirement of ‘auricular confession,’ related to White’s new priestly capacity. In April 1851 Edith Kirby, the wife of Samuel, became dangerously ill – in fact, she was dying. Collett charged that she asked for Holy Communion from White, who told her she had to confess her sins. She testified to him that she was a sinner and that “she trusted in the atonement of her Redeemer to save her soul.” That was not enough. White, in addition, “required particular confession of her sins.” She did not do so, and he refused her Holy Communion. She died “about ten hours” later.⁴⁸ This charge against White became quite an issue in Harbour Buffett because of its Tractarian nature and because several people in the community were involved as a result of attending Edith Kirby during her sickness. Collett said that her husband, Samuel Kirby, and Mrs. Thomas Bendle called upon him “purposely’ to give him the details of what happened.”⁴⁹ White denied the charge, calling

⁴⁷*Record*, November 18, 1850.

⁴⁸Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 7.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*,

it “utterly false.”⁵⁰ Hoyles and Robinson determined that “no such confession was required.”⁵¹

It was agreed by all parties that White did not administer Holy Communion to Edith Kirby. Why did he not do so? Bishop Feild testified that White wanted to administer Holy Communion. He visited her four times and was “frequent and earnest in his instructions and exhortations, particularly with a view to administering to her the Holy Communion.”⁵² White himself stated later, “most anxiously did I watch for the indications of that repentance, which would justify me in administering to her the Holy Communion – earnestly did I pray for her, and with her.” Still he said he was not satisfied and “was not able to administer to her the Holy Communion.”⁵³ We have then, from his own testimony and from that of Bishop Feild, that he spent considerable time and effort with this end in view, but did not proceed. He prayed for her and “with her,” which could mean that she prayed also in preparation for receiving the sacrament. So why was it not administered? The charge that White wanted her to make ‘a particular or auricular confession’ of her sins is at least plausible. Bishop Feild suggested that White

⁵⁰[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 14-15.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 5.

⁵²A216 Feild, “Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffet, August 10th 1851,” p. 13.

⁵³[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 14.

did not give her Holy Communion because he “had reason to fear that she had in some respect denied or concealed her former condition or manner of life.”⁵⁴ Bridget Bendle testified that White was not satisfied with Edith Kirby confessing she was a sinner, but wanted her to “call her sins to remembrance and name them, particularly her most besetting sins.”⁵⁵ Even White’s own witness stated that she heard White tell Edith Kirby, “You must call to mind your sins, and confess them to God.”⁵⁶ This is not a great distance from what Bishop Feild himself suggested was White’s reason for his refusal to give her Holy Communion, nor from auricular confession. The practice was far from foreign to Tractarianism. Parsons reported in the *Patriot* in 1847 that Pusey had preached the doctrine at Oxford and encouraged the students to practice it.⁵⁷

On July 30, 1851 Stephen Olive Pack, Justice of the Peace at Lamaline, reported to the Colonial Secretary that the Rev. William Rozier, the local Church of England clergyman, was preaching “the duty and necessity of auricular confession.” Pack said he owed it to his family and the Protestant population to expose the “innovations” that

⁵⁴A216 Feild, “Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffet, August 10th 1851, p. 13.

⁵⁵Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 9.

⁵⁶[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 3. The testimony of White’s other witness, Francis Burton, is thus weak, “he never asked hir to confess hir sins or denied giving hir the Sacrement if she felt a desire to receive it”[sic], p. 4.

⁵⁷*Patriot*, February 13, 1847.

Rozier was introducing to the area.⁵⁸ He wrote the letter on the day that Bishop Feild visited and held Holy Communion in that settlement.⁵⁹ Both White and Rozier had attended Feild's Theological Institution together, and were ordained and sent out as Deacons in 1847.⁶⁰ Thus, auricular confession had become a familiar, if not prominent, theological concept in the Church of England of the day.

It was in 1851 as well that Harbour Buffett officially entered the newspaper debate over the alleged prerequisite of payment to the Church Society for baptism, and again the debate reached across the Atlantic. The Rev. H.P. Disney, the Tractarian clergyman at Harbour Grace, in a letter to the (St. John's) *Times* on December 21, 1850, commented on the November 18 letter to the London *Record* concerning the consecration of the Cathedral. His letter began a concentrated Tractarian-Evangelical debate in Newfoundland newspapers which lasted four years. Through the local newspapers a new voice was given to a debate which up to that time had become widespread in homes, stages, churches, rectories and the bishop's residence. The *Record* was never far in the background.

H. P. Disney came to Labrador from Ireland in 1850 as a recruit of Bishop Feild.⁶¹

⁵⁸GN 2/2 1851, Box 37, July to August Pack to His Honour the Administrator of the Government, July 30, 1851, p. 173.

⁵⁹*Times*, August 30, 1851.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, September 25, 1847.

⁶¹C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900* (London:

He was then stationed temporarily at Harbour Grace to replace the evangelical Rev. John Chapman, who had been in Newfoundland for 26 years. The congregation, in its farewell to Chapman noted that he had taught “the Bible, as the only rule of faith and practice, and this too in an age when strenuous efforts are making to impose upon the people a novel kind of religion, not in accordance with the Protestant principle of our church.”⁶² Disney was of course, a representative of this “novel kind of religion.” To him, the article in the *Record* was another of the “usual periodical attacks upon the Bishop and majority of the clergy in Newfoundland,” but this time it was by one of the local Anglican clergy. Disney disagreed that the Cathedral was costly due to its ornateness, for example, its porch and candlesticks. He conjectured that the candlesticks were not gold, but “only brass.” He denied that certain books which circulated in the diocese were bought with “the Bishop’s money” and that the Bishop “keeps the Saviour and the way of salvation in the background.” He also denied what he regarded as “the principal scandal” in the letter to the *Record*, namely, “the refusing of Baptism to a child of parents who had not paid a subscription to the Church Society.”

I venture to say it is a very perverse and dishonest misrepresentation; and that there is not a single Clergyman in the Diocese who would refuse baptism, or any other ministerial office, or religious consolation to a soul within his reach, because his circumstances are poor – much less be guilty of visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, by refusing to baptize a child because the parent was unable to pay for the services of a Clergyman. This I am quite certain of – that no one

Society’s Office, 1901), “Mission Roll,” p. 857.

⁶²*Times*, October 19, 1850.

would censure such a heartless unfeeling hireling more severely than would the Bishop of Newfoundland.⁶³

On May 21, 1851 the *Times* printed a reply by Thomas E. Collett of Harbour Buffett. The charge of refusal of baptism was far from being a “very perverse and dishonest misrepresentation.” In fact, “in my own family such refusals have taken place” and he could “with ease forward particulars of some six or eight other cases upon first applications.” He also mentioned that “a refusal of a much more serious nature ... took place last week to a poor dying woman.” He said that he was “known of many respectable persons in St. John’s,” would be there in a fortnight, and would speak to Disney or anyone else interested in the subject.⁶⁴

Collett’s letter was published just before his visit to St. John’s on May 31. He went to see Governor Le Marchant over the matter of refusal of baptism for his grandchild and the refusal of Holy Communion to Edith Kirby before her death. The governor suggested that he see Bishop Feild, which he did. However, the bishop “declined entering into the matter.”⁶⁵ Feild told the governor that he would hear Collett’s statement “if such be your Excellency’s wish,” yet, the governor should know that Collett

⁶³*Ibid.*, December 21, 1850. William Charles St. John gave Disney’s letter a wider readership by printing it in his *Weekly Herald and Conception-Bay General Advertiser*, Harbour Grace, January 1, 1851.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, May 21, 1851. The Collett letter was reprinted on May 28 by the *Weekly Herald* of Harbour Grace, the main community of Disney’s Mission.

⁶⁵Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 7.

had already “published the alledged fact *in the newspaper*.” However, Feild agreed to inquire into it “in justice to Mr. White.”⁶⁶ Collett returned to Harbour Buffett and must have wasted no time for on June 3, he obtained affidavits from Samuel Kirby, Bridget Bendle, Charles Tulk, and George Ingram to the effect that refusals regarding baptism and Holy Communion had taken place.⁶⁷ White himself said that in the spring of 1851 the whole “harbor was in a commotion.”⁶⁸

On August 5, 1851 Bishop Feild arrived at Harbour Buffett on his return voyage along the south coast of Newfoundland. He held a hearing on the evening of August 6 regarding “the grave charge” of the denial of the sacrament to Mrs. Kirby. Feild, White and the Church Society portrayed it as very significant that “not one” appeared before them to sustain the Kirby charge during the two hours.⁶⁹ Actually, Samuel Kirby did show up. Feild said he tried “to examine him,” but “he refused to answer any questions addressed to him.”⁷⁰ He simply presented “a written paper in the hand-writing of Mr.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. Feild to Le Marchant, May 31, 1851.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

⁶⁸A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, Harbour Buffett, October 4, 1853.

⁶⁹A216 Feild, “Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffet, August 10th 1851,” pp. 8, 12.

⁷⁰A216 Feild, “Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffet, August 10th 1851,” p. 10.

Collett,” and “declared he would not say one word.”⁷¹ The “written paper” appears to have been a defense, since Feild in referring to it said he could “never receive as evidence the written statement of a person who refused to answer any questions. It would be a piece of injustice to the accused.”⁷²

It is quite possible that Kirby did not speak because he felt that the hearing was hardly “a fair tribunal,” as White called it. It was made up of “the Bishop, his attendants, the Churchwardens and others, with me.”⁷³ Kirby may have felt that it was a little stacked. He may have been uneasy about how Bishop Feild and his panel would frame their questions, and what interpretation they would put on his answers. It was a matter of lack of trust. In addition to the religious divergence, he may have felt at a disadvantage appearing before such an educated group who could write down anything about the proceeding or about what he said, without him being able to understand it. He was only able to sign his name with an X.⁷⁴ They told Kirby to remain. He left.

After visiting Spencer’s Cove at the northern end of the island, Feild returned and addressed the people of Harbour Buffett in the school room on Sunday, August 10, 1851. The address took the form of a lecture read to the people from a prepared manuscript. He

⁷¹[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 15.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷³[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 15.

⁷⁴Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 8.

told the people that not one of the six or eight cases regarding baptism had been brought before him.⁷⁵ This may have been because he never gave them a specific opportunity to state their case. It was also quite likely that some of the men were away at the time. A number of the men from Harbour Buffett fished off Cape St. Mary's and this was the peak of the fishing season.⁷⁶ Similarly, when he visited Spencer's Cove before coming to Harbour Buffett, most of the men were absent, having either gone to St. John's or "in search of bait." Just afterward, when he visited Ragged Island, he entered into his diary, "here, as at Spencer's Cove, the men were absent."⁷⁷

Why did Collett not question Feild in Harbour Buffett? Collett probably had a bad taste in his mouth by this time. As we have seen, he had read the letter of October 12, 1849 in which White stated that he rejected his son's contribution of 5s. to the Church Society out of obedience to his bishop and "the regulations of the Church Society."⁷⁸ He had asked White if he meant by his letter that he was refusing to baptize his grandchildren. White had not replied.⁷⁹ When he wrote to Bishop Feild and informed

⁷⁵[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁶White said in 1854 that they were away from home for six months. A222 SPG Quarterly Report, Harbor Buffet, June 30, 1854.

⁷⁷*Times*, August 30, 1851.

⁷⁸[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 7.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 8, 10.

him about White's stance, Feild had replied that "Mr. White is quite right."⁸⁰ On March 23, 1850, when Collett had gone again to see White, this time with his son Richard, and had asked him to baptize his grandchild, White wrote that he told Collett, "declined to recognize him."⁸¹ Collett had called on Bishop Feild in person but the bishop also "declined entering into the matter."⁸² The bishop's major concern was to provide "justice to Mr. White."⁸³ Referring to Collett, he told the people of Harbour Buffett that he "declined to receive his statements" because neither White nor "all other parties who could give him information on which he could rely" were present.⁸⁴ Having been contradicted by letter, Collett had been then rejected in person. He had also broken a cardinal institutional rule which is never to appeal to the public. Feild told the people at the time, "Neither should I be willing at any time to receive statements against a clergyman from any person who first of all addresses his complaints to the public."⁸⁵ Feild must have had a memory lapse on that day. Collett had been knocking on his door for two years. He had told White in 1849 that he was going to appeal to the public with

⁸⁰Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 5.

⁸¹Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 4. [White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 10.

⁸²Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 7.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸⁴A216 Feild, "Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffet, August 10th 1851," p. 9.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

“a full and true description” of what was happening.⁸⁶ Maybe, by August 6, 1851 he had long past expecting any justice from Bishop Feild.

Feild told the people that it was his duty as bishop to protect them from a clergyman on an “evil or mistaken course” and to protect a faithful clergyman from the attacks of “unreasonable and wicked men.” Naming Collett, he said that he had “used all proper endeavours to conciliate him.” He could not, however, “allow him to rule, and direct, contrary to the directions given ... by the Church Society.”⁸⁷ He spent a considerable amount of time reinforcing the point that the clergyman had the authority of both him and the Church Society to “demand” an annual payment of one dollar or a quintal of fish from “all who can afford it.” He quoted several verses of Scripture to make this claim and shrewdly stated that it was “most plainly an Evangelical precept.” Anyone who did not pay the required amount was understood by the Church to have “declined” the services of the clergyman.⁸⁸ In this way he did not require the Church to say it would “refuse” to offer the services of the clergy. Thus, all the weight of responsibility was placed on the individual who did not pay. Bishop Feild enforced his point by saying that such people had to think about “how they can answer it to Christ and

⁸⁶[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 8.

⁸⁷A216 Feild, “Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffet, August 10th 1851,” pp. 1, 3.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 8.

the Church to deprive their little ones” of these benefits.⁸⁹

The admonition overlooks the fact that it was the Church which decreed the condition on which services to “their little ones” were based in the first place. What appears to be even more indefensible on the part of Bishop Feild is that the year before he sat in the school in Harbour Buffett and addressed the people, Ernest Hawkins, the Secretary of the SPG, had sent him a letter, dated August 22, 1850, in which Hawkins stated that “a Clergyman, wherever stationed, is bound to administer the Sacraments of the Church without regard to the point whether Church dues have been satisfied or not.”⁹⁰

The remainder of his lecture was taken up with the Edith Kirby case. He found no fault with White whatsoever. He told the people that their minister was a wonderful example of “faithfulness, care and affectionate concern.”⁹¹ Similarly, he noted in his journal (for publication), that he “investigated a charge of refusal to administer the Holy Sacrament to a dying woman, advanced against the missionary in a letter published in a St. John’s Newspaper.” He concluded after interviewing “several witnesses” that instead of neglecting his duty, White “had been most kind and unremitting in visiting and

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹⁰The later testimony of Ernest Hawkins to the Duke of Newcastle, April 22, 1854. Feild said he had no recollection of the letter. He then stated that he supported the opinion that a clergyman should not be allowed to withhold services “merely because Church-dues have not been satisfied.” *Courier*, June 10, 1854.

⁹¹A216 Feild, “Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffet, August 10th 1851,” p. 16.

instructing her.”⁹² This was clever. There was little doubt that White warranted his bishop’s praise and in his visitation White was a stellar example to all clergy. But why did White not serve Holy Communion to Edith Kirby? This was the question that the bishop refused to address, and he did not mention ‘auricular confession.’ Instead he spoke to what was not in dispute.

Nor did the bishop mention the candles on the communion table, another cause of controversy. Candles in that position without a utilitarian function had considerable emotive significance and they were quite aggravating to the people of Harbour Buffett. ‘Omega’ stated in a letter to the *Public Ledger* that White placed the candles on the Communion Table about three weeks before the arrival of the Bishop in 1851 and it so “displeased the aged and respectable part of the inhabitants ... they absented themselves from the church.”⁹³ Not only that, someone entered the church at night “and the candles therein displayed” were “cut into pieces and strewed all over it.”⁹⁴ This was the very church the people had worked so hard to build just a decade before, and two-thirds or

⁹²*Times*, August 30, 1851.

⁹³*Public Ledger*, August 26, 1851. “Omega” may have been John Haddon back in Harbour Buffett from Bonavista for the summer. It was not Collett. See *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 14. ‘Paul Pry,’ wrote from Placentia Bay that he noticed a decrease in subscriptions to the Church Society, “particularly in Beaufit.” What could make them less still? His answer: “merely to apply the *Puseyite Lucifer match* to the candles in the church of that harbour.” *Express*, May 10, 1853.

⁹⁴Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 7.

more of the inhabitants deserted it for months.⁹⁵

It was this issue that the people expected Bishop Feild to address when he called a public meeting in the school room. However, Bishop Feild made no reference to “Puseyistical aggression, in the tangible shape of candles placed over the communion table” and gave those present no opportunity to speak. Instead, he focussed on telling the people that they must pay the Church Society “in either fish or cash or else exclusion from the rites of the church” would result. He heaped “in profusion encomiums” on Rev. Mr. White. The writer concluded that scarcely anyone left the meeting, “but who was deeply offended with such glaring sophistry.” He attested that indeed there were refusals of baptisms in the community and that the sacrament was denied to “a dying penitent.” He contended that such doctrine and practices “will not be endured by the inhabitants of Harbour Beaufette.”⁹⁶

When White refused Collett and his family Holy Communion a year later, one of the reasons he gave was that Collett had not “publicly withdrawn ... the candle story.”⁹⁷ Collett replied that he would address that issue when White proved that “there were not two new mould candles placed over the communion table, and none at the same time placed in the other usual places of the church as was before customary.”⁹⁸ John Hollett

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶*Public Ledger*, August 26, 1851.

⁹⁷Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 14.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 15.

also testified that before the bishop's arrival, new candles were placed on the communion table only. He said he specifically asked White if he was planning night services and White said he was not. This ruled out any utilitarian function for the candles.⁹⁹ When writing about 'the Candle story' White used his standard "false and malicious" terminology to describe the protest of the people and stated that all he did was clean up the candle ends and place new candles in the church. The old ones had been there since 1847. He said he told Collett that "the Lord Bishop had nothing whatever to do with the exchange." He also made the charge that Mr. Collett went "from house to house" and disturbed the congregation "during divine service."¹⁰⁰ Later, however, he omitted that charge. What is most noticeable about his later Church Society pamphlet account of the event, was the addition of over a page in order for "the candle story ... to be more particularly explained." The readership in view for this additional explanation was not the people in Harbour Buffett or in Newfoundland, but "Christian people in England." Bishop Feild and his Church Society were obviously concerned about a sensitivity in England to the use of candles on the communion table. The pamphlet asserted that the charge was "concocted" by people to serve "their private ends" and by Dissenters who fervently want to obstruct the Church of England.¹⁰¹ Thus neither Bishop Feild nor White

⁹⁹Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 37.

¹⁰⁰A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

¹⁰¹[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 16-17.

nor the Church Society nor its Secretary, Archdeacon Bridge, acknowledged that there were people in Harbour Buffett who were genuinely offended by this disregard of their spiritual values.

Robinson and Hoyles later accused Collett of claiming in his pamphlet, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, that Bishop Feild told White to light the candles on the communion table.¹⁰² This charge is nowhere in Collett's pamphlet. A writer in Collett's pamphlet later observed that even if the lawyers' inclusion of the charge is treated "as a blunder, it may be fairly taken as a criterion of the value of this legal opinion."¹⁰³ All Collett claimed was that there were "two new mold candles placed over the communion table, and none at the same time placed in the other usual places of the church."¹⁰⁴ He said he had not heard of the charge before and would content himself in "reminding the legal gentlemen they have made themselves in this instance *witnesses* as well as prosecutors, jury, and judges," which was "as bad a defence ... as any two bad lawyers ever did."¹⁰⁵

Still, it is hard to deny that Bishop Feild preferred that candles be placed on the communion table. The Bishop was a man fastidious in ceremonial detail as we see in his

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 5. They delivered the results of their investigation, November 8, 1853.

¹⁰³Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 26.

¹⁰⁴Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁵Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 8.

various ‘charges to the clergy.’¹⁰⁶ In a Charge to his clergy in Bermuda he noted that among the ornaments “most common” in churches in England and in some churches in Bermuda were “two lights, of course, on candlesticks ... set on the Altar.” Speaking of these and other ornaments in some of the churches, he told his clergy, “I heartily wish they were adopted with due honor, in all.”¹⁰⁷ Therefore, it is difficult to agree with White and the Church Society that Bishop Feild “probably never noticed them.”¹⁰⁸ If Feild looked for anything positive to say in his lecture at the schoolhouse, he knew well not to compliment the people on the communion table candles in their church at Harbour Buffett.

Frederick Jones attempted to dismiss the resistance of the people of Harbour Buffett by simply referring to it as “the Collett Case.” He then dismissed Collett by saying that he had “a long history of quarrels with the local clergy.”¹⁰⁹ This is hardly a sufficient analysis. As for William Kepple White, we have seen that the resistance he met at Harbour Buffett went far beyond “the Collett Case” and far beyond “payment to the

¹⁰⁶For example, 1844, 1845.

¹⁰⁷Quoted from Bishop Feild’s Charge to Clergy of Bermuda, 1849 in Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 15.

¹⁰⁸[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁹Frederick Jones, “Bishop Feild: A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland,” p. 147.

Church Society.”¹¹⁰ Collett just happened to be one of the people who resisted and was able to give that resistance a voice in print. Maybe Jones is unintentionally right in saying that Collett “had little support in Harbour Buffett.”¹¹¹ What was happening there was not a matter of a people following a leader, but of a people being affronted and demoralized by a bishop and his clergy who attempted to dispossess them of their evangelical spirituality and substitute another.

There is no reason to think that religion was not the primary motive for the rejection of Bishop Feild in Harbour Buffett in 1851. To refuse to accept it as such is to engage in a phenomenon that Henry Glassie has pointed to: “The academic historian seems tempted to dismiss religious people as marginal ... and to probe beneath religious motives for worldlier goals deemed to be more real.”¹¹² Other, secular reasons may have had an impact, but they are not easily identifiable. What is clear is that in Harbour Buffett in 1851, there was, to use E.P. Thompson’s words, “a very vigorous self-activating culture of the people” which was “resistant to any form of external domination.”¹¹³ Yet it was a culture that accommodated itself to the Tractarian tendencies over time, but the people would only go so far. In 1926, three-quarters of a century later,

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*,

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹¹²Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), p. 21.

¹¹³E. P. Thompson, “Eighteenth-century English Society,” *Social History*, 3, 2 (May, 1978), p. 164.

they were still resisting. The High Church cleric, Rev. A. Shorter, supported by one of the local merchants, tried again to place candles on the altar. The 30 plus men who were present at the vestry meeting refused to permit it.¹¹⁴

A key means to Feild's long-term success in Harbour Buffett was his use of the school system. He began this strategy in 1852. The School Society had provided the only education for Harbour Buffett for most of the previous decade, especially under the able leadership of John Haddon. The Church of England hierarchy from Bishop Feild at the top to White at the bottom had only one goal for the School Society in Harbour Buffett, and that was to supplant it. They were convinced that only in this way could they erase the evangelical movement in the settlement. White saw the school system as the primary vehicle for maintaining the Church of England and his version of it in the bay. He told the SPG with reference to the Methodists, for example, "I am persuaded that two fine settlements now in the hands of Methodist (Ranters) would have been wholly of our Communion and *in my charge* at this time if I could have found teachers to superintend schools and to act as Lay Readers."¹¹⁵

Maybe he thought that the school was the key to Sound Island becoming Methodist, but it was not the only factor. In 1850 Charles Downes was stationed there,

¹¹⁴Diary of John Collett, October 26, 1926. Property of David Collett, St. John's, Newfoundland.

¹¹⁵A197 White, Harbour Buffett, Report to SPG, Christmas, 1853.

but he was no ordinary school teacher and lay reader.¹¹⁶ He was an ardent Methodist missionary who visited the other islands and coves in inner Placentia Bay. He was also granted a license to celebrate marriages by Governor Bannerman, “at the instance of Lady Bannerman.”¹¹⁷ And he was not alone. Martha Downes, his wife, taught side by side with him at the day school on Sound Island.¹¹⁸ And not only that, she was “much the more popular preacher. The little Church was usually thronged when this mother in Israel declaimed. She had a wonderful faculty of investing Gospel narratives, a thousand times told, with interest.”¹¹⁹ White could have observed Sound Island a little more closely. The Methodist Church was built there in 1847 three years before the schoolteacher showed up.¹²⁰ It had been the major Methodist station in inner Placentia Bay since the Methodist minister from Burin began visiting in 1817.¹²¹ By 1857 there were only two

¹¹⁶T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church Eastern British America*, Vol. II (Halifax: S. F. Huestis, n.d.), pp. 372-373.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 373.

¹¹⁸WY 500 Rev. Naboth Winsor Box 4/7 “The Sound Island Mission” Quoted from the *Courier*, June 8, 1859.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.* “Mrs. Martha Downes, Faithful in that which is least.” It is likely that when White reported to the SPG that “a man and woman of the class called Ranters are resident,” his reference was to Charles and Martha Downes. A197 White, Harbour Buffett, Report to SPG, Christmas, 1853.

¹²⁰WY 500 Rev. Naboth Winsor Box 4/7 “The Sound Island Mission.”

¹²¹T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church Eastern British America*, Vol. II, p. 57.

members of the Church of England left on the island.¹²²

Not only White, but Bishop Feild himself saw exclusively controlled Church of England schools as a major strategy in the success of his Tractarian mission. It was for this reason that from his arrival in Newfoundland in 1844 until his success in 1874 he persistently contended for the subdivision of the Protestant government grant in order to have a denominational system of education.¹²³ Feild had promoted a major offensive on the House of Assembly to acquire public funding for separate Church of England schools in 1850 when the Education Act was about to expire. Church of England clergy from all over the Colony sent in petitions requesting a subdivision of the Protestant grant so that the denomination could have schools “placed under the direction of the Clergy and other members of that Church only”¹²⁴ Feild claimed he had the right to have schools that were governed exclusively by the Church of England.¹²⁵ All the petitions and protestations were to no avail, however. Henry Winton reported on May 23, 1851 that on that day the

¹²²*Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1857.

¹²³Frederick Jones, “Religion, Education and Politics in Newfoundland, 1836-1875,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XII (December 1970) : 64-76.

¹²⁴*Journal of the House of Assembly*, February 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 1850; February 5, 6, 17, March 13, May 5, 1851. Ambrose Shea presented such a petition from William Kepple White and Thomas G. [sic] Collett on February 5. Maybe Collett thought that since the Newfoundland School Society school in Harbour Buffett was made up completely of Church of England members, the school would receive a grant under the new arrangement. Only a couple of Church of England congregations or portions of congregations protested the request, notably, Porte de Grave, February 14, 1850 and Harbour Grace, February 10, 1851.

¹²⁵*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1850, p. 23.

Assembly voted to continue with two Education Boards, Protestant and Roman Catholic.

It was “all that could be done.”¹²⁶

Newfoundland School Society schools were an impediment in attaining Feild’s goal since the Church of England school for which he contended was without an evangelical perspective. He wrote an extensive letter to the *Public Ledger* saying that, although he did not interfere with the Newfoundland School Society, he could not cooperate with it. It was “not the organ of the Established Church of England at all.”¹²⁷ He thus cut the lines and set adrift a ship that up to that time had supplied the Church of England well. Bishop Spencer at Trinity Harbour had underlined its significance to the church:

At distant stations, which from the paucity of clergymen hitherto employed in this colony could enjoy but little to the ministerial care, the teachers of the Newfoundland School Society have held together the congregations of the Church of England, by acting gratuitously as readers of the Divine Service on every Sabbath, and by instructing them in their religious and moral duties under the sanction of ecclesiastical authority.¹²⁸

The first indication that White had set up a second Church of England school at Harbour Buffett in competition with the Newfoundland School Society is found in the minutes of the district meeting of the Protestant Board of Education which met at the

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, May 23, 1851.

¹²⁷*Public Ledger*, February 26, 1850.

¹²⁸MG 595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, *Newfoundland School Society*, Annual Report, 1841.

Courthouse in Placentia on July 3, 1850 with White as chairman.¹²⁹ White wrote in his report that Board-assisted schools were “established by their Chairman” at Oderin, Isle Valen, Woody Island, Sound Island, Spencer’s Cove and Harbour Buffett. In his statement of accounts for the year 1849 he entered £10 for himself and over £5 for books on July 4.¹³⁰ It looks like he took advantage of the vacancy created by John Haddon’s departure to start a school at Harbour Buffett unrelated to the Newfoundland School Society. Ann Maria, a daughter of Thomas Bendle, said that the school was “greatly altered since Mr. Haddon left and “scarcely one attends it now.” Mr White had taken over and taught the children for two hours a day all winter.¹³¹ The School Society provided another teacher in 1850.¹³² The next notation in the *Journal of the House of Assembly* for education at Harbour Buffett under the Protestant Board was £30 for James

¹²⁹Afterwards the Board met in Harbour Buffett, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1851, p. 243.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 1851, Appendix, Education, “Statement of Accounts Presented at the Meeting of Protestant Board of Education for Placentia Bay,” July 3, 1850, p. 83.

¹³¹Appendix, Ann Maria Bendle to Emma Collett, April 11, 1850.

¹³²Appendix, Collett, to Rev. Henry Deck, Secretary to British North American School Society, February 9, 1857. Deck was Secretary of the Church of England School Society in 1850, but just a member of the Committee of the Colonial Church and School Society in 1857. See *Proceedings of the Church of England School Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, Twenty-seventh, 1849-1850* (London: George Barclay, 1850), p.iii and *The Annual Report for the Year 1856-1857 of the Colonial Church and School Society* (London: Society’s Office, 1857), p. ii.

Burton with 37 students in 1852.¹³³ Bridge who wrote the report as chairman was able to circumvent the law. He was not able to have an Education Act passed for separate Church of England schools “under the direction ... of that church only.” But just such a school was started at Harbour Buffett and paid for with public funds.

Bishop Feild and the Church of England hierarchy supported this highly questionable act. Children all over Placentia Bay were in need of schools. But the Protestant Board had very limited funds. White had urged the legislature to provide more money “for the purposes of Education within the Placentia district.”¹³⁴ He had already reported that only 111 Protestant children out of 1200 in Placentia Bay were being educated. He wrote: “It is hoped that the necessity of the appeal for further funds will be attempted by the legislature.”¹³⁵ Yet, despite the paucity of funds, a significant proportion of the Education Board’s budget for the district was spent to start a second Church of England school in Harbour Buffett with a Tractarian agenda in competition with the evangelical members of the Church of England who were running the school of the Newfoundland School Society. Thus, Feild, Bridge and White furthered their particular agenda at the expense of parents and children crying out for education in other parts of

¹³³ *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1855, Appendix, Education, “Protestant Central Board Report 1852-1853,” Harbour Buffett, p. 92. Haddon said the school was started in 1851, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1859, Appendix, Education, p. 279.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1851, Appendix, Education, p. 83.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1848/49, Appendix, Education Reports, p. 404.

the bay.

Collett protested that in 1852 White “without the sanction of the Board at any legal meeting” appropriated £30 for a rival school of less than half the attendance of the other. He said that the School Society’s school could accommodate all the children of the community. Therefore, the funding of the second school was “a waste of the public funds.” Moreover this waste occurred while “many other places in the district are unprovided for.”¹³⁶ Similarly, John Haddon wrote as the Superintendent of the Protestant Education Board: “In 1851 the Board commenced an opposition school. The injustice done to the Society is to be regretted, and likewise the loss the harbor will sustain, for the Teachers stationed there by the Society were superior to any that the Board have engaged ... I am happy to say that I know of no other place where the Board grant has been thus misapplied.”¹³⁷

The hierarchy of the Church of England was thus able to take the funding for education and use it not only for its denominational purpose, but for its specific Tractarian purpose in the Harbour Buffett Mission. The Church was also positioned to dispense other expanding government services. In 1843 James Crowdy, the Colonial Secretary, appointed Thomas E. Collett and James Butler as Road Commissioners at

¹³⁶GN 2/2 1856 July to September Box 45, pp. 391-393. Collett to Kent, September 22, 1856.

¹³⁷*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1859, Appendix, Education, p. 279.

Harbour Buffett.¹³⁸ The House of Assembly had allotted £800 pounds for Placentia and St. Mary's Bays for roads and bridges. Of that amount Harbour Buffett was given £25.¹³⁹ It was Collett "and others" whose name appeared on petitions to the Assembly for roads from 1844 to 1846.¹⁴⁰ However, Collett's influence was diminished over time. This was partly due to road work becoming the main way to qualify for government relief during the difficult years 1847-1849. Road work thus became subsumed under relief and Collett was not one of the Relief Commissioners. They were W. Kepple White, James Butler and John Haddon. Crowdy in his letter to them on October 16, 1847 authorized them to spend the £20 left over for roads for Harbour Buffett. This was in addition to relief in the amount £50 of Indian meal and molasses they were to dole out in return for work on the roads.¹⁴¹ Thus the Commissioners of Relief supervised both relief and road work.

Collett's new role was to bring the Indian meal and molasses from St. John's to Harbour Buffett.¹⁴² However, Collett was no longer on this very important board. Thomas Hann's name increased the board to four members the following year.¹⁴³ They

¹³⁸GN 2/19/3 Box 1, 1843-1849, July 29, 1843, p. 34.

¹³⁹*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1843, p.156.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 1844, p. 17; 1845, p. 17; 1846, p. 45.

¹⁴¹GN 2/1/A, Vol. 46, pp. 375-376.

¹⁴²GN 2/1/A, Vol. 46, Crowdy to Commissioners of Relief, Harbour Buffett, December 30, 1847.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, Vol. 47, p. 158.

continued to dispense government relief in 1849.¹⁴⁴ When Haddon resigned and left the community in 1849, it meant that the people of Harbour Buffett received government relief from the hands of White, Butler and Hann. This gave them considerable power and influence. For the fisherman and his family, getting through the winters of 1847 to 1849 was a daunting task. If it were not for government meal a number may have starved. But it was to the clergyman that the hungry had to turn in order to receive the government meal. This may have instilled a hesitation on the part of the people to go against White when in 1849 he started collecting for the Church Society and when his Tractarian theology became more evident. The people did not know how hard the winter would be, or the next. Theology was important, but it was meal that staved off the pang of hunger for oneself and one's family. White was thus in a position not only to refuse people the spiritual services of baptism and visitation, but also to withhold the physical necessities of life. Not an insignificant power over a people. Maybe to gain a measure of independence, in 1850 Collett himself received two barrels of Indian meal for "two poor families" in addition to the eight barrels allotted to White.¹⁴⁵

The winter of 1852-1853 was another particularly difficult one. Fish and herring were "exceedingly scarce."¹⁴⁶ Christopher Ayre, the acting Colonial Secretary, authorized

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

¹⁴⁵*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1851, Appendix, pp. 132-133.

¹⁴⁶GN 2/2 Box 41, 1853, p. 57.

the Relief Commissioners of Harbour Buffett to expend £40 worth of Indian meal in return for work on the roads. He included Collett in his list of Commissioners.¹⁴⁷ The distress must have been acute. The Commissioners reported on January 7 that 15 heads of families qualified for relief.¹⁴⁸ The report was written by White, and signed by himself, Butler and Hann. Collett's name was absent. White was the chairperson and main force on the committee. He included with the report a letter signed only by himself stating his dissatisfaction with the procedure of receiving a petition from the poor for dispensing relief. The process was too public. He wanted a "strictly private" process whereby an amount of food was purchased unknown to the people. The committee could then "exercise our discretion" as to who would receive it. Presently, people signed for relief and knew the committee had it. As a result if they refused to distribute it, the relief had the effect of "exciting people who for every reason ought to be kept quiet." Not only that said White, but "threats have already been uttered against myself and the store in which the relief is kept."¹⁴⁹ There was also discord within the Committee. White, Hann and Butler stated they had to withdraw from Collett's company because he made "certain unjust charges and very false statements" against them.¹⁵⁰ It is questionable whether they had authority to exclude Collett as commissioner, but the result was to keep the

¹⁴⁷GN 2/1/A Vol. 48, September 27, 1852, p. 367.

¹⁴⁸GN 2/2 Box 41, 1853, p. 56.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 51-54.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, April 19, 1853, pp. 431-432.

dispensing of relief within the control of the Tractarian faction within the church.

Evangelicals may have wondered whether the commissioners would ‘exercise discretion’ in their favour to feed their families if they spoke out too loudly against the Tractarianism of White. White, himself, was aware of the persuasive power of having barrels of Indian meal in a time of hunger. He later charged that an agent of the Newfoundland School Society attempted “to draw away my scholars and people by offers of meal and molasses.”¹⁵¹ Needless to say, the power of such ‘drawing’ was normally in the hands of White himself.

It appears that White felt keenly any challenge to his power. There was a challenge, of course, as long as the Newfoundland School Society existed in the community. Collett, who was a trader and a justice of the peace, was another challenge.¹⁵² As a result there was a kind of counterbalance to White, Hann and Butler. This made for a much more healthy situation than in Harbour Breton where Philip Tocque reported that the mercantile house of Newman and Company controlled not only buying and selling but government services as well.¹⁵³ Such control, he said, was “subversive of that independence of mind which every man ought to possess, and which invades and violates the sacred rights of conscience.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ A222 Annual Report to SPG, October 23, 1854.

¹⁵² *Royal Gazette*, October 2, 1849.

¹⁵³ GN 2/2, Tocque to Crowdy, August 28, 1848, p. 701.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 702.

In summary, Harbour Buffett was indeed in quite a state of 'commotion' in the late 1840s and early 1850s. White was introducing changes in the internal arrangement of the church building, in addition to placing candles on the communion table, to make it more conformable to Tractarian worship. He was enforcing payment of Church Society dues on pain of being refused church sacraments, and was leaning toward the practice of auricular confession. He started a school in competition with that of the Newfoundland School Society and was in a powerful position as chairman of the Relief Commission. He had significant support in such people as Butler and Hann, but many were aghast at the threat to their spiritual values. Given such agitation, one wonders how Collett's pamphlet, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, could have caught Bishop Feild and his hierarchy by surprise in 1853.

Chapter 6

Opposition to Bishop Feild: 1853-1857

The publication of pamphlets was a significant means used to voice opposition to Bishop Feild and also to meet that opposition. Collett published the first pamphlet with particular reference to Harbour Buffett, against which White wrote a letter to the Church Society. This letter was changed, not insignificantly, by the Society and published as a pamphlet to which was appended a legal opinion of two prominent lawyers concerning the charges against William Kepple White. Governor Hamilton came to Collett's defense, published a pamphlet, and had the matter of mandatory payments to the Church Society referred to the Secretary of the SPG. Archdeacon Bridge and Bishop Feild defended themselves and the Church Society with pamphlets. At the same time newspapers in Newfoundland and Britain related or responded to the controversies raised in the pamphlets. Collett published a final pamphlet which included his second critique of Bishop Feild and another critique by a third party. St. Thomas's figured large in the latter part. The pamphlet was never responded to in any official way by the Church. Although the evangelicals held their own in the press, they were unable to meet the power and authority which Feild held as bishop of the church. At Harbour Buffett the final loss for the people was the withdrawal of the Newfoundland School Society.

On August 11, 1853 White received from a friend a pamphlet which he described as of "a most scandalous nature," since both his name and that of Bishop Feild were

“freely used.”¹ The pamphlet was *The Church of England in Newfoundland* by Thomas E. Collett. The full title was considerably longer. It continued:

As Indicated in a Correspondence between Thomas E. Collett, Esq., J. P., and the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland and the Rev. W.K. White, a Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Beaufet, in Placentia Bay. Also: Some Evidence in Proof of the Statements: with a few additional facts from various sources shewing the Tractarian tendencies of some of the missionaries of the Society under the countenance of the Ecclesiastical Authorities.

The pamphlet was printed by Joseph Woods of the *Courier*, a Methodist who identified with evangelicals of all stripes. In 1851 Woods published the *Newfoundland Guardian* which he offered as “the rallying point ... to orthodox Protestant Christians of all denominations.” Their one center of unity was the Lord Jesus Christ. They differed “only in ceremonial details.”² Woods felt that not only evangelical Anglicans, but also Methodists were threatened by Feild’s Tractarianism.³

In the preface Collett stated that he had “no other object” than to bring before the members of the Church of England “the anti-protestant practices which are allowed to prevail in the Colonial Church in Newfoundland; and also the arbitrary and unchristian refusals of the Sacraments.”⁴ The pamphlet consists mainly of correspondence - letters between Collett and Bishop Feild, between Collett and White, the local clergyman at

¹A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

²*The Newfoundland Guardian and Christian Intelligencer*, 1:1 (January 1851) : 1-2.

³Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation*, pp. 236f., 266.

⁴Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 2.

Harbour Buffett, and between Collett and Rev. H.P. Disney, who replaced the evangelical Rev. John Chapman at Harbour Grace. It has letters to the *Public Ledger*, the *Times* and the *Newfoundland Guardian*. It also contains the affidavits of some members of the church at Harbour Buffett, a list of Tractarian changes to various churches in Newfoundland, and an article on Tractarianism. The letters and items focus on two issues – whether the Church of England had a right to demand payment for services and whether it had a right to make Tractarian changes when people did not want them. The two were related, since in some cases residents refused to give to the Church Society out of dissatisfaction with theological and ceremonial changes. The last section of the pamphlet speaks of the “offensive deformities” of Tractarianism outside of Harbour Buffett.⁵ Two letters draw attention also to the re-baptism of children at Lamaline and Burin who had been previously baptized by Wesleyan ministers. The final item is a cry of alarm over the new Tractarianism of Archdeacon Bridge and the changes at St. John’s Church and at St. Thomas’s, also in the city. It mentions the names of several clergymen who left Newfoundland because of Bishop Feild’s enforcement of “almost every Tractarian practice and doctrine that is taught or practiced.”⁶

In response to Collett’s pamphlet, on October 4 White wrote to the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society whose officers included Bishop Feild, H. W. Hoyles,

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 25.

Bryan Robinson and C. F. Bennett.⁷ The Committee received the letter on October 17 from Bishop Feild.⁸ It was revised and published as a pamphlet in early December, 1853.⁹ The title was simply *Published under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society in Conformity with a Resolution passed the 17th October, 1853*, and it included two other letters each by White and Collett, and an appendix consisting of two letters to Archdeacon Bridge, two ‘declarations’ of witnesses, and a legal opinion and letter by Bryan Robinson, Q.C. and H.W. Hoyles, the Acting Solicitor General.¹⁰

White had not immediately responded to Collett’s pamphlet. Instead, when he received it, he continued traveling about his “extensive Mission” in Placentia Bay, which he said was far more “delightful and important” than paying attention to “the attacks of slanderers.”¹¹ He changed his mind, however, after “the arrival of Collett’s boat” when he had returned to Harbour Buffett. It seems that Collett brought mail which stated that the pamphlet was having some impact in St. John’s, and he then concluded that it was

⁷*The Twelfth Annual Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, June 8, 1853 (St. John’s: J.T. Burton, 1853), p. 3.

⁸Thomas F. H. Bridge, M.A., Archdeacon and Pro-Secretary, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society in a Letter to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese* (St. John’s: J. T. Burton, 1854), p. 4.

⁹Henry Winton had a copy by December 6, *Public Ledger*, December 6, 1853.

¹⁰(St. John’s: J.T. Burton, 1853).

¹¹A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

“absolutely necessary ... to write some explanation” of the pamphlet “to remove the doubts of well-wishers.”¹² It is possible that he heard also that Collett’s pamphlet was having an impact in England, for the *Record* drew attention to Collett’s *Church of England in Newfoundland* on September 5, before it had received any press in Newfoundland. According to White this was “the first information of its existence, that many Churchmen in this Colony received.”¹³

The *Record* quoted several sections of the pamphlet in the context of requesting the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the SPG to hold colonial bishops more accountable when complaints were made, since they sent the bishops large amounts of money. The editor deemed it unreasonable for the missionary at Harbour Buffett to refuse Richard Collett the baptism of his child for not paying 10s. to the Church Society. Collett already had paid 6s. for “sittings’ in church, 6s. to the School Society, and had then offered 6s. to the Church Society. He noted that the bishop totally supported the missionary, saying that since Collett was earning £30 annually “he and every man who earns so much as that can pay that amount and more.” The editor judged that there were few in England who gave 18s. to the church out of similar earnings. He also mentioned that George Ingram was refused baptism for his child and Edith Kirby was refused Holy Communion because she never engaged in “particular or auricular

¹²A216 White to Bishop Feild, October 4, 1853.

¹³[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 4.

confession.” He agreed with Collett’s pamphlet that Bishop Feild’s investigation of the latter charge and his defense of White “entirely passes over the real charge.” The bishop simply stated that the missionary gave Mrs. Kirby quite good pastoral care.¹⁴ The *Record* also printed a letter on September 15 entitled “Tractarianism in Newfoundland.” The writer, referring to Collett’s pamphlet, expressed dismay over what he called “the cruel tyranny of these Tractarians” described in it. He was especially struck by their refusing baptism because by it they were refusing “what they believe to be the only means of conferring regeneration ... so that on their principles they are doing what in them lies to destroy people’s souls.”¹⁵

White’s strategy was to attempt to demonize Collett in particular, and the opposition in general. He charged that Collett committed “every act his malice could invent” to injure him and his family.¹⁶ Yet according to John Haddon, Collett paid men to haul wood for White in 1849, and constantly provided him with milk. Haddon also said, “I never knew him to kill an animal for his own use without sending a portion to the parsonage.”¹⁷ White questioned the sworn statements that Collett acquired, saying that he “read what he wrote, or what he did not write,” implying that the witnesses were not aware of the content of the statements. Not only Collett, but all who contributed to the

¹⁴*Record*, September 5, 1853.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, September 15, 1853.

¹⁶A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

¹⁷*Courier*, April 22, 1854.

pamphlet were “slanderers.” This would have included the people of Harbour Buffett who were witnesses, for example George Ingram and Bridget Bendle of whom Collett said, “I presume, that every Minister who has visited this Bay for the last thirty years, would defend her from imputation.”¹⁸ White specifically charged that the affidavit of Samuel Masters was “grossly false” and that Samuel Kirby’s declaration was “word for word a mass of falsehoods, as vile as it is possible to utter.” The correspondence to the *Public Ledger* by “Omega” was called “that foolish and wicked letter.” He repudiated the whole pamphlet, saying that “all the worst passions of the human mind have been engaged in this concoction of falsehood and deception.”¹⁹

The Committee of the Church Society did not publish White’s letter in the original. Several changes were made “under the Direction” of the Committee. Some of White’s denigrating language was deleted or changed – for example, the discrediting of Samuel Kirby’s testimony was changed from “a mass of falsehoods, as vile as it is possible to utter” to “a fabrication.”²⁰ The description of Collett as “possessed of an evil

¹⁸Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 5.

¹⁹A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853. Three months later he reported to the SPG that Collett was “a violent unchristian individual of a reputation which renders him beneath contempt.” A197 White, Harbour Buffett, Report to SPG, Christmas 1853. The SPG published a large portion of White’s report, but left out this section. *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the year 1854* (London: Printed for the Society, 1854), pp. lviii-lx.

²⁰[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 13.

spirit,” crossed out in the letter by him or by someone at the Church Society, was omitted in the pamphlet. However, the general “direction” of the gentlemen of the Committee was a more extensive and intensive condemnation than White had made in his letter. As Feild said of the Committee, “they know their places and duties.”²¹ They particularly faulted Methodists, laying blame for the printing of the “sinister” pamphlet with “its poison” at “a press avowedly the organ of the Dissenters.”²² Addressing the controversy about the candles being placed on the Communion Table, they declared that such statements were “usually concocted and propagated by individuals in the Colony, to serve their private ends, and by Dissenters from our Church, who are wonderfully zealous in obstructing her usefulness.”²³ They also cut deeper. The pamphlet added an assertion that not only were the charges against White “absolutely false” but also “I think must be known to be false by those who published them.”²⁴ This accusation of deliberate falsification included those who signed sworn statements regarding Edith Kirby being denied Holy Communion. The affidavits “must have been known to be false when they were made.”²⁵ White was also made to say that the purpose of the whole “wicked”

²¹A216 Feild, “Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffet, August 10th 1851,” p. 7.

²²[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 4.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 11.

proceeding was to use him as a means “to assail my Bishop.” And his bishop himself “desires and endeavours to teach the pure and simple Gospel of Christ.”²⁶ No such references were made in the original letter. This may have been the hand of Thomas F. H. Bridge, the Secretary of the Committee who once was very much at home in evangelical circles.

Two other members of the Committee who ‘directed’ White’s letter were Bryan Robinson, Q.C. and H. W. Hoyles, the Acting Solicitor General. Their legal opinion on the charges in Collett’s pamphlet was appended to White’s. They considered only two of the charges in the pamphlet and one that was not. They did not speak to the witnesses involved or take sworn statements.²⁷ Yet, they still delivered up the opinion that “the whole of the charges are utterly devoid of truth.”²⁸ Not only so, “but they must have been published with a knowledge of their falsehood.”²⁹

The two must have come to a hasty decision. The Committee of the Church Society received White’s letter on October 17, and it immediately directed Robinson and Hoyles “to investigate its allegations”³⁰ Three weeks later on November 8, they delivered

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 15, 18.

²⁷Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 6.

²⁸[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, Appendix, p. 4.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁰Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 4.

their report.³¹ But the Committee was hampered in that it did not have the Collett pamphlet. They had to find one “to be laid before the Committee at an early day, as neither the Bishop, nor his commissary nor any member of this Committee is in possession of a copy of the Pamphlet.”³² Feild said he had read White’s letter but “without the Pamphlet ... the commentary is unintelligible.”³³ Not having Collett’s pamphlet did not bother the lawyers, however. They delivered their opinion without ever seeing it, which perhaps explains why they addressed only two of the charges in the pamphlet, and one that was not in it at all. On November 25 they informed the Committee that they had received “the Pamphlet,” but their opinion had not changed “as to the falseness of the charges in it against the Rev. Mr. White.” They reiterated that the charges were published “with a knowledge of their being unfounded,” and added, “with a malicious intention.” Still, it was not expedient to prosecute for it would likely “create sympathy for the slanderer, by representing him as a martyr for conscience sake.” There also might be people on the jury who were not members of the Church of England. Therefore, they called for a “temperate refutation” of the Collett pamphlet.³⁴

Henry Winton of the *Public Ledger* mentioned in his editorial of December 1853

³¹[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, Appendix, p. 6.

³²A216 Resolution of Newfoundland Church Society, October 1853.

³³A216 Bishop Feild to Hawkins, October 11, 1853.

³⁴[White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, Appendix, p. 6-7.

that he had received White's pamphlet refuting a previous pamphlet, which he gathered was published anonymously under the title, "Indications of the Church of England in Newfoundland."³⁵ In it the names of Bishop Feild and White were "freely, and as it would appear, slanderously used." This second pamphlet was a refutation by White of "the misrepresentations and calumnies alleged to be contained" in the first pamphlet. Winton had nothing to say about either pamphlet except for White's charge that Collett's pamphlet was printed in St. John's at a press "avowedly the organ of Dissenters." Elsewhere, in referring to Collett and "the Candle story," White stated that "Dissenters from our Church" were "wonderfully zealous in obstructing her usefulness." Winton, himself a Dissenter, replied that there was no such Dissenting press in St. John's, and that Dissenters had no such "unworthy and sinister design." Instead they stood for "the promotion ... of any Christian Church founded upon the pure and unadulterated Scriptures of Truth."³⁶

John Haddon, who had moved to Bonavista from Harbour Buffett, replied to Winton, thanking him for the "smart rap" he gave White for what he said about Dissenters. But Winton had not dealt with Collett's pamphlet in his "usual impartial way," For example, the pamphlet was not anonymous but had "very respectable signatures," and as Collett's "friend and son-in-law" he could testify to the "strict

³⁵The correct title was *The Church of England in Newfoundland* by Thomas E. Collett.

³⁶Public Ledger, December 6, 1853.

integrity" of his character. He had witnessed the refusal of George Ingram's child for baptism and had "direct evidences" of other refusals. After White's ordination, Collett and his family were refused the sacrament. They were now "literally excommunicate in the very settlement which they founded, in the very church which they so devotedly assisted to build." He included excerpts of testimonies against White's character from individuals in Placentia Bay, which Winton declined to publish. Haddon said that they showed "the sort of man the poor folks of Harbour Beaufette are pestered with."³⁷

On December 10, Joseph Woods of the *Courier* wrote an extensive editorial about White's pamphlet. He noted that it was authorized and published "under the direction" of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society and that it claimed to speak for "the collective Church Authorities of the Diocese." They must therefore take full responsibility for its content. He agreed with Winton's remarks about "the uncalled-for calumnies" against Dissenters. He added that "the true Protestant portion of the Church of England in this place" rejected the reproach that the Church Society cast their way. He was also careful to point out that strictly speaking there were no Dissenters in Newfoundland since the Church of England was not an "established religion" in the colony. He then spoke to the "sage legal opinion" of Hoyles and Robinson, reminding his readers of their high offices. In lending their names and offices to the slander in the pamphlet, they had compromised "their professional capacity." They had become "the

³⁷*Public Ledger*, December 30, 1853.

tools of, and truckling to, a power which” was “as much opposed to freedom of thought and liberty of speech, as ever shed its baneful influence over a country.”³⁸

However, Bishop Feild and the Church Society received much positive press from the Hoyles and Robinson opinion. On December 23 the *Morning Chronicle* in England reported that “two legal gentlemen of great respectability” carried out a “formal” investigation and found the charges against White, which the editor called “malicious calumnies,” to be totally false. It reported one of the charges as simply that “White had refused to baptize a child until his father should contribute a certain sum to the Church Society.”³⁹ Yet, to ‘require’ or ‘demand’ payment to the Church Society in order to receive baptism and other services from the clergy was the precisely articulated regulation of Bishop Feild.⁴⁰ The *Colonial Church Chronicle*, a Church of England journal, printed the article with the comments that the charges were made by “an unscrupulous assailant,” and that the Hoyles and Robinson report gave “complete vindication” to Kepple White.⁴¹ In this way the apparent vindication of White and the slandering of Collett were given wide circulation. The *Morning Chronicle* article also appeared in the *English Standard*

³⁸*Courier*, December 10, 1853.

³⁹The *Morning Chronicle*, December 23, 1853, quoted in the *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, January, 1854, Vol. VII, July 1853-June 1854 (London: Rivingtons, 1854), p. 250.

⁴⁰Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 5. See also, A216 Feild, “Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffet, August 10th 1851,” p. 4.

⁴¹The *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, January, 1854, p. 250.

and the Newfoundland *Patriot*.⁴²

Although neither Feild nor Bridge nor any member of the Committee of the Church Society had seen a copy of Collett's pamphlet as late as October, the evangelical Governor Hamilton received a copy in July or August.⁴³ His positive response to it did not become known until Archdeacon Bridge came to his door collecting for the Church Society on November 4th, as we read in Bridge's contribution to the controversy, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society in a Letter to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese*.⁴⁴ The Governor had accepted the position of Patron of the Society upon his arrival the previous January, and some time after pledged to give £60 annually.⁴⁵ However, he wrote to Bridge on November 4 that he was giving to the Church of England outside the avenue of the Newfoundland Church Society "for reasons which conscientiously constrain me." He enclosed £35.⁴⁶ Bridge returned the money "from a sense of what is due to the Society, and the dictates of my own conscience," reminding the governor rather heavy-handedly that at one time he had

⁴²*Patriot*, January 28, 1854.

⁴³Ker B. Hamilton. *Comments Upon a Recent Resolution of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society in a Letter to a Member of Her Majesty's Council of that Colony* (St. John's: J. C. Withers, 1854), p. 7.

⁴⁴Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings*, p. 3.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 1. Hamilton to Bridge, November 4, 1853. The same correspondence forms the Appendix of Hamilton's, *Comments Upon a Recent Resolution*.

praised the Society and promised his “fullest support.” Bridge inquired why the governor had withdrawn his support, since he would surely not “condemn the meanest individual unheard – much less a Society ... with such objects as the Newfoundland Church Society.” He also said he would have to show the Committee the correspondence between himself and the governor.⁴⁷ Hamilton replied that he had withdrawn his financial support due to the “circumstances” revealed in Collett’s pamphlet, which disclosed that the Society sanctioned actions “which are not in harmony with the Church of England.”⁴⁸ When he had presided over the Society as patron he had reminded them that it was the responsibility of the clergy to “preach the Gospel” which he explained as “those evangelistic truths which alone are effectual to diffuse regenerating life.”⁴⁹

Bridge asked for an interview with the governor before meeting with the Committee of the Church Society.⁵⁰ He could show the governor, he said, that the charges in the Collett pamphlet were “a tissue of vile and malignant calumnies.” He presumed the governor would “rejoice” to have his “false impressions removed, as much as I shall rejoice to be instrumental in removing them.”⁵¹ Hamilton agreed to meet Bridge, but emphasized that part of his role as Patron of the Society was “to guard against

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 2-3. Bridge to Hamilton, November 5, 1853.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 3-4. Hamilton to Bridge, November 7, 1853.

⁴⁹*Royal Gazette*, June 14, 1853.

⁵⁰Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings*, p. 4.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 5. Bridge to Hamilton, November 8, 1853.

abuses.”⁵² The interview was pivotal. Bridge had gone to see Hamilton with the intention of disabusing the governor of his apparent trust in the Collett pamphlet. He tried to do this by reading the Hoyles and Robinson report, by detailing the Bishop’s “official investigation” in 1851, and by “forcibly, perhaps warmly, informing His Excellency of the general estimate of the character and principles of Mr. Collett, Mr. White’s accuser.”⁵³ Bridge then met with the Committee of the Church Society and reported his interview with the Governor, “carefully abstaining” from telling them that he had communicated to the Governor “any opinion of Collett’s character.”⁵⁴

On November 9th Hamilton told Bridge that the Hoyles and Robinson report did not change his understanding, from the first three letters in Collett’s pamphlet, that the Church Society’s “system appeared to permit a Clergyman to put his price upon the Ordinances of the Church and the Ministrations he dispenses among the people.” He could not accept Bridge’s estimate of Collett’s character, but even if “it should be as bad as you state, it does not affect the principle involved.”⁵⁵ Bridge and the Committee concluded that the Governor Hamilton’s objection had shifted from the charges against White to a “mis-interpretation” of Bishop Feild’s letter to Collett of February 26, 1850. By that letter the bishop “was made responsible for allowing a system” which appeared to

⁵²*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 6. Hamilton to Bridge, November 8, 1853.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 9. Hamilton to Bridge, November 9, 1853.

let the clergy put a price upon the Sacraments.⁵⁶

The Committee shot back on November 10. Bridge delivered their letter to Governor Hamilton on November 11.⁵⁷ They chastised the Governor for continuing to consider Collett's charges as possibly valid, telling him that he had "rejected the clear and conclusive evidence of their falsehood." He had "placed himself in direct and open opposition to the Lord Bishop" whom he was bound to assist according to "The Royal Instructions."⁵⁸ He had also "cast imputations" upon an "exemplary" clergyman. The Society had not changed its principles since he became patron in January. It had not even changed them since 1846, when the Committee approved "the plan" of Bishop Feild which provided that, except for the poor, people "can hardly expect visits of a Clergyman or the offices of the Church, who do not make their due and required contributions." Finally, the Committee reprimanded the governor for referring to "alleged imputations on Mr. Collett's character" in official correspondence. Whatever was said privately at the interview was of concern only between him and Archdeacon Bridge. By alluding to Bridge's comments about Collett, the Governor had "unnecessarily published aspersions"

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁸*Ibid.* See also, Victoria R., "Royal Instructions to Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant, July 19, 1848." Section XLVIII "It is Our Will and Pleasure that in the administration of the Government of the said Island, you should be aiding and assisting to the said Bishop and to his Commissary or Commissaries, in execution of this charge" *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1848/49.

on Collett's character. This was something the Committee could only "deeply regret and deplore."⁵⁹ Remarkably, Bridge said the Committee drew up this statement "with the greatest deliberation" not wanting "to give offense."⁶⁰

Governor Hamilton responded through the Colonial Secretary, James Crowdy, that since the letter was "entirely derogatory" to his office, he declined "to receive" it. He kept it unofficially, copied it, and then returned it.⁶¹ The following day, November 12, he resigned as Patron of the Society.⁶² On November 15th the Committee sent an apology saying they would be glad "to withdraw any expression which can be considered derogatory" and that they had written believing that the bishop "was misunderstood by his Excellency." The Governor declined to receive the reply, not even keeping it for copying, and forbade the Committee to communicate with him any further.⁶³ Bridge regretted that the Governor did not keep it to be copied, since the Committee would be "deprived of any benefit or credit" for the apology.⁶⁴

Sometime in January 1854, Bishop Feild weighed in on the issue with his own

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 10-12. Committee of "The Newfoundland Church Society" to Hamilton, November 10, 1853.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 7. Also Appendix, p. 13, Crowdy to Bridge, November 11, 1853.

⁶²*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 13. Crowdy to Bridge, November 12, 1853.

⁶³*Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 13-14. Committee of "The Newfoundland Church Society" to Crowdy, November 15, 1853.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

pamphlet, *An Address on the System of The Church Society in Newfoundland; Submitted to the Members of the Church of England by the Bishop of the Diocese*.⁶⁵ He probably wrote it just after receiving Bridge's *Statement*. He included an appendix consisting of his letter to Collett of February 26, 1850, correspondence between himself and Governor Hamilton of December 10-13, 1853, written after he returned from Conception Bay, and his letters to the clergy at the anniversary of the Church Society in 1845.

The occasion of Feild's pamphlet was the fact that Governor Hamilton and "some influential and long-trying friends" had withheld their contributions to the Newfoundland Church Society. The purpose of it was to inform the diocese that Hamilton had "much misunderstood" the bishop's letter to Collett and to "justify" himself and "show the real meaning and purpose of that letter" which was definitely not to "permit a Clergyman to put his price upon the ordinances of the Church."⁶⁶ He quoted a section of the letter in which he told Collett that "Mr. White is quite right in saying that I have directed him to *require* from every head of a family to whom God has given health and strength to labor in his calling, at least a quintal of fish, [value at that time ten shillings, for a year's services]." Feild explained, however, that to "require" this annual contribution "does not require a clergyman to withhold the ordinances" from those who can, but refuse to pay it.

⁶⁵Edward Feild, *Address on the System of The Church Society in Newfoundland; Submitted to the Members of the Church of England by the Bishop of the Diocese* (St. John's: J. C. Withers, [1854]).

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 3.

Strictly speaking what Feild said is correct, but one has to wonder whether his clergy would catch the fine distinction. This is especially so since he went on to say, that if a clergyman did withhold it, he would be “fully justified, and ... I am prepared to justify him, in withholding the ordinances of the Church from any person, the head of a family, who being able, refuses ... that small annual contribution.” Of course, the amount or “price” could not be set by the clergy.⁶⁷

Feild gave various reasons for requiring this payment. For example, if people were not required to pay, they might “demand or expect” services from Church of England clergy when they showed up, but “the day before they might have been of another communion.” He cited various quotations from the Bible to support the principle that a minister can expect to be paid by the people who were being served. Since through the SPG the clergy were being supported in part by those they did not serve, they were “justified in demanding” payment from those that they did serve. He also referred to “the system” adopted by the Church Society in 1845, and called attention to the results. By reducing the salary of each clergyman paid by the SPG to £100, and supplementing it from the Church Society, more clergy were hired.⁶⁸ On “the Western Shore”, from Cape Race to Cape Ray, for example, the number of clergy had increased from two to nine, “all

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 13-14. See appendix, pp. 15-16. Feild to Collett, February 26, 1850.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 5-7. The Church Society adopted the system or “plan” at their 1845 Anniversary Meeting, *Times*, October 18, 1845.

ordained and appointed by myself.”⁶⁹

The SPG had suggested as an incentive for parishioners to pay for services that the bishop remove clergy from any mission that did not make contributions to salaries equal to half that which was paid by the SPG. Feild said that he did not agree to do that since it would punish those faithful people in the mission who did pay. Not only that, such a measure would play into the hands of those who did not pay, “their very aim and desire in some instances would be gratified, and one of them would reign as Priest and King.”⁷⁰ It would also provide an excellent opportunity for Methodists to move in and take over the territory. Feild opted for the Church of England to remain in the community and required his clergy to demand payment for their financial support where it was not willingly given.

Feild wrote to Governor Hamilton on December 10th after returning from Conception Bay and expressed regret that the Committee had used language “so hasty and unbecoming, and so derogatory to Your Excellency’s high position and office.” He noticed they had apologized. He affirmed White as “a most exemplary Clergyman,” but he said of Collett, “I could wish ... that your Excellency had known Mr. Collett as long as I have.” He said he did not have the opportunity to defend himself to the governor since the latter had separated himself from the Society which formerly he had praised as its

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 10.

official patron.⁷¹ He apologized for any part he or his clergy or friends had in that separation.⁷²

Hamilton replied the same day sympathizing with the bishop in having to “repudiate” the actions of the Society and in having to choose “truth” over “friends.” He mentioned that he had sent the recent correspondence and resolution of the Church Society to the Secretary of State for the Colonies whom he asked to bring the matter before the SPG for a ruling. He told the Secretary that “the main question rests upon the Bishop’s own letter to Mr. Collett.” Bishop Feild responded that he was not sure what the governor was referring to in his letter to Collett. If the governor had not been “led” to view him with “distrust and dislike” and then “look elsewhere for information on Church matters,” this misunderstanding would not have come about. Governor Hamilton replied that the bishop should write to the SPG “the sense” in which his letter to Mr. Collett should be read. He had no further points to make to the bishop and would not continue the discussion.⁷³

Governor Hamilton changed his mind, however, about extending the discussion, and in February 1854 published *Comments upon a Recent Resolution of the Committee of*

⁷¹*Royal Gazette*, June 14, 1853, “Address of the Governor” to the Newfoundland Church Society.

⁷²Feild, *Address on the System of The Church Society*, pp. 16-18. Feild to Hamilton, December 10, 1853.

⁷³*Ibid.*, pp. 19-21. Feild to Hamilton, December 12, 1853. Hamilton to Feild, December 13, 1853.

*the Newfoundland Church Society, in a Letter to a Member of Her Majesty's Council of That Colony.*⁷⁴ The pamphlet was a response to Bridge's *Statement*, and made public his letter of December 8th to the Committee of the Church Society. This and his letter of February 4th to the Society are the only new items in the pamphlet.

At the beginning of his pamphlet, the governor pointed to a contradiction between the bishop and his archdeacon. Bishop Feild had written to him on December 10, 1853 apologizing for the Committee in that their resolution to the Governor was "so hasty and unbecoming, and so derogatory."⁷⁵ But in January, 1854, Bridge had said that the Resolution was composed "with the greatest deliberation; and every precaution the Committee could employ, was taken."⁷⁶ Governor Hamilton pointedly asked which was correct.⁷⁷

He then addressed what he believed was a main point of contention with the Church Society, that "the system appeared to permit a Clergyman to put his price upon the Ordinances of the Church." The clergyman in Harbour Buffett was "higgling" over the sum of four or five shillings and "assumed the exclusive right of the ability to pay."

⁷⁴*Comments upon a Recent Resolution of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society, in a Letter to a Member of Her Majesty's Council of That Colony* (St. John's: J. C. Withers, 1854). His last entry in the pamphlet is February 4th, 1854.

⁷⁵Feild, *An Address on the System*, p. 17. Feild to Hamilton, December 10, 1853.

⁷⁶Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings*, p. 7.

⁷⁷Hamilton, *Comments Upon a Recent Resolution*, p. 3. Quoted from Bridge, *Statement Recent Proceedings*, p. 7.

So the question remained, “Who does fix the price?” The issue was not essentially different whether it was the local clergy, the Bishop or the Church Society, “a self-constituted body 200 miles off.”⁷⁸ This issue was in fact a subset of a larger principle which Hamilton brought into focus and questioned, namely the right of the Committee “to represent and control ... the entire Clergy and Laity of the Church of England in this Colony.”⁷⁹ In its reluctance to deal with this principle, Hamilton said, the Committee “fastened with unfortunate tenacity upon the alleged unworthiness of Mr. Collett’s character and the consequent falsehood of his statements.”⁸⁰ He could not believe the “sophistries” that were resorted to. When Bridge met with him on November 8th “the whole object of the interview” was to defame Collett’s character and persuade the governor to disbelieve his statements. Yet when Hamilton referred to the matter in his official letter to the Committee, it was “grieved” that a private conversation about a “third party” had led to “aspersions” being cast on that person’s character.⁸¹ Was the Committee now implying that Collett’s name was honourable? Hamilton marvelled at the “sophistry” of the Committee, for they had been trying to convince him of the “aspersions” cast on Collett’s character. Now they were making the governor the author

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5. Hamilton to William Thomas, February 4, 1854.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 8. Hamilton to William Thomas, December 8, 1853.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 3-4. Hamilton to William Thomas, February 4, 1854.

of these very “aspersions.”⁸² He believed Collett was “an upright and respectable man,” whose “sturdy and genuine sentiments” had come “into collision with the views of a theologian evidently of a peculiar school.”⁸³ To Collett was owed at least the credit for bringing into public focus “the urgent necessity of a reform of the system adopted by the Newfoundland Church Society.”⁸⁴

One wonders how Governor Hamilton viewed his office to become involved in church affairs as he did. It is possible that he saw himself as representing the Queen as “defender of the faith.” As an evangelical he probably was in touch with local persons who made him keenly aware that their expression of faith within the Church of England was being threatened by the bishop. When called upon by Bridge to agree in the defamation of Collett instead of listening to his grievance, Hamilton felt he had to take a stand and refer the matter of payment to the Church Society for church membership to the SPG. The governor, at the pinnacle of the elite, attempted to procure religious freedom for a segment of the colonial society.

Hamilton’s tenure in Newfoundland has not been given favourable reviews. Frederick Jones claimed, “there is no doubt that Ker Baille Hamilton exacerbated any

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 9. Hamilton to William Thomas, December 8, 1853.

⁸³*Ibid.*, pp. 9, 11.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 12.

conflict into which he entered.”⁸⁵ He quoted Prowse’s estimate that he was “as unfit a man as the British Government could possibly have selected to fill the difficult position.”⁸⁶ It is time to reconsider this extreme position. Contrary to Jones’ statement, Hamilton clearly did not enter “enthusiastically and even with rancour” into the controversy concerning the “refusal of sacraments to Anglicans unwilling to give financial support to their church.”⁸⁷ We have seen that the issue involved not just granting freedom to those who because of their conscience were “unwilling” to pay. It was also a matter of whether those unable to pay were denied the services of the church. Moreover, it was not a question of paying to the church locally, but to the Church Society, a central authority under administration of Bishop Feild. Governor Hamilton did not enter this issue with zeal and hostility when he read about it in July or August of 1853.⁸⁸ He took no action on it whatsoever until November. And all he did at that time was tell Archdeacon Bridge who came knocking on his door collecting for the Church Society that he could not in all conscience pay to the Church Society in light of Collett’s

⁸⁵*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol.XI (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), “Ker Baille Hamilton,” Frederick Jones, p. 44.

⁸⁶*Ibid.* See D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1895), p. 466.

⁸⁷*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol.XI, “Ker Baille Hamilton,” Frederick Jones, p. 44.

⁸⁸Hamilton, *Comments Upon a Recent Resolution*, p. 7.

pamphlet. He did give him £35 for the church locally.⁸⁹ It was Bridge who refused the money and said that it must be paid to the Church Society, called a meeting of the Society, and had them write a letter to the governor which in the words of Bishop Feild was “unbecoming, and so derogatory.”⁹⁰

On April 22, the *Courier* printed a letter from Haddon to Bridge, dated February 20, also responding to White’s pamphlet. His purpose was to defend “the character of a just man,” Mr. Collett. Contrary to White’s statements, Collett was instrumental and helpful in building both the school room and the teacher’s house in Harbour Buffett. White should have known about the teacher’s house, since it was built after his arrival in 1847. Collett contributed studs, flooring and shingles, and gave White milk, meat and wood. As for the settlement being peaceful and happy but for Collett, Haddon reckoned it was peaceful and happy until White’s arrival.⁹¹ He attacked Hoyles and Robinson, as he had in a former letter to Bridge. In that letter he conjectured that “it is the practice of professional gentlemen to cut and trim their legal opinions to suit the party who employs

⁸⁹Bridge, *Statement of Recent Proceedings*, pp. 3-4, Appendix, pp. 1-3.

⁹⁰Feild, *An Address on the System*, p. 17. As for Hamilton’s role in delaying the vote on responsible government until May 1855, his argument that it was necessary to wait for spring so people on the northeast coast could vote is quite reasonable. Surely the editors of the *Patriot* and the *Newfoundlander* and other ardent advocates of democracy in St. John’s would not have wanted to deprive Bonavista, Fogo, Twillingate, Exploits Island and other centers of the opportunity to exercise their right to vote. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol.XI, “Baille Hamilton, Ker” by Frederick Jones, p. 44.

⁹¹*Courier*, April 22, 1854. Haddon to Bridge, February 20, 1854.

them.”⁹² He wrote to Collett that the legal opinion seemed “like an experiment upon the gullibility of the public.” Although to deal with it required patience, yet it did “afford some degree of amusement.”⁹³ On April 29 Woods published a third letter in which Haddon demanded that Bridge, as Secretary to the Committee of the Church Society, should “point out distinctly” why Collett and some members of his family were refused Holy Communion. He challenged the hierarchy to rethink its defense of White. Rather eloquently he stated:

There are now in Mr. Collett’s possession numerous pointed shafts forged and ejected by his enemy, that he has gathered at his feet, or drawn from his wounded flesh and spirit, which only to exhibit would bring shame. Yet has he forborne to use their poison or their edge, seeking simply justice for himself and family, and not revenge upon his adversaries.⁹⁴

Haddon recounted one instance himself. Collett “can shew a club picked up in church, or literally, a junk of firewood, with which White threatened to fell Collett.” Haddon concluded that White and the Church Society “in their zeal to remove the imputation of tractarianism have disregarded ... truth, justice and mercy.”⁹⁵

April 29, 1854 was the high point of the reporting of the controversy in the press. In addition to Haddon’s third letter the *Courier* printed an article from the *Record* (March

⁹²*Ibid.*, April 12, 1854. Haddon to Bridge, February 3, 1854. Haddon suspected that these letters had been intercepted in the mail since they were still not published by April 7. Appendix, Haddon to Collett, April 7, 1854.

⁹³Appendix, Haddon to Collett, April 7, 1854.

⁹⁴*Courier*, April 29, 1854. Haddon to Bridge, February 27, 1854.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, April 29, 1854. Haddon to Bridge, February 27, 1854.

23) about Governor Hamilton's pamphlet entitled *Comments upon a recent Resolution of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*. The *Record* stated that Hamilton's pamphlet gave "melancholy confirmation" of the details of Collett's pamphlet beyond anything they could have expected. The governor had demonstrated that the Church Society in Newfoundland was a "despotic and illegal institution" which was "destructive of the liberties of the Church of England." The editor called Archdeacon Bridge the "Newfoundland high-priest" of an "evil system" which was guilty of "disgusting the middle classes, and oppressing the poor fishermen, whose children were refused the rites of the church." It was "the grand instrument of priestly usurpation and tyranny in the colony."⁹⁶ On March 30, the *Record* stated that the letters of the governor gave more evidence that the Newfoundland Church Society was merely the instrument used by Bishop Feild to work "against every Evangelical influence" and to promote his own "extreme views." The Bishop, through the Society, had turned the clergy into "tax-fixers and tax collectors." The Society had attempted to turn away charges against them "by vilifying the character of a respectable man."⁹⁷

Robert John Parsons of the Liberal-oriented *Patriot* joined in. He printed the two letters from Hamilton to the Church Society on the front page, and then commented on the controversy. He gave high marks to White for obeying the "instructions of his

⁹⁶*Courier*, April 29, 1854.

⁹⁷*Record*, March 30, 1854.

Superior, the Bishop,” a very pious man who demonstrated much zeal “to carry out the true doctrine and ritual observance of the Church of England.” Collett in Harbour Buffett, in contrast, was “the *Quixotte* of that district, seeking out visionary ecclesiastical oppressions to make battle with.” He was one of those “fickle and impulsive creatures, who desire to be *their own* prelates and priests.” Governor Hamilton demonstrated no wisdom either in thinking that Collett’s charges were “well grounded” or in aiding him in his “fanatical crusade.” Moreover, as Governor he had no right “to interfere between the Bishop and his flock.” It was a matter “with which his Excellency had nothing to do.”⁹⁸ Parsons wrote for a Catholic constituency and was an intense supporter of the movement for responsible government. In the past he had severely criticized Feild. For example, he reminded him at the consecration of his cathedral that the money to build it was “a great deal filched.”⁹⁹ He saw Feild as one who wanted to maintain the status quo. He viewed Feild’s efforts to subdivide the Protestant Education Grant as an attempt “to establish ‘by law’ a church ascendancy which now only has existence ‘in fact.’”¹⁰⁰ But when Governor Hamilton received the despatch on March 22, 1854 from the Duke of Newcastle which finally conceded the granting of responsible government to Newfoundland, he did not

⁹⁸*Patriot*, April 29, 1854.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, September 28, 1850.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, June 21, 1852.

move on it fast enough for the Liberals.¹⁰¹ At that point Parsons was prepared to grab anything he could find to hurl at the governor. He did here, but he did not know what he held in his hand. His argument against the governor becoming involved in church affairs was valid in principle. But in this case the church matters concerned a people being treated in a dictatorial manner. Parsons failed to investigate what was happening at Harbour Buffett. He seemed to be more interested in attacking the government and in doing so he sacrificed the legitimate cry of a people to have a say in their spiritual affairs. Ironically, he did this in the name of responsible government.

On April 29, too, Joseph Woods advertised in the *Courier* another pamphlet featuring Thomas Edwards Collett. It was entitled:

*The Church of England in Newfoundland, No. 2. Containing a Statement and Reply of Thomas E. Collett, Esq., J.P., A Brief Review of Proceedings connected with the Clergy and Church in this Diocese, During the Past Few Years, and Observations and Additional Evidence in Confirmation of the Former Statements and in Refutation of the Attacks Upon Them.*¹⁰²

The pamphlet has three sections. The first section is a rebuttal of the “gross falsehoods” in White’s pamphlet. Collett attempted to do this through clarification, correction, and the provision of additional information. The largest section (pages 10-33) is a history of the ten years of turbulence after Bishop Feild arrived in Newfoundland with his Tractarian

¹⁰¹Gertrude E. Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1864* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 134.

¹⁰²Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland, No. 2* (St. John’s: Joseph Woods, 1854), p. 3.

vision. The third section is an appendix of letters, affidavits, extracts from Bishop Feild's **Charges** of 1844 and 1847, and correspondence relating to controversies between Bishop Feild and the congregations at the Cathedral and St. Thomas's.¹⁰³ This pamphlet has never been cited in a scholarly work, not even by Frederick Jones.¹⁰⁴

The preface and the main section of the pamphlet were probably not written by Collett since, unlike the first section, they are not signed by him and there is no use of the first person. This main section is a contextual review of the "indications" to which Collett had drawn attention. The key issue addressed is religious freedom – "that degree of spiritual and mental and social freedom of the Laity, which the Holy Scriptures sanction, and happily the Rules of our Church, also, permit."¹⁰⁵ Bishop Feild since his arrival in Newfoundland had persistently set upon a course to totally envelop the Church of England in a suffocating Tractarian spirituality despite the fervent desire of evangelical Anglicans to remain as they were. He had relentlessly endeavoured to replace "the preaching of the pure unadulterated Gospel, as Evangelical Churchmen view it" with the "extreme views of the Exeter School ... the novelties of Tractarianism." His determination to force this change was possibly only surpassed by his "haste," so quickly

¹⁰³The *Courier* advertised the pamphlet bi-weekly for over a year from April 29, 1854 to June 30, 1855.

¹⁰⁴Frederick Jones, "Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland" (Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1971).

¹⁰⁵Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 2.

did he proceed “to outrage the feelings of the people” with his *Order and Uniformity in the Public Services of the Church*, his Charge to the clergy upon his arrival in 1844.¹⁰⁶

It was the loss of freedom to be an evangelical member of the Church of England, due to these measures, that Collett was protesting at Harbour Buffett. White, to please his bishop, carried out his wishes with either “more zeal or less discretion” than some of his fellow clergy. The pamphlet noted that only three of Collett’s seven charges were addressed by Robinson and Hoyles. The author then rebutted their findings, and pointed to the omission of the Ingram case. Yet Ingram was clearly refused baptism of his child and was clearly “in a state of poverty.” So much for “giving the Ministrations of the Church as freely and cheerfully to the poor as to the rich.” And so much for “clear and conclusive evidence against Collett’s charges.”¹⁰⁷

There were two principles at issue. Did SPG missionaries have the right to “put a price upon the Sacraments?” Secondly, were the people “to have imposed upon them forms, ceremonies, and dogmas ... not Evangelical or Scriptural?” The pamphlet claimed that the Society never sanctioned “the compulsory part” of the plan which Bishop Feild ordered in his Circular of 1845. The Society in their Resolution of November 10th, 1853, said they did sanction it back in 1845.

The writer also contested the significance of the Church Society’s income rising

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 22-27.

from £170 to £1800 in seven years. This did not show that the Society “steadily advanced in the affections and confidence of Churchmen of all ranks in Newfoundland.” First, it was money that had to be paid, or else one would be denied the services of the church. Second, before 1845 the Church Society was a “purely charitable association” for voluntary offerings that were in addition to the annual contributions to the salaries of the clergy. In 1845 Bishop Feild, however, ordered that “all payments to the Clergy, except fees” be paid to the Church Society. Therefore, one sees “the boastful announcement vanishing into smoke.”¹⁰⁸

The pamphlet concluded that for ten years the Church of England in Newfoundland had been “groaning under the incubus of a Tractarian Bishop ... under cover of the Committee of the Church Society ... directed and controlled by an Archdeacon of similar views.” By this means Bishop Feild had “contrived to fasten upon the unsuspecting Clergy and Laity a debasing system of inquisition and exaction, which is rapidly sapping the foundation of the Church.” The result of the system was to “degrade the intellect and enslave the soul.” It was the writer’s “confident expectation” that the people would be freed as they became enlightened through “this publication” and asserted themselves with the help of “Churchmen in England.”¹⁰⁹

The pamphlet also drew attention to resistance at St. Thomas’s Church in St.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 28-31.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.* p. 33.

John's to Bishop Feild's program of Tractarianism. St. Thomas's was "an example of independence" for the rest of the Anglicans in the colony to follow. Their clergyman, the evangelical Charles Blackman, faced Bishop Feild and Archdeacon Bridge and persevered despite receiving "heavy blows and much discouragement." This treatment by his ecclesiastical superiors probably had a deleterious effect on his health resulting in his death.¹¹⁰ The issue there as elsewhere was the introduction of "the novelties of Tractarianism" in order to replace "the pure unadulterated Gospel, as Evangelical Churchmen view it."¹¹¹

There were personal tensions between Blackman and Bridge going back to the days of Bishop Spencer, who spoke of Blackman's "uncomfortable and unprofitable jealousy," possibly because of Bridge's role at St. John's Church.¹¹² Bridge later changed his theology, but Blackman did not.¹¹³ Thus Feild dismissed Blackman as principal of the theological institute, officially because of the lack of progress of a student named Saunders.¹¹⁴ Blackman did not think that was the real cause, since the student's father

¹¹⁰Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 26.

¹¹¹Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 11.

¹¹²A194 Spencer to Bridge, December 15, 1842.

¹¹³Compare Bridge's emphasis on the Protestant Reformation in 1841 in T.F.H. Bridge, *The Two Religions* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1841) and his Tractarian changes to St. John's Parish Church in 1844 as described in Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, pp. 11-12.

¹¹⁴A196 Blackman to Hawkins, April 7, 1848.

told his son to withdraw six months later.¹¹⁵ He felt that Feild was dissatisfied with him because “he wished an Instructor of future Missionaries to instil into their minds his own peculiar doctrines.”¹¹⁶ There is no doubt that this was what Feild wanted. The theological college was Feild’s main instrument in ensuring a Tractarian clergy. The lack of such clergy and their total compliance would put his Tractarian mission in Newfoundland and Labrador at risk. Blackman was probably his ablest and most threatening theological opponent.

The pamphlet was careful to point out, however, that opposition to Bishop Feild at St. Thomas’s was not just a matter of one individual. It was rather the “the congregation” who resisted the bishop and because of it “they have been subjected to numerous insults and annoyances, and denied the services of Clergymen whose doctrines they regarded with preference.”¹¹⁷ One such insult or annoyance was Feild’s response in 1852 to the nomination of a Mr. Bown to the office of churchwarden. Feild considered this to be an affront not only to him but to the congregation also. The congregation replied that the nomination of Mr. Bown had not offended the congregation, and that they fully approved of Blackman.¹¹⁸

When Blackman became ill and then died, Bishop Feild worked to deny the

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, Blackman to Hawkins, August 20, 1848.

¹¹⁶A196 Blackman to Hawkins, April 7, 1848.

¹¹⁷Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2, p. 18.

¹¹⁸A216 Bishop Feild to the Congregation of St. Thomas’s Church.

congregation the clergyman of its choice. The congregation had called Johnstone Vicars as their Minister. Feild dismissed him.¹¹⁹ The congregation then said it would like to call John Cyrus Gathercole as their clergyman and Vicars as his assistant. The bishop refused and told them that he had already called T. M. Wood of Trinity to be their new minister.¹²⁰ The congregation came together on May 30, 1853, and passed resolutions opposing Feild's actions, and asking for a clergyman of "sound Evangelical principles."¹²¹ Feild replied that the whole congregation was not involved in the resolutions. The congregation then requested Rev. Henry Tuckwell as their incumbent. Feild replied that he could not "recall an offer once deliberately made." He said that anyway, Tuckwell had told him he was returning to England "for domestic reasons." He was prepared to recommend to Wood not to wear the surplice in preaching except on those Sundays when Holy Communion was ministered. He would not insist on the latter.¹²² William Thomas, a prominent merchant, replied to Bishop Feild against the divide and conquer strategy. He said that the church held a meeting on June 13 and resolved:

That a very great misconception appears to exist in the mind of the Bishop in assuming that any dissension or difference exists in this congregation, among

¹¹⁹*Public Ledger*, September 6, 1853.

¹²⁰A216 Feild to N. T. Bullock September 3, 1853.

¹²¹Edward Feild, *An Address to the Congregation of St. Thomas's Church* (St. John's: J. C. Withers, n.d.), p. 3. See also St. Thomas's Address to Vicars on his departure thanking him for his "sound Evangelical principles," *Public Ledger*, September 6, 1853.

¹²²*Ibid.*, pp. 4-9.

whom happily the greatest unanimity prevails – the only obstacle to peace and unity arising from the conduct of the Bishop in refusing to accede to any of our reasonable requests.¹²³

Feild wrote to the SPG without acknowledging the main issue involved, namely, the calling of a clergyman with “sound Evangelical principles.” He simply discredited the opposition by saying that the congregation “as might be expected, is well instructed to be troublesome.”¹²⁴

Frustrated, the congregation attempted to sidestep Feild’s authority and wrote to Governor Hamilton, asking the Crown to appoint a clergyman, and asserting that because of St. Thomas’ origins such authority was “vested in the Crown” and not in the bishop.¹²⁵ They wanted a minister of “ability, piety and Evangelical principles.” Yet, Bishop Feild, because of his “tenacity,” had passed over two ministers they recommended and instead, chose one who wore the surplice “not withstanding its known offensiveness to the Laity as a presumed indication of Tractarian sentiments.” Wood had offered to give up the surplice while at St. Thomas’s, but what was the point of “the mere change of form unless Evangelical principles accompanied the change?”¹²⁶ Hamilton wisely submitted the

¹²³GN 2/2 Box 41 1853, January to June, pp. 561-562. William Thomas to Feild, June 13, 1853.

¹²⁴A216 Feild to N. T. Bullock September 3, 1853.

¹²⁵GN2/2 Box 41 1853, pp. 231-232. St. Thomas’ to K.B. Hamilton, August 25, 1853.

¹²⁶CO 194 V.140 1853 Despatches Offices and Individuals B-665, William Thomas et al to Feild, August 20, 1853, pp. 19-25.

question to the law officers of the Crown, E. M. Archibald, the Attorney General, and H. W. Hoyles, the Acting Solicitor General, who concluded that any “right of presentation” by the Crown was “doubtful.”¹²⁷ After that judgement Hamilton “declined to interfere in the matter” and simply passed along the request of the congregation for the Duke of Newcastle to investigate it further. This was hardly entering the dispute “enthusiastically and with rancour.”¹²⁸ Hamilton gave copies of all relevant documents to Bishop Feild and invited him to make “any observations upon them” to include with the correspondence.¹²⁹ Feild did write, as he said, to “abundantly explain and justify my ‘tenacity.’”¹³⁰ Nothing became of it and in the fall, Wood was officiating at St. Thomas’s.¹³¹ A writer observed that Blackman’s decease had “afforded a glorious opportunity for the Bishop and the Archdeacon to impose their Tractarian Dogmas upon St. Thomas’s.”¹³² Maybe as a reaction to defeat, a group within the church had purchased “an old Dissenting Meeting House.” They were about to place in it a clergyman from

¹²⁷CO 194 Vol. 140, 1853. K.B. Hamilton to the Duke of Newcastle, October 31, 1853, p. 12. Archibald and Hoyles to Colonial Secretary, September 22, 1853, p. 34.

¹²⁸*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol.XI, “Ker Baille Hamilton,” Frederick Jones, p. 44.

¹²⁹CO 194 Vol. 140, 1853. K.B. Hamilton to the Duke of Newcastle, October 31, 1853, pp. 12-16.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 37. Feild to Duke of Newcastle, October 29, 1853.

¹³¹A216 Feild to Hawkins November 3, 1853.

¹³²Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 26.

England and had “the offer of six.”¹³³ It appears to have come to nothing.

Bishop Feild exhibited the same determined effort to extinguish evangelical Anglicanism at St. Thomas’s as he did at Harbour Buffett, and exhibited the same lack of openness. His efforts and reception in both places may be summed up best in the words of John Roberts, the clergyman at Bay de Verde, who saw the tenor of Feild’s ways quite early: “His Lordship says to his Clergy, ‘never mind what the people think nor say.’ But we find that the people consider themselves authorized to think, say and do.”¹³⁴

In May, 1854 the *Record* noted that three residents of St. John’s had written to the Earl of Shaftesbury, a prominent evangelical Member of Parliament, appealing to him to use his influence against the Colonial Church Bill which was then before Parliament and which would enable colonial bishops and clergy to pass “Rules and Regulations” even more independently of the Church in England.¹³⁵ They were alarmed about this new measure because of the “ecclesiastical tyranny” exercised by Bishop Feild, an “ultra-Tractarian,” and his clergy. Local congregations had no independence and were prevented from having any influence over the calling or salary of a minister. The bishop held the clergy in a state of “abject slavery” so that even the few who disagreed with his

¹³³A216 Feild to Hawkins November 3, 1853.

¹³⁴A196 Roberts to Sec. of SPG, November 10, 1846.

¹³⁵Shaftesbury was also a vice-president of the Colonial Church and School Society, *The Annual Report for the Year 1853-1854 of the Colonial Church and School Society* (London: Society’s Office, 1854), p. ii.

doctrine “implicitly carry out his commands.” There was no possibility of meaningful lay involvement at meetings because “in the out-districts ... principally ignorant fishermen” would be handpicked by the clergy and thus “would be mere instruments of the Bishop.” The writers hoped that the earl would mobilize “the true friends of our Protestant Church ... in Parliament,” or else Tractarian bishops would use the powers of this new bill even more to “coerce the acceptance of their dogmas, and to oppress and drive from the Church all whose Protestant convictions and Evangelical principles might lead them to reject the spurious doctrines of this Romanizing school.” They were grateful to Governor Hamilton for his intervention against “a most tyrannical aggression upon the rights of the laity” and enclosed two pamphlets showing how extreme this aggression had become.¹³⁶

On June 5, 1854 the *Record* printed another letter signed by four individuals from St. John’s and seven from Liverpool, written to the Dublin *Christian Examiner*.¹³⁷ They pointed out how the Bishop had total control over the Church of England in Newfoundland. Dr. Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the SPG, might say that the SPG Committee in England appointed clergy, but in Newfoundland it was Bishop Feild who did the appointing. They could have no preachers of “Evangelical truths” because the

¹³⁶*Record*, May 25, 1854. Three residents of St. John’s to Earl of Shaftsbury, St. John’s, May 4, 1854. The pamphlets could have been any two of the six pamphlets referenced in the thesis.

¹³⁷They probably included Charles Simms from St. John’s and George Berley from Liverpool. See Appendix, George Berley to Charles Simms, Liverpool, April 24, 1857.

bishop ordained “only those who conform to” to his Tractarian beliefs, for example, baptismal regeneration. Moreover, he acquired “title-deeds” to many of the churches, claimed to be patron of all of them, and required them all to pay into a common fund from which he dispensed the clerical salaries. In this way the people in local churches had all power and authority taken from them. One ray of light was Governor Hamilton, “an evangelical and pious man, as well as an able and talented representative of the Queen.” The other was “the hope that prevails among the laity of a change for the better, at no distant period.”¹³⁸

On June 10, 1854, the *Courier* printed four articles related to Tractarianism in the colonies in general and to Bishop Feild and Newfoundland in particular. First, a reprint of an item on the SPG from the Dublin *Christian Examiner* pointed out the control that Tractarian bishops had in appointing clergy. It specifically referred to Newfoundland by including a letter from the colony in which the writer complained that “nearly all the missionaries have been ordained here” and thus the SPG had little “check upon Tractarian colonial bishops.”¹³⁹ A second article, from the *Church Witness* of Saint John (NB), quoted the *Church Journal* of New York which faulted Bishop Feild in making ‘voluntary’ contributions ‘compulsory.’ The writer said the church “revolts at the idea of the Holy Sacraments being withheld” for payment. Instead, the bishop needed

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, June 5, 1854. There had been a rumour in 1851 that he might be appointed bishop of Nova Scotia, *Times*, March 1, 1851.

¹³⁹*Courier*, June 10, 1854.

"evangelical pastors ... carrying the message of life and salvation" to the people so that they "may win them to Christ, and through Christ, to a just estimate of all their Christian responsibilities."¹⁴⁰

Third, and most significant of all, was the printing of a letter by the SPG Secretary, Ernest Hawkins, to the Duke of Newcastle, in which Hawkins stated that in a letter to Bishop Feild on August 22, 1850, he had ruled "that a clergyman, wherever stationed, is bound to administer the Sacraments of the Church without regard to the point whether Church dues have been satisfied or not."¹⁴¹ Feild wrote on June 2, 1854 that he "had no recollection of the letter alluded to."¹⁴² A final writer in the *Courier* on June 10 said that these documents and this judgement of the SPG were "of incalculable importance to the interests of the Church of England in Newfoundland." No longer could the Lord Bishop deny ordinances to a person who did not pay the Church Society due to "inability or conscientious objections." He noted that Bishop Feild had been acting against the SPG's 'Declaration of Principles' since "his Lordships letter to Mr. Collett of the 26th February, 1850."¹⁴³ He looked forward to a change when people were motivated to give "by cords of love and kindness, not driven by threats of excommunication and

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁴¹Hawkins to Duke of Newcastle, April 22, 1854.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, Feild to Hamilton, June 2, 1854.

¹⁴³See Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, 1853, pp. 4-5.

denial of baptism and burial.”¹⁴⁴ William Charles St. John at the *Weekly Herald* printed the SPG decision on June 14. He placed it on the front page and entitled it, “The Point Settled.” Robert John Parsons at the *Patriot* was not impressed. He called the very notion of voluntary subscription to be in the “such absurdities” category.¹⁴⁵ That last word marked the virtual end of reporting in the press in Newfoundland of the controversy between Tractarians and evangelical Anglicans. The issue appears to have become subsumed in the Anglican-Catholic-Methodist fight over responsible government.

One wonders how much the SPG ruling changed matters within the church. A note was added to the “Standing Rules” in the Church Society annual report published two weeks later. It read:

While it is hoped that every Clergyman in the colony will make a yearly collection for the promotion of the objects of the Church Society, and impress upon every individual under his Pastoral charge, the obligations by which he is bound to contribute thereto, year by year, the system of the Church Society does not require any Clergyman to withhold the ordinances of the Church in any case of refusal or neglect to pay towards his support.¹⁴⁶

At first glance this notice appears to be saying something new; however, Bishop Feild had already clarified in his pamphlet that he never did require a clergyman to withhold the ordinances of the church from someone who did not pay to the church society. Still, he

¹⁴⁴*Courier*, June 10, 1854.

¹⁴⁵*Patriot*, June 24, 1854.

¹⁴⁶*The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, June 26, 1854 (St. John's: J.C. Withers, 1854), p. 8.

might justify a clergyman who did so.¹⁴⁷ Two years later one of his clergy refused a person Holy Communion and said that it was because he did not pay to the Church Society.¹⁴⁸

In the summer of 1854 Bishop Feild decided it would be appropriate to move White from Harbour Buffett to Harbour Breton. White was in Isle Valen when he got the offer on June 5 to replace J.G. Mountain.¹⁴⁹ It was not until October 22 that he was able to arrange his departure, with his “household furniture, a heifer ... two favourite sheep, dogs Nero and Neptune, Mrs. White, five children and two servants with goods and chattels” on a boat from St. John’s. He preached his farewell sermon to a full church, “becoming so affected as to be hardly able to proceed.”¹⁵⁰ The Mission of Harbour Buffett bid farewell to Rev. William Kepple White in the *Times* on January 31, 1855. The farewell was signed by 42 people, not a large number, who stated that his departure would “be long regretted by all of us.” White in his reply on April 21, 1855, said that he and his family would “always look back upon their residence in Harbor Buffet with feelings of the liveliest satisfaction.” This was especially the case because the people rallied around him “at a time when exalted personages and venerated names were misled

¹⁴⁷Feild, *An Address on the System of the Church Society*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁴⁸Appendix, Collett to Simms, Harbour Buffett, December 26, 1856.

¹⁴⁹A222 White, SPG Quarterly Report, Harbor Buffet, June 30, 1854.

¹⁵⁰A222 White, SPG Quarterly Report, Harbor Breton, Christmas 1855(4).

by a piece of heartless chicanery, to imagine that I was unfaithful to my trust."¹⁵¹

Collett and White locked horns until the end. As he was leaving, White complained to W. L. Solomon, the Postmaster General, that Collett who had been appointed a 'way master' had not delivered his mail from Placentia.¹⁵² At Harbour Breton White got off to a rocky start with Thomas E. Gaden, who was the Subcollector and Deputy Post Master. Again the issue was White's mail. Gaden said that White threatened in the "most tantalizing language" to report him to the authorities, so he told him he was a "busy body" and that he "did not care for him or his Bishop."¹⁵³ He said that White's attitude toward him had changed after the clergyman accused him of circulating Collett's pamphlet in Harbour Breton and because he did not conform to some of his "high Tractarian" practices.¹⁵⁴ White went on to serve a remarkable 30 years in Harbour Breton. He died in 1886.¹⁵⁵

Bishop Feild replaced him at Harbour Buffett with William Frederick Meek, the son of William Meek, a teacher with the Newfoundland School Society.¹⁵⁶ William

¹⁵¹*Times*, January 31, 1855.

¹⁵²GN 2/2 Box 43 1855, pp. 189-191. White to the Postmaster General, September 12, 1854. See correspondence, pp. 187-206.

¹⁵³GN 2/2 Box 45 1856, p. 367, Gaden to Kent, May 22, 1856.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 368-369.

¹⁵⁵Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p. 860.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 858-859. See also, Appendix, Collett to Deck, February 9, 1857.

Frederick arrived in Harbour Buffett in December, 1854, recently ordained.¹⁵⁷ It looks like the relationship did not improve for some time between Collett and the Church of England in the community. In 1857 Meek spoke of the need to enlarge the church due to the “rapid increase in population,” but there was still “a small faction that opposed both my predecessors.” Probably referring to Collett, he said their “principal mover” was “of considerable tact and cunning.” According to Collett, before Christmas Communion in 1856, Meek had required all who were going to ‘communicate’ to apply to him. Collett did so, but was told he would be refused because he had not paid to the Church Society. Meek said he had the bishop’s support. Collett went to the communion rail on Christmas Day but “his Reverence carried his point passing me with both the bread and wine.” The next day Collett wrote to Charles Simms in St. John’s that he could not figure out anything that had happened since he received communion from Meek in July and from Bishop Feild in Harbour Buffett the previous year.¹⁵⁸ Charles Simms, a member of St. Thomas’s, was the Chairman of the local committee of the Colonial Church and School Society.¹⁵⁹ He was also the brother of James Simms whom Collett first worked for in St.

¹⁵⁷A196 SPG Annual Report Harbour Buffett, November 23, 1855. *Times*, June 14, 1854.

¹⁵⁸Appendix, Collett to Charles Simms, December 26, 1856.

¹⁵⁹*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1859, Appendix, Education, “Schools in Newfoundland under the Direction of the Colonial Church and School Society of London, 1858,” Charles Simms, Chairman, December 31, 1858, pp. 368-369. GN 2/2 Box 41, July to December, 1853. Pew holders and members of St. Thomas’s to Governor K.B. Hamilton, August 26, 1853.

John's and who in 1856 was the assistant judge of the Supreme Court.¹⁶⁰ Charles Simms sent Collett's letter to a George Berly at Liverpool who sent an extract of it to Secretary Hawkins of the SPG.¹⁶¹ Berly reminded Hawkins that Meek was under the pay of the SPG and that the Secretary should take the necessary steps to end such treatment as he was giving Collett. If Meek were allowed to continue such actions, he would "bring discredit on your Society and drive members of the Church of England to become dissenters."¹⁶² Hawkins replied that he would bring the matter "before the proper authorities."¹⁶³ Berly told Simms he was concerned that he would not get a reply from Hawkins because he was a Protestant Episcopalian who had cancelled his subscription to the SPG because of the "Tractarian practices of" of its bishops and clergy. He also said he was sending "11 Church (Pusey) Magazines" to pass on to Collett.¹⁶⁴

Collett also wrote to Henry Deck, the Secretary of the Colonial Church and School Society in London.¹⁶⁵ He had concluded by then that Meek must have refused him Communion because of his advocacy for the Newfoundland School Society. At a meeting of the Protestant Education Board he had called for a grant to Mr. Ward, the

¹⁶⁰Appendix, Geo. Berly to Charles Simms, Liverpool, April 24, 1857. Poole, Editor, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 5, p. 193.

¹⁶¹Appendix, Berly to Simms, Liverpool, April 24, 1857.

¹⁶²Appendix, Berly to Rev. E. Hawkins, April 13, 1857.

¹⁶³Appendix, Hawkins to Berly, April 17, 1857.

¹⁶⁴Appendix, Berly to Simms, April 24, 1857.

¹⁶⁵Appendix, Collett to Henry Deck, February 9, 1857.

Society's teacher at Harbour Buffett, but Meek opposed him. Collett was amazed that the son of a School Society schoolmaster could be so against the Society.¹⁶⁶

Collett continued to be involved in other affairs of the day. In the summer of 1856 he wrote a letter to the Colonial Secretary, John Kent, pointing out the need for an inspection of weights and measures. He had carried 300 quintals of fish to St. John's but it was a different weight there than in Placentia Bay. He said there had been only one inspection for the 20 years he lived in Placentia Bay. He offered to adjust the weights that came under his notice if he were authorized to use those in the Court House in Placentia. His son could do a circuit of the bay, if necessary.¹⁶⁷ In August of the same year he replied to Kent's circular on the state of the salmon fishery on the eastern shore of Placentia Bay.¹⁶⁸

Though Collett was successful in making a living, he lost the battle with the Church of England. By 1857 the loss was complete. In that year the School Society "relinquished the school and ... sold the premises." Ward had been teaching there for over four years.¹⁶⁹ His salary was largely funded through the proceeds of an estate valued at £400 left to the School Society by Thomas Russell, "a poor fisherman, residing at the

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷GN 2/2 Box 45 1856 Collett to Kent, June 20, 1856.

¹⁶⁸*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1857, Appendix, Fisheries, pp. 346-347.

¹⁶⁹MG 595 P-11 *The Annual Report of the Colonial Church and School Society, 1857-1858* (London: Society's Offices, 1858), p. 110.

time of his death, at a neighbouring spot called Woody Island.”¹⁷⁰ When he came in 1853, he was unable to teach in the school which had been built during the time of Haddon.¹⁷¹ Collett thus provided him with “a nice little school room upstairs” in his house.¹⁷² Bishop Feild refused to hand over the house and school, so the St. John’s Committee of the Newfoundland School Society had to buy another.¹⁷³ Collett stated to the Society that “there is but little doubt in my mind that that refusal was considered as a finishing blow to deprive this locality and in fact the whole of this Bay of the great benefit of your Schools.”¹⁷⁴ It was only the great effort of the St. John’s Committee which kept this from happening.

The school was attended not only by children, but also by parents “who appear to feel their own inferiority by contrasting the attainments of their children with their own ignorance.” The Society schools, in addition to providing education, were one of the “bulwarks ... stemming [*sic*] the increase of semi-popery or tractarianism which

¹⁷⁰MG 595 P-10 Colonial and Continental Church Society, *Church of England School Society*, Annual Report, 1850, p. 9. The same report recorded that Collett donated £5 to the Society that year, p. 44.

¹⁷¹Appendix, Collett to Deck, February 9, 1857. *Courier*, April 22, 1854. Haddon to Bridge, Bonavista, February 20, 1854.

¹⁷²Appendix, Emma Collett to Thomas E. Collett, October 30, 1853.

¹⁷³ Appendix, Collett to Deck, February 9, 1857. The Society bought the property of Robert Evans at Harbour Buffett, Sheriff Office, Ferryland, John Stephenson, Sheriff, to Richard Collett, Deputy Sheriff, June 3, 1853. See Appendix.

¹⁷⁴Appendix, Collett to Deck, February 9, 1857.

unfortunately pervades the land.”¹⁷⁵ In the summer of 1857, however, the School Society decided not to support a teacher and the recently bought premises were sold.¹⁷⁶ Ward moved to Isle Valen where he continued to teach for the School Society, but was supported by £30 grant from the Protestant Board. Mr. Burton, “a well-conducted young man [who] deserves much credit for his self-improvement,” continued to teach at Harbour Buffett for the Protestant Board.¹⁷⁷

The evangelicals won the battle, but lost the war. The resolution of the problem of denial of the sacraments was only a partial one. Bishop Feild effectively silenced the Church of England evangelical voice by asserting authority over the appointment of clergy in Newfoundland. His strategy of training clergy according to Tractarian principles at Queen’s College, St. John’s, ensured that his victory would be complete. The evangelical Anglicans also won the battle in the press. This study shows that the majority of letters to the editor stated what they regarded as the truth and justice of Evangelical claims in the face of what was perceived as suppression of religious rights at the hands of Tractarians within the Church of England. This victory, too, was not

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶MG 595 P-11 *The Annual Report of the Colonial Church and School Society, 1857-1858*, p. 110.

¹⁷⁷*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1859, Appendix, Education, “Schools in Newfoundland under the Direction of the Colonial Church and School Society of London, 1858,” Charles Simms, Chairman, December 31, 1858, p. 368. “Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1858,” John Haddon, Inspector, February 16, 1858, pp. 280, 279.

successful in preserving an evangelical Church of England in Placentia Bay. It was Bishop Feild who had the authority within the Church of England. With his administrative ability, he used that authority effectively to transform the Church of England in Newfoundland from an evangelical church to one that was Tractarian.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Not the ruler for me, but the ranker, the tramp of the road,
 The slave with the sack on his shoulders pricked on with the goad,
 The man with too weighty a burden, too weary a load.

The sailor, the stoker of steamers, the man with the clout,
 The chantyman bent at the halliards putting a tune to the shout,
 The drowsy man at the wheel and the tired look-out.

John Masfield¹

In the first half of the nineteenth century Church of England missionaries brought Tractarianism to North America. In Newfoundland it prevailed completely, but there were some who opposed the movement. The evangelical Anglicans of Harbour Buffett were one example. Although opposition to the Tractarian Bishop Feild was noted in previous scholarship, the people involved, as at Harbour Buffett, had not been studied. The primary motive of the opposition in the community was religion. There was an indigenous evangelical Anglicanism in Harbour Buffett at the time of Bishop Feild's arrival in Newfoundland in 1844. That Anglicanism had been watered and fertilized by Methodist missionaries for twenty years before the new initiative of the Church of England in Placentia Bay began in 1840. The Bendles, Colletts and others received the ministry of Methodist missionaries. They were then built up and strengthened in their evangelical Anglicanism by the arrival of Bishop Spencer and the first missionary he sent

¹C.L. Bennet, J.F. Swayze, and Lorne Pirece, *The Golden Caravan* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), p. 472.

to the area, William Jeynes. Thus the mission of Bishop Feild in Harbour Buffett was not to introduce religion, as was commonly portrayed in the mission literature. For example, H.W. Tucker, Feild's biographer, wrote:

We turn to Newfoundland. Are there heathens to be found in this colony? ... There are heathens, and thirty years ago these were to be found in large numbers. They were not, indeed, Hindus, nor Buddhists, nor followers of Confucius, but men, women, and children speaking our own mother-tongue, wholly removed from all sounds and sights of religion, and sunk into utter spiritual vacancy.²

Feild's purpose was to substitute another. Instead of laying a foundation, in many outposts he endeavoured to substitute a structure on a foundation already laid.

The Newfoundland School Society was a major contributor to the evangelicalism of Harbour Buffett, for through it, the people were encouraged in, or introduced to, evangelicalism both in church and school. This was particularly so under the five year leadership of John Haddon. Through the society also, the community was kept in contact with fellow evangelicals, not only in St. John's but also in Britain. The Roman Catholics, the majority in the bay, provided a negative incentive to the evangelicals in their opposition. It was toward Roman Catholicism that they saw the Tractarians leading the Church of England.

Bishop Feild also encountered opposition outside his own denomination in Newfoundland, ultimately stemming from his Tractarian perspective. His efforts to build a grand Gothic cathedral got him into trouble with the victims of the St. John's fire, most

²H.W. Tucker, *Under His Banner: Papers on the Missionary Work of Modern Times* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1876), p. 342.

of whom were Roman Catholic, when he appropriated donations for that purpose. He believed, too, that 'the Church' should have publicly funded schools separate from those of other Protestants. His determined effort to bring this about brought him into much conflict with the Methodists and played into the electoral vote over responsible government by increasing Protestant division over what had been predominantly a Catholic cause. Various editors of the local newspapers jumped into the debate, aligning themselves denominationally or according to their views on responsible government. Methodists were also alarmed over Feild's elevated view of the Church of England alongside which they were relegated to a mere Protestant sect without apostolic authority. Thus even their baptisms were not regarded as having spiritual significance. Feild disturbed Protestants in general with his lack of emphasis on preaching for conversion and his accent instead on sacraments and ritual in the church.

Feild used the Newfoundland Church Society as a vehicle to centralize and strengthen the church under his leadership and to make it self-supporting. Some opposition to paying the Society may have arisen because payment was mandatory. Disputes arose in other cases over whether individuals who were refused services by the church had the ability to pay. It is clear that Thomas Edwards Collett at Harbour Buffett refused to pay the Church Society out of principle and he never claimed otherwise. Like others, he thought that to pay to a central fund administered by Bishop Feild was to finance a program in which he did not believe. Their spiritual values had been violated. Thus, the bishop's Tractarian theology and innovations became an impediment in his

attempt to make the church self-supporting.

Two other Tractarian issues became prominent in Harbour Buffett. It is likely that the local minister, William Kepple White, refused to give Holy Communion to Edith Kirby because he wanted something approximating auricular confession from her. A significant portion of the community became involved in the disapproval of White for not giving Kirby the sacrament. A number of people were empathically involved in the case because they had been visiting to help and comfort her in her illness. The candles placed on the altar, another issue, seemed to have brought the smoldering fire of opposition in the community to open flame. The failure of Bishop Feild to address it during his visit and investigation in 1851 did not help his cause. It probably was the biggest single factor in the opposition to Bishop Feild in Harbour Buffett since it affected the whole community, instead of having primary reference to just one or two families, as was the case with refusals of baptism or the auricular confession charge.

Since Collett had worked for a St. John's merchant a number of years and had been involved with the Newfoundland School Society in Petty Harbour nearby, he had many evangelical associates in St. John's, particularly at St. Thomas's Church. At least one, William Thomas, was a merchant who did business in Placentia Bay. These relationships were a great source of inspiration and strength to Collett as he endeavoured to keep the controversy with the bishop before the public view. The postal system had been recently instituted by the government, and Collett himself carried freight to the capital, so he was in constant communication with events taking place at St. Thomas's

where Bishop Feild attempted to introduce Tractarian innovations, and elsewhere. The Methodists at St. John's had every reason to help Collett in his opposition to the bishop. They were against Bishop Feild's belittling their theology, against his aim of subdivision of the Protestant Grant for Education, and against the stranglehold on patronage that the Church of England held in the government. These were important factors for their desiring responsible government and Collett was just one more component of opposition against Bishop Feild that they could abet. It was no surprise then, for the Methodist editor, Joseph Woods, to publish Collett's pamphlet, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*. Because of this pamphlet, the controversy at Harbour Buffett became an event of note for the whole colony and spread even across the Atlantic.

Newspapers and pamphlets were the means of communication in Newfoundland at the midpoint of the nineteenth century and they figured large in the opposition to Bishop Feild. Newfoundlanders heard the alarm about Bishop Feild through the London *Record* before they read about it in any of their local papers. For the evangelical *Record*, Feild was just one more Tractarian colonial bishop that evangelical Anglicans had to contend with in the empire. Letters to the editor from evangelical clergyman and laity, and a copy of Collett's pamphlet, helped them highlight a struggle within the Church of England at home.

The struggle of responsible government in the colonies was another empire-wide movement at this time. When Governor Hamilton became involved in the Tractarian controversy, the division within the Church of England became further entangled with the

responsible government debate. Since Hamilton was not zealous for responsible government, one would think that he would have steered clear of any dispute among Anglicans which might have helped that cause. He refused to stand aloof, however, when he felt that fellow evangelical members of the church were unjustly treated. In this way he possibly lent his hand to responsible government, a cause he did not identify with.

The evangelical Anglicans won the battle in the press. They also had considerable help from evangelical merchants and other influential individuals in St. John's. And they had the support of the Methodists. Still, it was Bishop Feild who was ultimately successful. He was a single minded man devoted to building a strong, centralized Tractarian Church of England in Newfoundland and Labrador. He gave himself totally to this cause, and as an able administrator he understood power, albeit in his view, administered for God. Through the Church Society he was able to concentrate power in his hands, equal to his authority. Through its fund for clergy salaries and church property needs, he determined which plan would proceed and which would not. His authority as a colonial bishop enabled him to enlist only those clergy who were in sympathy with his theology. He also made the Theological Institution a Tractarian school. He controlled the transfers and promotions of clergy - strong incentives for them to cooperate.

In addition, the bishop, the archdeacon and the Church Society were prepared to use whatever means necessary to quell opposition. One strategy was to not openly admit that their version of the Church of England was radically different theologically from the evangelical belief of the people. There was a determination to proceed with changes

gradually and without explanation. Another practice was to discredit morally any opposition that arose, not an uncommon response of institutionalized power in the face of resistance. It was Collett, in particular, who bore the brunt of this character sully, but any who worked with him were also targets. This included any in Harbour Buffett who did not agree with the bishop.

Feild was also helped by the expansion of government services in Newfoundland in the first half of the nineteenth century. The local clergyman at Harbour Buffett was the chairman of the committees for dispensing public money for education, roads and relief. People had to think hard before objecting to his authority. In some cases, to go without Indian meal from the government would mean near starvation. This is not to claim that the clergyman denied food to anyone who opposed him in church, but there would have been a natural reluctance for people to contend with one who held such power over their physiological needs. Moreover, this arrangement gave the impression that it was the local clergyman and the church who were providing the benefits to the people. Combined with White's Tractarian understanding of his spiritual authority, it tended to encourage the spiritual subservience of the people. The foreign church culture of Tractarianism, with its heightened sacramentalism, raised the status of the clergy. Wearing the surplice as the insignia of their authority, they appropriated the sacred from the people and then dispensed it to them. Instead of the people participating in delivering ministry, their role became to passively receive the priestly ministrations of the clergy.

Many did not comply. The person who went into the church and cut up the

candles committed an act of far-reaching symbolic proportions. He gave a palpable demonstration of resistance to Bishop Feild and his clergy in their attempt to fracture his spiritual values. It was the quintessential act of protest against a system of control which attempted to deprive the people of authority over their spiritual affairs. It was thus “an outward and visible sign” of both the church’s violation of the belief system of the people and of their resistance to it. The act was the refusal of a man to permit the church to usurp control over his religion which had, to use E. P. Thompson’s words, “its own ontological coherence and symbolic structure.”³ In this way, the individual gave a voice to people who were not equipped to produce a Collett pamphlet. It was a voice, however, that died out. The people accommodated the outward Tractarian changes, except for the candles, while a few maintained their private evangelical views within the Church of England.

³E.P. Thompson, “Eighteenth-century English Society: class struggle without class?” *Social History*, 3, 2 (May 1978), p. 154.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Letters

Archive of the late Thomas Collett, Harbour Buffett in the possession of David Collett, St. Johns, Newfoundland.

Newfoundland Government Records:

Governor Incoming Correspondence	1836 - 1855	GN 2/1	PANL
Governor Outgoing Correspondence	1836 - 1855	GN 2/2	PANL
Governor to Colonial Office	1850 - 1855	CO 194	PANL
<i>Journals of the House of Assembly</i>	1834 - 1860		CNS
<i>Journals of the Legislative Council</i>	1833 - 1841, 1848 - 1860		CNS
<i>Population Returns</i>	1836, 1842, 1857		CNS

Reports and Letters of Societies:

<i>Colonial and Continental Church Society</i>	<i>Annual Reports 1823-1857</i>	PANL
<i>Newfoundland Church Society</i>	<i>Annual Reports 1847-1860</i>	CNS
<i>Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1825-1860:</i>		
	<i>Annual Reports,</i>	
	<i>Gospel Missionary</i>	
	<i>Quarterly Reports</i>	PANL

Newfoundland Newspapers and Magazines:

PANL

<i>The Courier</i>	1844 - 1860
<i>The Morning Post</i>	1850 - 1855
<i>The Newfoundland Express</i>	1851 - 1857
<i>The Newfoundland Guardian</i>	1851
<i>The Newfoundlander</i>	1830 - 1860
<i>The Patriot</i>	1833 - 1860
<i>The Public Ledger</i>	1830 - 1860
<i>The Royal Gazette</i>	1830 - 1860
<i>The Times</i>	1832 - 1860
<i>The Weekly Herald</i>	1842 - 1854

British Newspapers and Magazines:

<i>The Colonial Church Chronicle</i>	1847 - 1855
<i>The Record</i>	1837 - 1855

QE II

Charts: CNS

A General Chart of the Island of Newfoundland with the rocks & soundings. James Cook and Michael Lane and others. London: Publish'd according to Act of Parliament by Thomas Jeffreys Geographer to the King, 1775. London: Printed for Robt. Sayer & Jno. Bennett.

The English Pilot, the fourth book, A Chart of the South-East Coast of Newfoundland. London, Tower Hill: Mount and Page, [1780].

Contemporary Books and Pamphlets:

Akins, Thomas Beamish. *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in the British North American Provinces.* Halifax: W. Cunnebell, 1849.

Anspach, Lewis Amadeus. *A History of the Island of Newfoundland.* London: Printed for the Author, and sold by T. and J. Allman, 1819.

Bonnycastle, R. M. *Newfoundland in 1842.* 2 Vols. Henry Colburn, London: 1842.

Book of Common Prayer. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1840.

Bridge, T. F. H. *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society in a Letter to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese.* St. John's: J.T. Burton, 1854.

_____. *The Two Religions ... Anglican or the Romish?* London, Gilbert and Rivington, 1841.

_____. *Three Sermons Preached in St. John's Church.* St. John's: Henry Winton, 1839.

Collett, T. E. *The Church of England in Newfoundland.* St. John's: Joseph Woods, 1853.

_____. *The Church of England in Newfoundland, No. 2.* St. John's: Joseph Woods, 1854.

Feild, Edward. *Order and Uniformity ... a charge ... to the clergy of Newfoundland ...* 1844. St. John's: 1844.

_____. *A charge delivered to the clergy of Bermuda ...* 1845. Hamilton, Bermuda: 1845.

_____. *A charge delivered to the clergy of Bermuda ...* 1849. St. John's: 1850.

_____. *Journal of a voyage of visitation ... on the coast of Labrador and round the whole Island of Newfoundland in ...* 1849. Church in the Colonies. No. 25. London: 1851.

_____. *Journal of the ... voyage of visitation and Discovery on the South and West Coasts of Newfoundland and on the Labrador ... in ...* 1848. Church in the Colonies. No. 21. 1851.

_____. *An Address on the System of the Church Society in Newfoundland Submitted to Members of the Church in England.* St. John's: J.C. Withers, 1854.

_____. *An Address to the Congregation of St. Thomas's Church.* St. John's: J.C. Withers, n.d.

_____. *Charge to the Clergy of Newfoundland.* St. John's: 1862.

_____. *A charge delivered to the clergy of Newfoundland, June 25, 1866.* St. John's: 1867.

Gosse, E. W. *Life of P. H. Gosse.* London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1890.

Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons. *Reports from the Committee on the State of the Trade to Newfoundland, severally reported in March, April, June, 1793.* London: 1803.

Grey, W. *Sketches of Newfoundland and Labrador.* Ipswich: S. H. Cowell, 1858?

Hamilton, K.B. *Comments upon a recent resolution of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society.* St. John's: J.C. Withers, 1854.

Howley, M. F. *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland.* Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1888.

Hoyles, H. W. *Case of the Protestant Inhabitants against the unconditional concession of Responsible Government.* London: Thomas Whitaker, 1854.

Jones, Frederick. "Rouse's 'Trivial Round.'" *Newfoundland Studies* 1 (Spring 1985) : 91-97.

Jukes, J. B. *Excursions in and About Newfoundland*. 2 Vols. London: John Murray, 1842.

Lives of the Missionaries of North America. (J. G. Mountain). London: S. P. C. K. nd.

[Lowell, Robert Traill Spence]. *Fresh Hearts That Failed Three Thousand Years Ago; With Other Things*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860.

_____. *New Priest in Conception Bay*. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1858.

McCrea, R.B. *Lost Amid the Fogs: Sketches of Life in Newfoundland*. London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1869.

Millman, Thomas R. "Life in Newfoundland, 1841-1859, and in Prince Edward Island, 1859-1884, as described in the Journals of Robert W. Dyer." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XIV (June 1972) : 30-45.

Moreton, Julian. *Life and Work in Newfoundland*. London: Rivingtons, 1863.

Mullaly, John. *A Trip to Newfoundland*. New York: T. W. Strong, 1855.

Mullock, John T. *Two Lectures on Newfoundland*. New York: John Mullaly, Office of the Metropolitan Record, 1860.

Murray, Jean M., ed. *The Newfoundland Journal of Aaron Thomas*. London: Longmans, 1968.

Neary, Peter and O'Flaherty, Patrick. *By Great Waters: a Newfoundland and Labrador anthology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Noble, Louis L. *After Icebergs with a Painter*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1861.

Pedley, Charles. *History of Newfoundland*. London: Longman, Green, 1863.

Prowse, D. W. *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records*. London: MacMillan and Co., 1895.

Reeves, John. *History of the Government of Newfoundland*. New York: Johnson Reprint

Corporation, 1967.

Spencer, A. G. *Sermons on Various Subjects*. London: Printed for C. & J. Rivington, 1827.

Street, John C. *The Journal of Oliver Rouse Anglican Missionary in Newfoundland: September 1846 to May 1850*. Madison, Wisconsin: privately printed, 1983.

Tocque, P. *Wandering Thoughts*. London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1846.

_____. *The Voice of the Sea*. Boston: C. C. P. Moody, 1853.

_____. *Newfoundland, As it Was and As It Is in 1877*. Toronto: John B. Magurn, 1878.

Tucker, Ephraim W. *Five Months in Labrador and Newfoundland, during the Summer of 1838*. Concord: I. S. Boyd and W. White, 1839.

Tucker, H. W. *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild*. London: W. Wells Gardner, 1877.

_____. *Under His Banner: Papers on the Missionary Work of Modern Times*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, (1876).

[Vidal, E.O]. The Bishop of Sierra Leone. *Parish Sermons*. London: James Darling, 1852.

[White, William Kepple]. *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*. St. John's: J.T. Burton, 1854.

Wilson, W. *Newfoundland and Its Missionaries*. Halifax: Dakin & Metcalfe, 1866.

[Wix, Edward]. *Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1836.

Secondary Sources:

Acheson, T. W. "Methodism and the Problem of Methodist Identity in Nineteenth-Century New Brunswick." In *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*,

pp. 107-123. Edited by H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Armour, J. S. S. "Religious Dissent in St. John's 1775-1815." MA thesis, Memorial University, 1988.

Balleine, G. R. *History of the Evangelical Party*. London: Church Book Room Press, 1908.

Batstone, H. A. "Methodism in Newfoundland: A Study of its Social Impact." Master of Sacred Theology thesis, McGill University, 1967.

Beamish, Derek; Hillier, John; and Johnstone, H. F. V. *Mansions and Merchants of Poole and Dorset*, Vol. 1. Poole: Poole Historical Trust, 1976.

Beardsall, Sandra. "Methodist Religious Practices in Outport Newfoundland." Th. D. thesis, Victoria University and University of Toronto, 1996.

Bennet, C.L.; Swayze, J.F.; and Pirece, Lorne. *The Golden Caravan*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968.

Brown, Howard C. "Inner Placentia Bay: The Evolution of Settlement and Trade." BA Honours dissertation, Memorial University, 1974.

Buffett, F. M. *The Story of the Church in Newfoundland*. Toronto: General Board of Religious Education, 1939.

Burke, Peter., ed. *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991.

Butler, Victor. *Buffett Before Nightfall*. St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1982.

_____. *The Little Nord Easter*. St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1980.

Byrne, Cyril J., ed. *Gentlemen-Bishops and Faction Fighters: The Letters of Bishops O'Donel, Lambert, Scallan and Other Irish Missionaries*. St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1984.

Carwardine, Richard. *Trans-Atlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America 1790-1865*. Wesport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978.

- Chadwick, Owen. *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960.
- Chaulk, Cyril R. "John Wesley and Newfoundland Methodism." M Div. thesis, Atlantic School of Theology, 1980.
- Clark, S. D. *Church and Sect in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.
- Crosbie, Gertrude. "Births, Marriages, Deaths in Newfoundland Newspapers 1875-1877." St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1988.
- Crowther, J. *A Portraiture of Methodism*. London: Richard Edwards, 1815.
- Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. I - XIV. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966-1998.
- Doyle, Marjorie M. *Newfoundlander in Exile, The Life and Times of Philip Tocque (1814-1899)*. Halifax: John Doull Books, 1997.
- Eliot, George. *Middlemarch*. New York: The Modern Library, 1994.
- Faught, Brad. "John Charles Roper and the Oxford Movement in Toronto." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 36 (October 1994) : 113-133.
- Finley, Alan Gregg. "Habits of Reverence and Awe: Bishop John Medley and the Promise of Ecclesiology." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* (April 1993) : 3-22.
- FitzGerald, John Edward. "Conflict and Culture in Irish-Newfoundland Roman Catholicism 1829-1850." Ph. D. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997.
- Gauvreau, Michael. "Beyond the Half-Way House: Evangelicalism and the Shaping of English Canadian Culture." *Acadiensis* XX (Spring 1991) : 158-177.
- Gilley, Sheridan. "The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth-Century Irish Diaspora." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35 (April 1984) : 188-207.
- Glassie, Henry. *Material Culture*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Grant, John Webster. *The Church in the Canadian Era*. Burlington, Ont.: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1988.

_____. "Methodist Origins in Atlantic Canada." In *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, pp. 32-50. Edited by H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant. Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1992.

Greene, J.P. *Between Damnation and Starvation, Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics, 1745-1855*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1999.

_____. "The Influence of Religion in the Politics of Newfoundland, 1850-1861." MA thesis, Memorial University, 1970.

Griffin-Allwood, Philip. "The Evangelical Doctrinal Consensus: An Implication of the St. Paul's (Halifax) Secession of 1825." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 36, (April 1994) : 5-18.

Gunn, G. E. *A Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1861*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1966.

Haystack Reflections. Haystack Reunion Committee, 1997.

Head, C. Grant. *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976.

Headon, Christopher F. "Developments in Canadian Anglican Worship in Eastern and Central Canada 1840-1868." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XVII (June 1975) : 26-37.

Hiller, J. K. "The 1855 Election in Bonavista Bay: An Anglican Perspective." *Newfoundland Studies* 5 (1989) : 70-76.

Innis, Harold A. *The Cod Fisheries The History of an International Economy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.

Johnson, Matthew. *An Archaeology of Capitalism*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1996.

Jones, Frederick. "Bishop Feild: A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland." Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1971.

_____. "Bishops in Politics: Roman Catholic v Protestant in Newfoundland 1860-2." *Canadian Historical Review* LV (December 1974) : 408-421.

- _____. *Edward Feild Bishop of Newfoundland 1844 - 1876*. St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1976.
- _____. "Religion, Education and Politics in Newfoundland, 1836-1875." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XII (December 1970) : 64-76.
- _____. "The Early Opposition to Bishop Field [sic] of Newfoundland." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XVI (June 1974) : 30-41.
- _____. "The Making of a Colonial Bishop: Feild of Newfoundland." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XV (March 1973) : 2-13.
- Kewley, Arthur E. "The First Fifty Years of Methodism in Newfoundland 1765-1815." *The Bulletin* 26 1977. *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XIX (March-June 1977) : 6-26.
- Lahey, R. J. *James Louis O'Donel in Newfoundland 1784-1807: The Establishment of the Roman Catholic Church*. St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1984.
- _____. "Religion and Politics in Newfoundland: The Antecedents of the General Election of 1832." Lecture to Newfoundland Historical Society, March 1979.
- Langtry, J. *History of the Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland*. London: S.P.C.K., 1892.
- Leader, Patricia J. "The Hon. Reverend William Grey, M.A." Master of Theological Studies thesis, Queen's College, St. John's, NF, 1998.
- Lear, Edward James. "Edward Feild (1801-1876) Ecclesiastic Educator: His Influence on the Development of Denominational Education in Newfoundland." M. Ed. thesis, Bishop's University, 1986.
- Le Messurier, H. W. *The Church of St. Thomas and Its Rectors 1836-1928*. St. John's: Trade Printers and Publishers, Ltd., 1928.
- Livingston, James C. *Modern Christian Thought From the Enlightenment to Vatican II*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971.
- Marks, Darren. "William S. Rainsford: Forgotten Founder of Toronto's Evangelical Anglicans 1877-1882." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 40 (Fall 1998) : 157-178.

- Masefield, John. "A Consecration" in *The Golden Caravan*, pp. 472-473. Edited by C. L. Bennet, J. F. Swayze, and Lorne Pierce. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968.
- McCann, Phillip. "Bishop Fleming and the Politicization of the Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland, 1830-1850." In *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*, pp. 81-97. Edited by Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne. St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1987.
- McCann, Phillip. "Class, Gender and Religion in Newfoundland Education, 1836-1901." A paper at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies.
- _____. "Sir John Harvey, J. V. Nugent and the School Inspectorship Controversy in the 1840s." *Newfoundland Studies* 11 (Fall 1995) : 199-222.
- _____. "The Newfoundland School Society 1823-55: missionary enterprise or cultural imperialism?" In *'Benefits Bestowed'?: Education and British Imperialism*, pp. 94-112. Edited by J. A. Mangan. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- _____. "The 'No Popery' Crusade and the Newfoundland School System, 1836-1843." *S.H.E.C. Etudes d'histoire religieuse* 58 (1997) : 79-97.
- _____. "The Politics of Denominational Education in the Nineteenth Century in Newfoundland." In *The Vexed Question: Denominational Education in a Secular Age*, pp. 30-59. Edited by William A. Mckim. St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1988.
- McGowan, Mark G. "Coming Out of the Cloister: Some Reflections on Developments in the Study of Religion in Canada, 1980-1990." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 1-2 (Spring-Fall 1990) : 175-202.
- McKay, Ian. "A Note on 'Region' in Writing the History of Atlantic Canada." *Acadiensis* XXIX (Spring 2000) : 89-101.
- McLintock, A. H. *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832: A Study of Retarded Colonisation*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941.
- Millman, Thomas R., and Kelly, A.R. *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983.

- Mockridge, Charles H. *The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland*. Toronto: F. N. W. Brown, 1896.
- Montcrief, W.M. "A History of the Presbyterian Church in Newfoundland 1842 - 1967." Centre for Newfoundland Studies.
- Morgan, Laura Bonnie. "Class and Congregation: Social Relations in Two St. John's, Newfoundland Anglican Parishes, 1877-1909." MA thesis, Memorial University, 1996.
- Muir, Elizabeth Gillan. *Petticoats in the Pulpit: The Story of Early Nineteenth-Century Methodist Women Preachers in Upper Canada*. The United Church Publishing House, 1991.
- Murphy, Terrance and Byrne, Cyril J. eds. *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*. St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1987.
- Murphy, Terrance and Stortz, Gerald, eds. *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-speaking Catholics in Canadian Society 1750-1930*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Murphy, Terence. "The Religious History of Atlantic Canada: The State of the Art." *Acadiensis* XV (Autumn 1985) : 152-174.
- Nash-Chambers, Debra. "In the Palm of God's Hand?: The Irish Catholic Experience in Mid-nineteenth Century Guelph." *Canadian Catholic Historical Studies* 51 (1984) : 67-87.
- Neary, Peter, and O'Flaherty, Patrick. *By great waters: A Newfoundland and Labrador anthology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- O'Flaherty, Patrick. *The Rock Observed*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- _____. *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843*. (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 1999.
- Owsley, Robert Rowley. *The Anglican Episcopate of Canada and Newfoundland*. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1928.
- Parsons, Jacob. "The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism 1765-1855." MA thesis, Memorial University, 1964.

Pascoe, C.F. *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900*. London: Society's Office, 1901.

Pitt, David G. *Windows of Agates: A Short History of the Founding and Early Years of Gower Street Methodist (now United) church in St. John's Newfoundland*. St. John's: Gower Street United Church, 1966.

Poole, Cyril F. Editor. *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vols. 3-5. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications Limited, 1991-1994.

Prown, Jules. "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method." *Winterthur Portfolio* 17:1 (1982), 1-2.

Prowse, D.W. *History of Newfoundland From The English, Colonial, and Foreign Records*. London: MacMillan and Co., 1895.

Rawlyk, George A. Editor. *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

_____, "New Lights, Baptists, and Religious Awakenings in Nova Scotia 1776-1843: A Preliminary Probe." In *Prophets, Priests and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History, 1608 to the Present*, pp. 37-60. Edited by Mark G. McGowan and David B. Marshall. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1992.

_____. "William Black, Henry Alline, and Nova Scotia's First Great Awakening." In *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, pp. 79-91. Edited by Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

_____. *Wrapped up in God: A Study of Several Canadian Revivals and Revivalists*. Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Company, Ltd., 1988.

Rogers, J.D. *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies, Vol. V, Part IV, Newfoundland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

Rollmann, Hans. "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland." In *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, pp. 53-76. Edited by Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

- Roper, Henry. "Evangelical-Tractarian Conflict over Divinity Education at the University of King's College." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 36 (April 1994) : 37-57.
- Rowe, Frederick. *A History of Education in Newfoundland*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1952.
- Ryan, Shannon. *Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade, 1814-1914*. St. John's: Breakwater Books Limited, 1986.
- _____. *The Ice Hunters: A History of Newfoundland Sealing to 1914*. St. John's: Breakwater Books Limited, 1994.
- Scobie, Charles H.H., and Grant, John Webster, eds. *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.
- Semple, Neill. *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.
- Smallwood, J. R., ed. *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 1-2. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers (1967) Ltd., 1981-1984.
- Smith, T.W. *Methodism in Easter British America*, Vol. 2. Halifax: The Methodist Bookroom, 1890.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.
- Stortz, Gerald J. "Archbishop John Joseph Lynch of Toronto: Twenty-eight Years of Commitment." *Study Sessions* 49 (1982) : 5-23. The Canadian Historical Association. Ottawa: Historia Ecclesiae Catholicae Canadensis Publications Inc., 1982.
- The Codner Centenary, or the Performance of a Vow: A Short Review of the Rise and Progress of the Colonial and Continental Church Society*. s. l. : s. n., 1924?
- The History of Burin By Its Senior Citizens*. Marystown: South Coast Printers Limited, 1977.
- Thompson, E. P. "Eighteenth-century English Society: class struggle without class ?" *Social History*, 3, 2 (May 1978), pp. 133-165.

Thompson, H. P. *Into All Lands: The History of the S.P.G. 1701-1950*. London: SPCK, 1951.

Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History*. New York. Longman, 1984.

Tulk, Ken T. *Arnold's Cove: A Community History*. St. John's: Robinson-Blackmore Printing and Publishing Limited, 1997.

Vaudry, Richard W. "Evangelical Anglicans and the Atlantic World: Politics, Ideology, and the British North American Connection." In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, pp. 154-170. Edited by G. A. Rawlyk. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Winsor, Naboth. *Hearts Strangely Warmed: A History of Methodism in Newfoundland 1765 - 1925*, Vol 1. Gander: B.S.C. Printers, 1982.

_____. "Methodism in Newfoundland 1855-1884." MA thesis, Memorial University, 1970.

Yates, Nigel. *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism*. London: The Historical Association, 1984.

Appendix
Archive of the late Thomas Collett, Harbour Buffett

Letters 1845 - 1857 *

John Collett to Thomas E. Collett

44 Vincent Square
Westminster
15th April 1845

My Dear Son Thomas

I received your interesting letter of the October last and I was very happy to find the contents so very favourable and of so much comfort and you and your numerous family so well and happy. I have found that this life happiness is not found here below, but in our breasts, and therefore I sincerely wish all of you increased success. You ought all of you to be content and thankful for your health and remove from this place, where between taxes and large payments of every kind, the most industrious can scarcely procure living in any way comfortable and agreeable to themselves. I had always a great dislike to writing letters, and I still find it more difficult at my time of life. I did not answer James letter on that account. You say he is in St. John's. I hope he and Family are well and when you see or write to him say so, and be content in what ever his state may be in this troublesome world. I have not heard from Mary a long time. She I dare say has enough to do with her large family to attend to. I have not for a long time written so much and I am quite tired and faint, so my Dear Thomas, you must excuse more and believe me

Your affectionate Father
John Collett

Mr. T. E. Collett
Beaufit
Placentia Bay
Newfoundland

To the care of Messrs. Job Brothers & Co., St. John's.

*
These letters remain the property of David Collett, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Thomas E. Collett to Revd. Henry Deck, Secretary to Newfoundland School Society

Beaufette June 20th 1849

Respected Sir

Having been a large recipient of the very great blessings conferred upon the inhabitants of this country by your noble society in the establishment of your valuable schools not only in Petty Harbour but more particularly in this remote and until the last sixteen years unknown and uninhabited harbor, suffer me to address you and, and at last to offer my tribute of gratitude in acknowledging the great obligations I shall ever consider myself under to the founders and supporters of so valuable an institution. I feel proud I had the opportunity of assisting by all the means in my power the erection of the school house in Petty Harbor where I there resided, and must ever remember with thankfulness the debt I owe to Mr. and Mrs. David Martin for their kind attention to my three eldest children in that School since which time my other eight have been and are still enjoying the inestimable benefits of your branch School here, instructed by Mr. Haddon, a person justly beloved and esteemed not only by every person in this community, but I firmly believe by everyone who has ever been acquainted with his care and attention to his duties as a servant of your Society. It is with pain I have perused in the *Record* the present embarrassed state of a Society that has conferred and spread abroad such numberless and invaluable benefits to this benighted land, and more particularly in this western extremity where only but for its timely succour hundreds of those who now attend our Church of England services would have been wandering amidst the mazes of Popery.

Your late worthy servant the Revd. Mr. Willoughby first visited this Bay and on behalf of your Society I was happy in him personally acquainted with and such as have lamented the discontinuance of the School he instituted in Placentia still his labors were not lost, the forlorn state of these parts were brought under the eye of your Society and which also I am happy to say will be considerably benefited by the will of Thomas Russell of Woody Island in this bay lately deceased. Mr. Willoughby fortunately met with this individual a honest and humble man scarcely known except by his immediate neighbours, he however from his good wishes for welfare of those around him / having himself without any family connections / became as no doubt you are aware an annual subscriber towards your funds, and last year executed his Will leaving the whole of his many effects to your Society. He has since that unfortunately met an accidental death. I mention these particulars feeling a great pleasure that the returns made by the inhabitants of this bay have been but small through their very limited means still there are some who will ever value so laudable a Society as yours has proved itself and give as they are able towards its support. Divine Providence has blessed the efforts this season of the people of this place

in their fishery so far, and I am in great hopes that altho' they are now most justly called on for a yearly subscription to the Church Society towards the support of the Clergy yet, they will this year increase the amount of their payments towards their School.

Whatever little influence I may here possess shall not be wanting and as example often proves more efficacious than precept have instructed your teacher to place £5 for this years payment instead of the usual 2.16.0 opposite my name in his list of collections. As a member of the Protestant Board of Education for this Bay I shall continue to use my greatest exertions on the behalf of your Society, and as in all probability the Colonial grant will hereafter be increased to our Board I shall hope a larger portion of it will be appropriated to the Schools.

I trust I have not trespassed too far upon your time in thus addressing you, but feeling it a duty due for the manifold advantages I have enjoyed from my children's improvement in every good work, will I hope be considered a sufficient apology.

I beg to remain
Respected Sir
Your very obedient Servant
Thos. E. Collett

Ann Maria Bendell to Emma Collett

Harbour Beaufette April 11th 1850

My dear Emma

I have written you one letter and you have not received it I hear and I hope you will receive this one. But I wonder that you have not written to me, and I hope you will when you get this.

The school is greatly altered since Mr. Haddon left the[re] is scarcely one attends it now. As for my own part I have nothing to do with it now Mr. White has turned both me and John away, last fall he began to teach the children two hours every day and he continued it all winter only when forgot it [sic], but he came down one day and almost begged me to go half an hour every day but I would not and both him and Mrs. White would not give me any rest till I would go. And I wanted to learn a little from her and I went at last, and one morning when we were at prayer John and George Hann had their spelling book open between them and he spied them and when we got up he turned John away but him and Thomas Hann were capital friends and George was not turned away and I looked at George and just smiled and he turned me away also and you may guess how I feel when I see others going to Sunday School and cant go to. He turned William Berton and Christopher U. away to but they came and begged his pardon and took them in again. He wanted me to do the same, but I would not for I did not know what to beg his pardon for. But 2 or 3 days before he turned me away I had the good luck to get a fine book from him and he came down and insisted upon having the book and I gave him it and he scratched his name out off the book and gave it to me again and if he put his name out I soon hid mine for I got the picture of our saviour and put over it. Now I think that is enough of that story. Elizabeth is got quite well again thank God and I have spent the last two days and nights with her she is living in her house again as comfortable as ever. Mother and father have got very good health this winter and all of us thank God. And they have got the new boat done and launched they had a fine launch. And we had them all here to dinner the Boat is called the Emma. We have got 5 lambs all we are going to get this spring. Mr. Evan's little girl is got quite ill again and she has got another little boy and he has got two thumbs on one hand. Rachel Joyce has got a little girl and she is very poorly. Susan Berton has got a little girl to. And Ruth says she cannot go this spring but she says please God she is spared till August she will go. Sophia and William sends their love to you and Mr. Haddon and his family And Mother and Father and all our family sends their love to Mr. Haddon and all his family. And please give my love to my dear Teacher and Mrs. Haddon and John sends his love to Thomas I hope you will write all the of Bonavista School [sic] I wonder why you have not written to me I hope you are not thinking yourself above it. Your Mother and Father spent last evening [sic]

So I remain

Your affectionate friend

Ann Maria Bendell

Thomas E. Collett to Emma Collett

Beaufet June 20th 1850

My Dear Emma

When writing a few days since to Mr. Haddon and Mary I had not spare time to reply to your kind letters of 1st & 21st May, they reached me at St. Johns when I was too busy even to read them with the attention I wished, replying to them now as well as Tom's letters will divide the pleasure I hope you enjoy when hearing from Beaufet for I always consider receiving a group of letters all at once, and in having all your welcome letters in a heap proves too much of a feast to compensate for so long a fast during a long winter – The pleasure they have afforded us all has been a treat indeed, to know that you all are enjoying good health and also to feel assured of the many inestimable benefits you are partakers of being allowed to remain in that good society which kindness and means of our connexion with Mr. Haddon enables you and Tom to enjoy, are benefits which neither you nor him or even myself can even justly repay; I can 1 only return thanks to Almighty God that he has heard my constant prayers that he would so take my dear children under his guidance that they would be secured from evil and directed towards that path which will lead them to everlasting peace – Mary, under Gods will has been the instrument, and I trust you and Tom will never wilfully offend or displease her, much less even by any single act or word cause your best friend Mr. Haddon a moment's irritation or displeasure, but by every possible means anticipate his wishes and shew yourselves ever ready to fall in with all his arrangements, and more particularly by a constant strict attendance at the family altar so ably presided at by him; never permit him to wait a moment for you, but if possible show him that the pleasure you feel there, always proves as a spur to hasten you through your other duties that you may be ready in time – so that God who knows all our hearts may pour down his blessings upon each of us as well as upon yourself –

I have carefully noted your requests, which I trust will all be complied with altho' which much greater delay than I wished, but not having time to attend to them myself when in St. John's I have left money with Mr. Dunn for Mr. Haddon when he reaches St. Johns to buy out and meet both yours and Toms as far as practicable, the residence I will attend to when I see you in August – We have been unfortunate with our lambs as well as all other persons around us, when about a month old & when in the best apparent health many of them have suddenly been seized with a giddiness wand running round once or twice, have fallen down dead – Mr. Butler has attributed it to eating too much dry food which perhaps a short supply of milk induce them to do, but from the good condition ours were in leads me to think it must be some disorder we are unacquainted with – Mr. Whiffen lost upwards of forty – we have saved only about a fourth part of ours – Poor

Eliza lost one yesterday – Today your mother is sending Ned to look for the cows and as we suppose will be accompanied by their calves.

I will desire your sisters to write as well as Maria who will inform of all the chit chat of the Bay – Kiss all the children for me and believe me

to remain

My Dear Emma

Your affect. Father

Thos. E. Collett

P.S. The frocks you write of have not reached us, your books etc. I have left at St. Johns for you at Mr. Dunn's with some articles sent by your mother for the children.

Jno. Septhenson to Richard Collett

Sheriff's Office Ferryland June 3, 1853

Sir,

I have to inform you that some time ago I received a letter from H.W. Hoyles Esq. stating that a writ had passed your hands issued out of the Supreme Court out of the suit of Hounsel, "Shenke & Hounsel" against "Robert Evans" of Harbour Buffett and that in consequence of the removal of the defendant from the country an order from the Chief Justice had been obtained for the sale of the lands and property attached under the said writ which land was subsequently sold to the School Society and for which I have executed a deed and conveyance being duly indemnified

Richard Collett, Esq.
Deputy Sheriff.

Sir
Your Obedient Servant
Jno. Stephenson
Sheriff

John S. Peach, Methodist Minister, Burin to Thomas E. Collett, Harbour Buffett,
February 24, 1854.

Burin 24 Febry 1854

My Dear Sir

I was somewhat disappointed at not seeing you while on my tour round the bay this fall. I was also sorry – but have been much more so since – when the news of your bereavement reach'd me I was I cannot tell how. It seemed to fall on my ears as something unaccountable, and it affected my heart in a way I can hardly describe. Then I wished I could but have “wings and fly away” and be with you for a season. Ah well the thought occurred and what could you do – do – it is true I could not do much. All I could do would be to try and comfort such as mourn and that with the “comfort with which we are comforted of God.” And must I believe it. What? That fine athletic frame, which was so assiduously pursuing the calling in “which God had placed it” must I believe that that frame is numbered with “the clods of the valley.” Alas! How short is human live. “Cut down like a flower” “it fleeth as a shadow.” I should suppose from the nature of the disease poor John was at times delirious in such cases the survivors have not all the satisfaction they desire. As I have not heard I could hope that it was otherwise, and that respecting him “you sorrow not as those without hope.”

But great as my surprise was in the one instance, it was still heightened when I learned that the wounds being inflicted on parental feeling were scarcely healed ere they were opened again by having to visit “the valley & the shadow” again. I am sure you and dear Mrs. Collett must have felt the smart of the afflicting and bereaving rod. It is a mercy however that we know these things come not out of the dust – and though painful to flesh & blood – they tell us we are to be profited thereby. “The Lord doth not willingly afflict nor grieve the children of men but for their profit.” Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth and scourgeth every one that he receiveth” Like as a father pitieth his children so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.” Since the Lord places before us the melancholy fact that life is short – allow me my dear sir to suggest the vast importance of a Scriptural hope of “Eternal life” but how shall we find it is the question: – Externalism will not impart it, a strict and punctual observance of all that is laid down by Pharisaism will not do – The Bible tells us it is in having a new heart and a right spirit – we must be born again “created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works” so that “all old things pass away and all things become new.” God is Spirit, and he must be known spiritually – so as to cause the soul, to adore and love him. This knowledge is by a living faith in Christ – and this living faith is produced in the heart by the Spirit of God. Let us then implore “the God of all grace” to grant us the gift of the Holy Ghost to work in us contrition for the past, a present remission of all past sin – and strength to do his will the remainder of our

days. On the great act of forgiveness being imparted to the soul we shall find a life begun in us which is never to end. Then shall we understand what the apostle means when he says "I live yet not I but Christ liveth in me and the life I now live is by faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me." My kind regards to Mrs. Collett. Remember me to Mr. & Mrs. Bendall. Wishing you every blessing.

I am Dear Sir yours affectly
John S. Peach

Mary Haddon to Anne Collett, April 4th (1854)

Bonavista April 4th (1854)

My dear and affectionate friend,

I hardly know how to begin to write to you, the sudden news of poor, Emma's death almost overcomes me. She was soon cut off but dying such a happy death as she did, we thought to, rejoice and not weep at her separation from this world of sin and sorrow. I cannot think that she is dead and that I will see her not more in this world. Dear Sister it seems but a short time since we parted, and shall I not see her again, Oh! My dear Mother, I can hardly bear the thought. John feels it very much, she was more like one of his own children, than a sister in law, and I know he was very fond of her, because she used to like to listen to good advice, and in reading good books, which showed that she took delight in what was good, and trying to serve God. I would often find her reading in her room, and seemed to embrace every opportunity of being alone, to read and to pray so that Jesus to save her, who did not forsake her in her last moments, but was with her to "waft her spirit home" with him in heaven, there to dwell "for ever and ever" Oh! My dear Mother it is a warning to us all to "Prepare to meet our God," to me in particular, for the Lord has been very merciful to me in sparing me to this hour, for had he sent me off, as young as poor Emma, where would I be now. My Dear Mother I fear all would not be right. I did not begin to think seriously until after I was married. You know I was very wild and thoughtless about the concerns of my soul, but I hope that God has begun a work of grace and that by his help I may lead a better life for the future. As John has written a good deal to Father about poor Emma, I will not dwell on this painful subject any longer, but will let you know a little about how we are all getting on. We are all quite well in health. Baby is growing very fast, he is not very fat, but has stout limbs, he is beginning to make me look thin, I will feed him as soon as I can get some milk. We expect our cow to calve soon. My sheep had two fine ewe lambs, but she had no milk the first two days, we fed them with goats and cows milk, which I suppose did not agree with them, they both died. One would suck, but the other would not at all, the old sheep took no notice of them whatever, and would not let them go near her, which made me afraid they would not live. I hope you are all making preparations for leaving Beaufet. Every one thinks it would be much to your advantage to live in Catalina, how much I wish you were all there, that we may be together once more as a family, but whether you come or not in the spring, I should like to have one of the girls to live with us. I suppose you could not spare Phebe but let me have Ellen if she comes to St. Johns, John will be there about the last of May, and she could come round with him.

Sally writes me that she expects another little one in the spring, and that Eliza does too. She is making up for lost time. I should like to be living near the poor thing, for I seem like one cast away from you all. I hope you will all try to come to Catalina, for

I am sure it is a better place than Beaufet, both for your temporal, as well as spiritual good. Mr. Netten is a good man, and a kind friend to all. You would be able to spend your sabbaths well and not be sitting under such a tyrant as Mr. White, who only delights in railing at you and saying all manner of evil against you falsely, but I hope will soon be taught better, and that by him whom he persecutes, every sensible person here thinks that Mr. White is very wrong in trying to make out all Father has said to be downright falsehoods "and done with malicious intention." They say that Father would not dare to publish such things, if they were not true, but they are true and truth will prevail, we have just received a letter from Mr. Vicars and in it he says "just fancy, Mr. Collett's Pamphlet has been read in the Queen's drawing room, so I think that Father's Pamphlet has set them all thinking. I have not much more to relate, except that it is a very backward spring here, a great many are very bad off, there are none of the sealers in yet, belonging to this harbour, but several gone in to St. John's and Trinity with good trips. If the men who are gone from the harbour do not bring home something, they will be starved, for there is no provisions in the place to be had, only what Shears and Saint has, and that is getting short now. I believe we will have enough until we get it from St. John's, but there are so many poor children coming begging every day, and you know how John is about giving. He would soon leave none for ourselves, if I was not to storm at him and make him remember his own poor children. I tell him, if the ice comes in we will be all starved, for there will be no provisions to be had. You must give my love to Sarah and tell her, I have not time to answer her letter now. Remember me to poor Mary Ann and kiss her little boy for me. I feel for the poor thing very much. I think that she and poor dear John loved each other very much, he seemed to doat on her almost. I should like to know if she is living with you or with her Father. Give my love to my dear sister, Eliza. I hope she is well and all her dear children, and poor Sam, and think they are very fond of each other. If you come here to live, don't leave her behind. I seem to long for the time to come, when we shall see each other again. I shall miss poor Emma, among you very much. Poor dear John was weaned from me a good deal, living away from him so long, but dear sister Emma, it is such a short time that she left us. I feel her loss very much, she had such a even temper, say what I would to her, she would not get angry. The last six months she was with us she was preparing for her end, she would go to hear Mr. England, as often as she could, she use to go in the forenoon, and often meet Mr. Bayly going to Church, but would not go to hear him because what he preached was only stuff, and only a waste of time.

John Haddon to Thomas E. Collett, April 7th [1854]

No. 2

By the last post I received five copies of the Governor's Pamphlet. I cannot tell who sent them, they came without any accompanying note. There is no question about the masterly style in which he handles his subject, his justification of your conduct is admirable. He writes with the ease and freedom of one who has truth on his side which bears in striking contrast in this particular to the manner of his opponents. The doctor had sent to him Mr. Bridge's justification of the Committee and the Bishop's explication of the letter he addressed to you, in separate Pamphlets, which I trust you have seen. I have read them - they do not alter the case but make it far worse, and the Governor's is a destructive broadside to all their sophistry. The Bishop, Mr. Bridge, the lawyers Robinson and Hoyles and several others will get a stain and a dishonour through wickedly opposing you which they will never get over. I perceive the Liberal party /as they style themselves/ in politics are making use of the Church question to their advantage. My dear Father the eye of the world is on you be firm and faithful. I have sent three letters addressed to Mr. Bridge to the Ed. of the *Courier* for publication and an anonymous note. None of which having appeared, I begin to think there is some mischief in the Post Office - you know Shea was book keeper to Dunscomb's, and Mr. Bridge having married into that family may have given him some acquaintance and influence with Mr. Shea. I purpose making out a copy of these letters and sending them to a friend, or else I will get Mr. Lawrence to direct them for me - as I consider them of some importance.

I have not received a letter from Mr. Vicars lately, nor from my New York relatives, but a newspaper came by last post from N.Y. directed in father's writing, upon which was written in pencil "All's well." I had one from Brother William, he and his family are well. He tells me that he leads the singing in the Independent Chapel. What a shame for him to forsake the old Methodist Chapel where he was Christianized. This is his wife's doing. She ought to follow, not lead, but adopt Ruth's [], "Where thou goest, I will go" etc. There have been a very few seals taken in the nets and not one hauled on the ice. The northern ice did not touch the shore. I hear that a few vessels are in landed. White's and Rogerson's. Our goat brought us two kids a few days ago which are now quite hearty and strong, our sheep two lambs yesterday. They were very weak and the old one took no notice of them. One died today and the other is looking very dull. The old sheep was well fed during the winter.

April 10th I have again read over the Committee's "Resolution." The domineering spirit was in them and they could not keep it in even whilst addressing the Governor. They repeat to him the old story of opposing the Bishop, they say he has now put himself indirect and open opposition to the L. Bishop. It is amusing that the L. Bishop did not endorse their resolution, and thus render their fine talk all ham. Their character of Mr.

White is very justly drawn, “a clergyman whose labors have been as exemplary as they have been beneficial to his flock” – exactly so. Although What an unjustifiable use is made of the lawyers opinions. What labored erections without foundations! really it seems like an experiment upon the gullibility of the public, the extent to which it has succeeded, although it is some kind of trial to our patience, and excites our pity, yet it does afford some degree of amusement. I hope you have got the Bishop’s address concerning the just interpretation of his letter to you – He it appears, wishes his clergy to do as I heard a Board Schoolmaster say he was determined to do viz. to teach as far as the money goes. I imagine the Bishop and his clergy had better consult their “Royal Instructions,” and from thence they will learn their duty is irrespective of their flocks. I mean that it is the duty of the Clergy to minister to his flock, and the duty of the flock to remunerate him, and both are responsible to God.

The Post man has arrived, and having a good deal to write I must bring this to a conclusion, more abruptly than I wished.

Mrs. Thompson is disposed to rent her premises at a low rent for 5 or 10 years, I am sure they would suit your better than Shear’s, considering that the premises are dilapidated you ought to get them for at most £5 – per annum. I have written again to Mrs. Thompson desiring to know exactly her terms, but if you arrive at St. John’s early in the season, I would advise you to see Mrs. T. and settle with her yourself. My dear Sir you had better be as prompt as possible fearing Puseyite machinations. I trust you will have no difficulty in obtaining a full supply. I would engage to go security in £50 per annum, you will have to embark in a rather large scale. Praying as I constantly do for your welfare trusting in the goodness and mercy of God towards us. With best love to all

I remain My Dear Dear
 Father in law, you affectionate
 Son John Haddon

P.S. Mr. & Mrs. England send their best respects, and bid you remember the patience of Job.

N.B. I did not receive your M.S to the Governor which you made mention of.

Thomas E. Collett to Revd. Henry Deck, member of the committee of the Colonial Church and School Society.

Beaufet Feby. 9, 1857

Rev. Henry Deck
My Dear Sir

I turn with pleasure to your kind letter of this month in the year 1850 when you had again so kindly secured again a teacher for this place. Since that time the various circumstances relative to the progress of the School and in connection with it which have transpired induce me again to take the liberty of addressing you as one of the Committee of the Church School Society.

Doubtless you are aware of the purchase of a property and house here for a School, an expense forced upon the St. John's Committee by the Bishop's refusal to allow your Society the use of the School premises although built and paid for by the inhabitants of this place and occupied by Mr. Haddon and his successors. There is but little doubt upon my mind that that refusal was considered as a finishing blow to deprive this locality and in fact the whole of this Bay of the great benefit of your Schools, which step when rendered fruitless by the praiseworthy exertions of the St. John's Committee has led to all the subsequent annoyances and even injustice to our present valuable teacher Mr. Ward.

The kind letter sent to him by your Secretary last fall has afforded me much pleasure having been favored by him with its refusal, the many severe trials, discourteous treatment of, and even insults to which he has been subject, that kind letter has proved a real balm more particularly needed as he is a person of a mild and unassuming disposition and consequently more sensitive to such treatment.

The number of children in the school I am happy to inform you has been increased by these steps of the enemy and followed by more zeal for the Society, better attention to the comforts of the teacher and the providing a longer stack of fine wood for the School. Notwithstanding the usual departure of several families to the woods for the winter season the daily attendance of the children at this present date exceeds that of last winter by ten or upwards, as well also of the attendance of some of the Parents who appear to feel their own inferiority by contrasting the attainments of their children with their own ignorance, this latter incident will I presume afford gratification to your Society. Having ever considered your valuable Schools as the greatest bulwarks in opposition to popery in this country they are becoming and have in fact have already become of double value in stemming [*sic*] the increase of semi-popery or tractarianism which unfortunately pervades this land and which I had hoped was effectually met by our late excellent Governor Hamilton, but such I am sorry to say is not the case, the same high hand is lifted up and every opposer to its power is made to feel the effects. At the meeting of the Board of

Education in July last in this place, I as a member strongly advocated the renewal of the former grants of a portion of our funds to your Society previous to the appointment of Mr. Ward, which brought me into collision with our Churchman, Mr. Meek, the Minister of this place, who amidst all his other reasons for opposing such a measure plainly assented his readiness to aid any other teacher in any other locality even a Wesleyan than "recognize for a moment that Society whose school was evidently doing so much injury in this place." Such language from a son of one of your oldest and perhaps one of your most valuable Teachers for many years in this Country was certainly more than I expected to hear, but this only affords proof of my former remark the increased value of your Schools and Teachers in this land. For my interference and advocacy in behalf of the Society I can only attribute to the extreme powers of the Church being again exercised against myself last Christmas Day, but which will not deter me from rendering all the assistance in my power for the good of the Society and adding to the comforts of our valuable Teacher Mr. Ward.

With the greatest respect

I beg to remain

T. E. Collett

PS. It is perhaps well to add that immediately before the Meeting I had received the Communion from Mr. Meek, being his first administration bur refused at his second at Christmas.

Copy of letter to
Mr. Deck
Feby. 1857

Thomas Edwards Collett to Charles Simms, local chairman of Colonial Church and School Society.

“Copy”

Beaufit 26 December 1856

My Dear Sir

“ On Sunday last in giving notice of the celebration of the communion on Christmas day our Minister the Revd. W. F. Meek added all persons intending to communicate are required to make personal application to me previous. Having suspected some mischief was working I sent him a note signifying my wish to communicate, which caused him to call and he began by saying I had most disrespectfully obliged him to come to me, instead of as he had considered it my duty to have obeyed his requisition & waited upon him; he then referred to the Rubric as his authority for my governance, but which I replied ordered nothing of the kind; he then came to the gist of the affair and said that in consequence of my opposition to the Church and conduct towards the Bishop with not paying anything towards the Church Society he could not admit me to the Holy Communion. I then informed him I should present myself, when he replied that the should then be compelled to pass me by on his own responsibility and that he was quite confident of the approval of his superior, the Bishop; thus our interview ended, and yesterday I presented myself at the Communion Rail and his Reverence carried his point passing me with both the bread and the wine. When the Bishop was here 18 months since I received from his Lordships hands and in July last from Mr. Meek's that whatever the pretended cause is it must be something since that period and I am not aware of anything myself. I am thus then as in the Holy Inquisition punished to the full extent of the power of the church without either a tryal or a knowledge of my crime.”

George Berley to Ernest Hawkins, Secretary to SPG

Liverpool
April 13, 1857.

Sir

You will perhaps recollect that in November 1853 I bought under your notice a correspondence which took place between Mr. Collett of Beaufet and the Bishop of Newfoundland relative to the Romish practices of the Rev. W.K. White and I regret that I should now have to trouble you again with another complaint from that same quarter.

By a note from Mr. Collett of 26 December 1856 an Extract from which I beg to leave to enclose, it appears that the Rev. W.F. Meek the minister of Beaufit has thought proper to refuse the sacrament to Mr. Collett, not because of any immoral conduct but because Mr. Collett does not contribute to the Church Society according to the notions of said Meek; Now if Mr. Collett's statement be correct and I have no reason to doubt it for I have personally known him above 40 years and have never had reason to suspect his truthfulness, Mr. Meek is acting in a manner which will bring discredit on your Society and drive members of the Church of England to become dissenters and if you view his conduct in this light I would respectfully request the Committee of the Society through you to take the needful steps to put an end to such unseemly disputes & to stop any further attempts at persecution of Mr. Collett by clergymen in the pay or under the control of your Society.

I remain
Reverend Sir
Yours Respectfully

The Revd. E. Hawkins, B.D.
Secretary of the Society
for the Propagation of the
Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Geo Burley

George Berley to Ernest Hawkins, Secretary to SPG

Post Mail

Liverpool 24 April 1857

My Dear Sir

Your letter posted 5 March came to hand 24 ult and I was much pleased to hear from you, but I have so much writing in matters of business I trust you will excuse a brief reply. I was much vexed to find our old friend Collett again annoyed by these Tractarian d____s.[sic] I am only impressed Collett troubles himself about them. I send your Copy of my note to Mr. Hawkins and his reply also a copy of the Extract I made from Collett's note to you which I sent with my letters that you also may see exactly what I have done. I was half afraid he would not reply to my letter because I am no longer a Subscriber to the Society but when I found out the Tractarian practices of the Bishops and clergy of the Society I discontinued my Subscription. I must wait a month in time to see what is done but if I don't hear in that time I will bring the matter under the notice of some member of the Committee but I think they are alive to the injury the Society is likely to sustain from the conduct of such men as Bishop Newfoundland and so will most likely write Mr. Meek and tell him such conduct will not do for the Society. Lately made a very good appointment to the Bishopric of the Society N. S. W. in the person of Revd. F. Barker who was our clergyman for 5 years while we lived in Edge House and was during that time a truly Evangelical man. I return Collett's note to you having taken a copy of it. I send you the Herald regularly and if it does not come to hand please inform me. You will find it a general Post and Paper rather too much so for so many readers but not for me sirs having had much experience among men of almost all nations. I can only ascribe to our Protestantism the Power and Influence of our little Island over the nations of the earth. and holding such an opinion I take a deep interest in our preservation of it and sincerely and deeply regret the general indifference which too much prevails and for so many years past (15 or 20) I have thought we shall again have Romanism the Estab. religion of this country. Everything is tending in that direction and only this in severe dire calamity will arouse people from their apathy.

I beg to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Simms and family and also to your brother James [] and family and with best wishes for your health and happiness.

I remain My Dear Sir

Most truly your Geo. Berly

Copy Mr. Hawkins reply

79 Pall Mall 17 April, 1857

Sir

I have read your letters together with an extract of one from Mr. Collett in reference to the Rev. Mr. Meek and will lay it before the proper authorities.

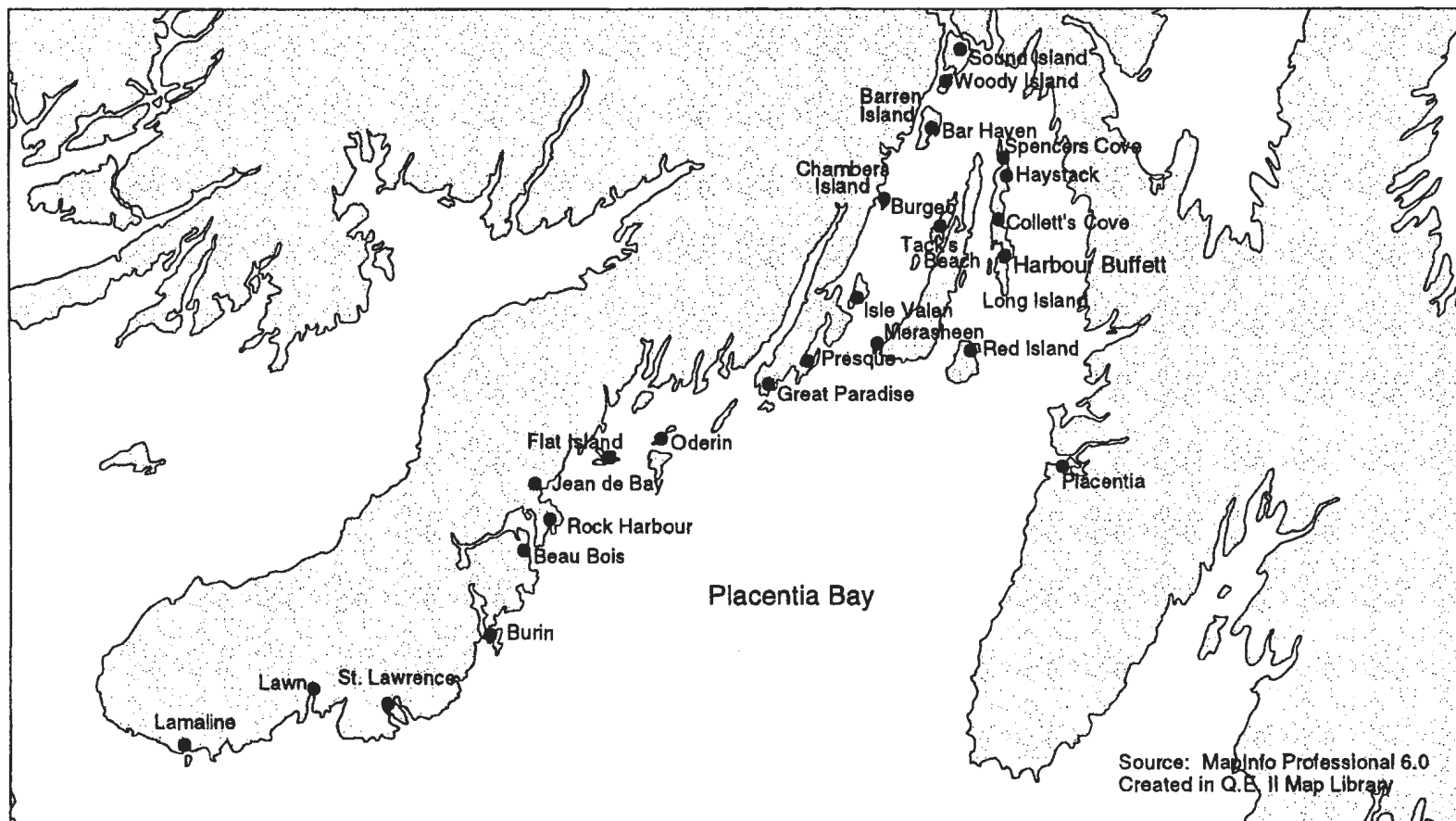
I am []

Ernest Hawkins

I send 11 Church [Pusey] Magazines which please send Collett after perusal.

Charles Simms, St. John's, Newfoundland

Post Mail Liverpool 24AP 1857 Newfoundland My 11 1857



Placentia Bay

Harbour Buffett



