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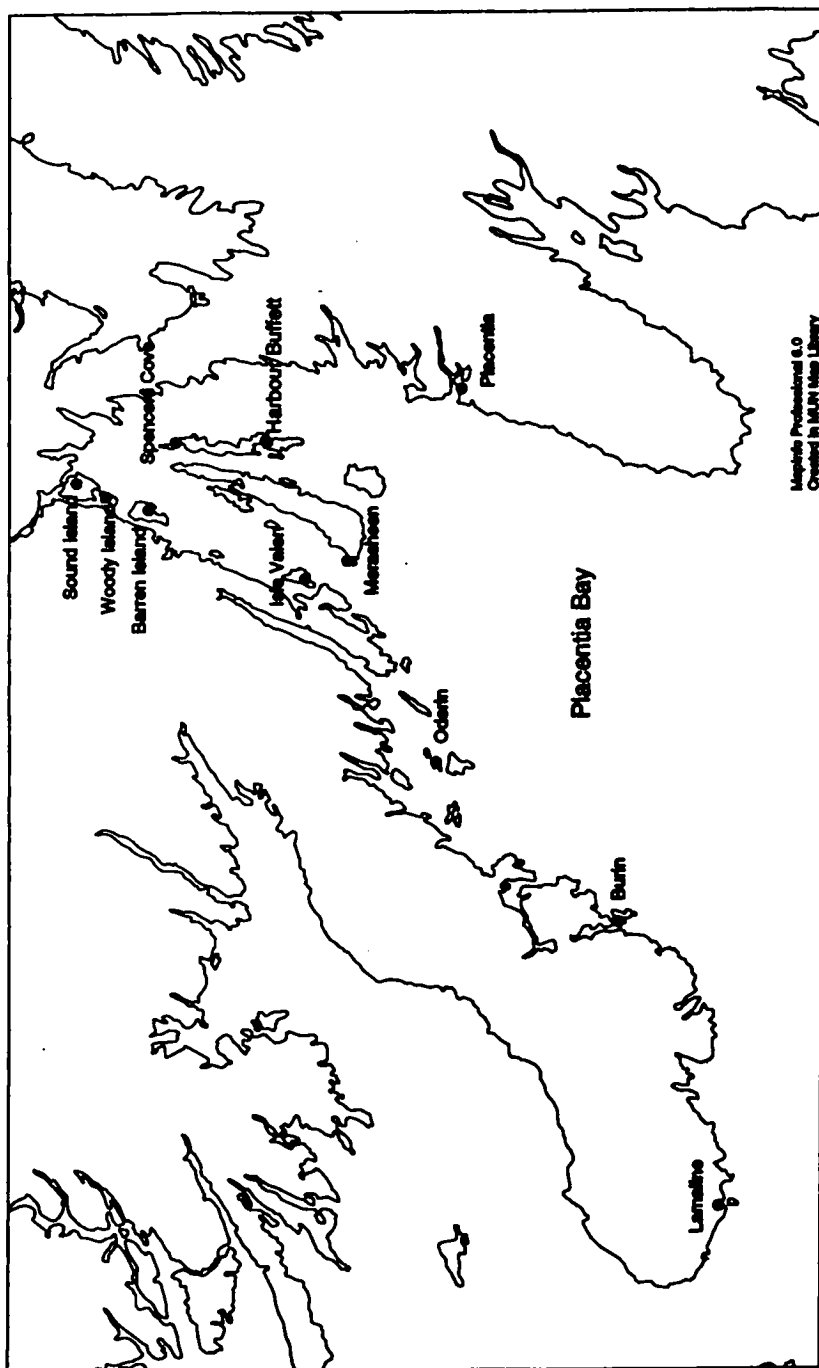
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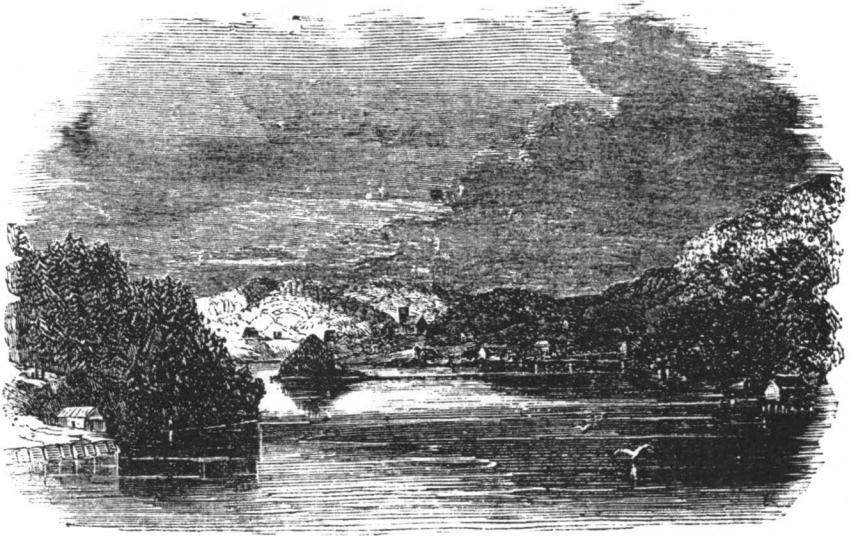
Evangelicals vs. Tractarians. Resistance to Bishop Feild at Harbour Buffett, Placentia Bay, 1849-1854

CALVIN HOLLETT

ON AUGUST 10, 1851, when Edward Feild, Bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda, visited Harbour Buffett in Placentia Bay, a mere 13 communicants attended the service. What is more, a number of these were "strangers who arrived on the previous day."¹ Yet the population of the settlement was at least 240, of whom nearly 200 were members of the Church of England.² The contrast with his predecessor 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 St. John's *Public Ledger* asked, "What has caused that ... change?"⁴ This question is examined in this article.

Until Bishop Edward Feild's arrival, the Church of England in Newfoundland was evangelical, or Low Church. It placed little importance on a ceremonial and sacramental priesthood. It emphasized preaching instead, calling on people to respond to Christ through the Biblical message, and to receive salvation through the blood of Jesus. Rev. Johnstone Vicars, for example, used the standard Protestant terminology of justification, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption to describe his preaching at St. John's.⁵ Spencer, the first bishop, was of this persuasion,⁶ and he had recruited a number of evangelical clergy, among them Robert Traill Spence Lowell from Harvard, who wrote *The New Priest in Conception Bay*.⁷ In the absence of clergymen, congregations were generally served by a layman who read Morning and Evening Services in his own or a neighbour's house. There were many individuals like Abraham Ackerman of Bonavista who upon his death in 1822 had been a lay reader for 40 years.⁸





HARBOUR BUFFET, PLACENTIA BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND

Frontispiece of *Church in the Colonies, No. X. Diocese of Newfoundland of the Bishop's Visitation of the Mission on the South and West Coast, August and September, 1845* (London: Printed for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1846). Author's copy, used by permission.

Bishop Feild came to Newfoundland in 1844 from a different world, that of the Gothic Revival and the Tractarian Movement — the name derived from the publication of tracts by the movement's leaders, among them E.B. Pusey and John Keble. Tractarianism sought to bring the Church of England back to its Catholic origins and traditions. It emphasized the sacraments, and the doctrines of spiritual regeneration at baptism and the real presence at Holy Communion. The communion table became an altar, with a cross and candles. The minister became an officiating priest rather than a preacher of the Bible. He wore a surplice to make visible his priestly authority and role, and faced the east when he prayed. He encouraged members of the church to make "auricular" or personal confession. Thus the role and special status of the clergy was emphasized, and that of lay people diminished accordingly.

Bishop Feild desired to place his tractarian stamp on the church in Newfoundland. He also set out to centralize the control of church finances under his authority. He thought the Church of England in Newfoundland should, as much as possible, pay for itself, rather than be financed in part by contributions from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Therefore, he required that every member of the Church of England pay ten shillings or a quintal of fish annually to the Church

Society, whose purpose it was to raise funds locally to pay for church buildings, Bibles, books, and clerical salaries.⁹ The historian D.W. Prowse, son of the evangelical Robert Prowse, wrote in the 1890s of Bishop Feild's "striking personality," and how "his powerful influence changed the whole character of the church and the clergy in the colony. The ministers had all belonged to the Evangelical or Low Church type; one of this school is now a *rara avis* in the diocese."¹⁰

MONEY AND BAPTISM AT HARBOUR BUFFETT

Feild succeeded in implementing his programme, but not without opposition. One of the centres of lay resistance was the church at Harbour Buffett, where, in the fall of 1849, William Kepple White, the clergyman, went around the harbour to collect subscriptions to the Church Society. The residents may not have wanted to support the Bishop's tractarian program in this way, but they were unwilling to refuse. After all, White was also chairman of the community's relief committee,¹¹ which gave him considerable power and influence. For the fisherman and his family, getting through the winters of 1847 to 1849 had been a daunting task.¹² Without the government providing Indian meal, some might have starved.¹³ People did not know how hard any winter would be. Theology was important, but it was the meal that staved off hunger. 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.

Still, the son and son-in-law of a prominent resident, Thomas Edwards Collett, a trader and justice of the peace, offered only five shillings each, which White "declined to receive" because "the required sum" was ten shillings or a quintal of fish.¹⁴ Collett objected to White's behaviour, and brought the subscriptions to the secretary of the Church Society in St. John's, Rev. T.F.H. Bridge, who also refused to accept them.¹⁵ The dispute escalated when children were born to Richard Collett and Samuel Masters on September 29 and October 6.¹⁶ The children needed baptism and the mothers needed to be churched.¹⁷ White wrote to the young men on October 12, urging them to pay the ten shillings. 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 were giving 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."¹⁸ Two days later Collett replied on behalf of Richard and Samuel: they had already paid what they owed to the Newfoundland School Society and to the local church for pew rent, and it was all they could afford.¹⁹ If the rites of the Church were valued at such a "paltry sum" as five shillings, why not "cast it to the winds" and grant them freely? "No quintal of fish [was] attached as prices for such privileges" in the Scriptures. If White was using their parents' inability to pay ten shillings 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.²⁰

Collett went on to say that if neither White nor other clergy of "the Church of my forefathers" would baptize his grandchildren, he would seek a minister "out of her pale."²¹ This had been common practice for some time. Methodist clergy had been visiting Placentia Bay each fall for over 20 years, and not only preached, but performed baptisms and marriages for all Protestants.²² When Samuel Masters ran into difficulties with White, for instance, he naturally turned to Rev. John S. Peach, a Wesleyan minister, to baptize two of his children.²³ This did not mean that his family had turned Methodist.²⁴ Collett added, finally, that as for confirmation, he would "await the arrival of some more Christian-like Bishop to the land."²⁵

This first extant letter by Collett relating to the controversy reveals his theology and values as an evangelical Christian, and his distance from White's sacramentalism. For evangelical Anglicans like Collett, the main spiritual event was not baptism but confirmation, since it was at that time that an individual had the opportunity to be converted through a personal commitment. As the memorial from Harbour Buffett to Bishop Spencer had stated, 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."²⁶

In this context, Collett's statement that, if necessary, he would baptize the children himself was quite consistent, especially as lay baptism was not uncommon.²⁷ James Robertson, a SPG missionary, had found in 1830 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."²⁸ Similarly, the tractarian Jacob George Mountain, who served the Mission of Harbor Breton as Rural Dean of Fortune Bay, wrote that even up to the last year of his ministry, 1854, he met people who believed that anyone who could 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!'"²⁹ White was apparently shocked by Collett's attitude, and placed two exclamation marks after quoting the statement in a letter.³⁰ Such a "pseudo-rite" was "contrary to common decency" and classed with "scandals" which are "so lost to reason."³¹ In his view, baptismal regeneration occurred at the hands of the clergyman who had received the authority to confer it through the laying on of hands.

Besides Collett's grandchildren, White also refused to baptize the child of George Ingram, "a very poor man," unless he paid the ten shillings,³² and there were refusals elsewhere in Newfoundland. At Greenspond on April 1, 1848, Rev. James Gilchrist had refused to baptize the child of J.B. Highmore. When Highmore asked

the reason, 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."³³ Similarly, Mountain at Harbour Breton wrote to a subscriber 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."³⁴

News of the refusals of baptism spread to England. The editor of the *London Record*, a prominent evangelical 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 in Britain, the majority of colonial bishops were Tractarian and "with much more arbitrary power in their hands, encourage it to the utmost." The overall result was that they were "gradually and effectually displacing every truly spiritual and Evangelical principle and influence."³⁵ From this point of view, the opposition to Feild was theological. However, in his 1877 biography, H. W. Tucker held that the opposition derived from financial causes: the establishment of a central fund through the Church Society. Because Feild set up this financial requirement within 12 months of his arrival, "no doubt his popularity was shipwrecked by the line he took, but popularity ... he held very cheaply."³⁶ Tucker claimed that "unscrupulous attempts were made to upset the financial system," and that Tractarianism was "dragged into the controversy" over money.³⁷ However, the Harbour Buffett evidence seems to indicate that it was theology, not money, which lay at the root of the controversy.

The Newfoundland School Society to which Collett referred had been founded in 1823 by Samuel Codner, an evangelical Devonshire merchant, at Petty Harbour.³⁸ Like its founder, the Society was evangelical, emphasizing "those blessed truths which alone are able to make men wise to salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ."³⁹ The education it provided was according to the principles "received and taught by the Church of England."⁴⁰ At Harbour Buffett, the Society was associated with education from its beginning. The community's first teacher, Thomas Edwards Collett himself, had been a subscriber, and in 1841 the school was offered to the Society.⁴¹ From 1844 until 1849, when he moved to Bonavista, John Haddon, educated at the Society's "principal school" in St. John's, was the teacher at Harbour Buffett.⁴² William Jeynes, the settlement's first clergyman, had been a teacher with the Society since 1825, and when appointed to the Mission, was the Society's superintendent.⁴³ Bishop Feild and his supporters opposed the Society and wanted schools to be directly under his control as bishop. In a letter to the *Public Ledger*, Feild stated that he could not cooperate with the School Society since it was "not the

organ of the Established Church of England at all."⁴⁴ He thus cut the lines and set adrift a ship that up to that time had supplied the Church of England well.

White was chairman of the Placentia Bay Protestant Board of Education. In 1850, taking advantage of John Haddon's departure and the failure of the Society to send an immediate replacement, White set up a second school at Harbour Buffett in competition with the School Society.⁴⁵ Other board-assisted schools were "established by their Chairman" at Oderin, Isle Valen, Woody Island, Sound Island, and Spencer's Cove. White himself took over at Harbour Buffett, and taught the children for two hours a day all winter.⁴⁶ The School Society eventually provided another teacher, but the two schools remained.⁴⁷

TRACTARIANISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Feild's tractarian programme was in full evidence on September 21, 1850, when the new cathedral in St. John's 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 the following day, Sunday, William Kepple White was ordained a priest: "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 furniture and ornaments."⁴⁸ Now a priest with the authority to administer Holy Communion, White headed back to Harbour Buffett.

The following spring, the first complaint of tractarian practices emerged, relating to the requirement for auricular confession. In April 1851 Edith Kirby became dangerously ill — in fact, she was dying. According to Collett, she asked for Holy Communion from White, who told her she had first to confess her sins. She testified that she was a sinner and that "she trusted in the atonement of her Redeemer to save her soul." That was not enough. White "required particular confession of her sins." She did not do so, and he refused her Holy Communion. She died "about ten hours" later.⁴⁹ Collett said that her husband, Samuel Kirby, and Bridget Bendle called upon him "purposely" to give him the details of what happened.⁵⁰ White denied the charge, calling it "utterly false,"⁵¹ and Hugh Hoyles and Bryan Robinson, Feild's legal advisers, later determined that "no such confession was required."⁵²

All parties agreed that White did not administer Communion to Edith Kirby. Why did he not do so? Feild stated that White wanted to administer Communion. He visited Edith Kirby four times and was "frequent and earnest in his instructions and exhortations, particularly with a view to administering to her the Holy Communion."⁵³ White claimed that "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." He was not satisfied, and "was not

able to administer to her the Holy Communion."⁵⁴ It is clear that White 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" is at least plausible. Feild suggested that White "had reason to fear that she had in some respect denied or concealed her former condition or manner of life."⁵⁵ Bridget Bendle said that White wanted Edith Kirby to "call her sins to remembrance and name them, particularly her most besetting sins,"⁵⁶ and another witness stated that she heard White say, "You must call to mind your sins, and confess them to God."⁵⁷ This is not a great distance from what Feild himself suggested was White's reason for his refusal to give her Communion, nor from auricular confession, which was becoming a familiar practice in Feild's diocese. For instance on July 30, 1851, Stephen Olive Pack, Justice of the Peace at Lamaline, reported that Rev. William Rozier, the local Church of England clergyman, was preaching "the duty and necessity of auricular confession." Pack said that he owed it to his family and the Protestant population to expose such "innovations," and wrote the report on the day that Bishop Feild visited and held Communion in the settlement.⁵⁸ Both White and Rozier had attended Feild's Theological Institution, and were ordained and sent out as deacons in 1847.⁵⁹

It was in 1851 as well that a widespread tractarian-evangelical debate started in the Newfoundland newspapers, which was to last four years, and included the occurrences at Harbour Buffett. It spread to England through the columns of the *Record*. The exchanges were sparked by a letter from Rev. H.P. Disney, the tractarian clergyman at Harbour Grace, to the St. John's *Times* on December 21, 1850, commenting on a letter to the *Record* which criticized the elaborate consecration of the cathedral and tractarian innovations. In this way a debate, which up to that time had been largely confined to homes, stages, churches, rectories and the bishop's residence, reached a far wider public.

H.P. Disney came to Labrador from Ireland in 1850 as a recruit of Bishop Feild.⁶⁰ He was then stationed temporarily at Harbour Grace to replace the evangelical clergyman John Chapman, who had been in Newfoundland for 26 years, and to minister to an evangelical congregation. A Feild loyalist, Disney viewed the article in the *Record* as another of the "usual periodical attacks upon the Bishop and majority of the clergy in Newfoundland," but this time by one of the local clergy. He disagreed that the cathedral, with its porch and candlesticks, which he thought were not gold but "only brass," was costly due to its ornateness. He denied that certain tractarian 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 would censure such a heartless unfeeling hireling more severely than would the Bishop of Newfoundland.⁶¹

AURICULAR CONFESSION

On May 21, 1851, the *Times* printed Collett's reply. The charge was far from being a "very perverse and dishonest misrepresentation," wrote Collett, since such refusals had taken place in his own family 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 was "known of many respectable persons in St. John's," and since he would soon be there, he would speak to Disney or anyone else interested in the subject.⁶²

On his arrival in St. John's on May 31, Collett went to see Governor Le Marchant concerning his complaints against White. The governor suggested that he see Bishop Feild, which he did. The bishop "declined entering into the matter,"⁶³ but, nevertheless, told the governor that he would hear Collett's statement "if such be your Excellency's wish," even though Collett had already "published the alleged fact in the newspaper," and agreed to inquire into the matter "in justice to Mr. White."⁶⁴ Collett returned to Harbour Buffett and wasted no time. On June 3 he obtained affidavits from Samuel Kirby, Bridget Bendle, Charles Tulk, and George Ingram to the effect that refusals of baptism and Communion had taken place.⁶⁵ White himself said that in the spring of 1851 the whole "harbor was in a commotion."⁶⁶

On August 5, 1851, Bishop Feild arrived at Harbour Buffett on his return voyage along the south coast. He held a hearing the next evening regarding "the grave charge" of the denial of the sacrament to Edith Kirby. Feild, White, and the Church Society later portrayed it as significant that "not one" appeared before them,⁶⁷ but in fact Samuel Kirby did show up. Feild said he tried "to examine him," but "he refused to answer any questions addressed to him."⁶⁸ He simply presented "a written paper in the hand-writing of Mr. Collett," and "declared he would not say one word."⁶⁹ The "written paper" appears to have been a defense, but Feild 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."⁷⁰ Kirby possibly 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 [White]."⁷¹ He may have been uneasy about how questions

would be framed, and the interpretation the tribunal would put on his answers. He may have felt at a disadvantage before a group of educated men who could write down anything about the proceeding or about what he said, without him being able to understand it — Kirby could not even sign his name.⁷² He was told to remain, but he left.

After visiting Spencer's Cove at the north end of the island, Feild returned and addressed the people of Harbour Buffett in the schoolroom on Sunday, August 10. The address took the form of a lecture read out from a prepared manuscript. A portion of the lecture was devoted to the Edith Kirby case. Feild found no fault with White, who was a wonderful example of "faithfulness, care and affectionate concern."⁷³ 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 instructing her."⁷⁴ This was clever. There was little doubt that White warranted his bishop's praise, and in many respects White was an exemplary clergyman. But why did he 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.

CANDLES

Nor did the bishop mention the candles on the communion table, yet another cause of controversy. Candles in that position without a utilitarian function had considerable emotive significance and aggravated the people of Harbour Buffett. An anonymous correspondent to the *Public Ledger* stated 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."⁷⁵ Not only that, someone entered the church at night "and the candles therein displayed [were] cut into pieces and strewed all over it."⁷⁶ This was the same church these people had worked so hard to build just a decade before, yet two-thirds or more of them deserted it for months.⁷⁷

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 focused 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 the Rev. Mr. White." The writer concluded that there was scarcely anyone at the meeting who was not "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 doctrines and practices "will not be endured by the inhabitants of Harbour Beaufette."⁷⁸

When White refused Collett and his family Holy Communion a year later, one of his reasons was that Collett had not "publicly withdrawn ... the candle story."⁷⁹ 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."⁸⁰ John Hollett, a resident, also testified that before the bishop's arrival, new candles were placed on the communion table only. 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.⁸¹ When writing about "the candle story," White used his standard "false and malicious" terminology to describe the protest, 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."⁸²

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.⁸³ This charge is nowhere in Collett's pamphlet. All Collett claimed was that there were "two new mould candles placed over the communion table, and none at the same time placed in the other usual places of the church."⁸⁴ Collett said he had not heard of the charge before and would content himself with "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."⁸⁵

It cannot be denied that Bishop Feild liked for candles to be placed on the communion table. He was fastidious in ceremonial detail, as can be seen in his various charges.⁸⁶ For example, 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, he said, "I heartily wish they were adopted with due honor, in all [churches]."⁸⁷ It is therefore difficult to agree with White and the Church Society that Bishop Feild "probably never noticed them."⁸⁸ If Feild looked for anything positive to say in his lecture at the school room, he knew well not to compliment the people on the communion table candles in their church at Harbour Buffett.

The historian Frederick Jones minimized the importance of the resistance of the people of Harbour Buffett by simply referring to "the Collett Case," and dismissing Collett as a malcontent with "a long history of quarrels with the local clergy."⁸⁹ This is hardly a sufficient analysis. The resistance White met at Harbour Buffett went far beyond Collett and far beyond "payment to the Church Society."⁹⁰

Collett just happened to be one of the people who resisted and was able to give that resistance a voice in print. This 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. To refuse to accept the primacy of the religious motivation is to engage in a phenomenon to which Henry Glassie has pointed: "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."⁹¹ 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."⁹² It was a culture that accommodated itself to tractarianism over time, but the people would only go so far. In 1926, three-quarters of a century later, 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 allow it.⁹³

A CHURCH OF ENGLAND SCHOOL

As chairman of the Placentia Bay Protestant Board of Education, White continued a government-funded Church of England school separate from that of the Newfoundland School Society in Harbour Buffett in 1851 and 1852. John Haddon, the new Superintendent of the central Protestant Board (and Collett's son-in-law), commented later that "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."⁹⁴

There is little doubt that this action circumvented the law. In 1850, with the Education Act about to expire, Feild had promoted a major offensive to acquire public funding for separate Church of England schools. His clergy 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."⁹⁵ All the petitions and protestations were to no avail, however, and on May 23, 1851, the Assembly decided to continue with two education boards, Protestant and Roman Catholic. It was "all that could be done."⁹⁶ Nevertheless, a separate church school in competition with that of the Newfoundland School Society was conducted at Harbour Buffett and paid for out of limited financial resources. Some years earlier, White had urged the legislature to provide more money "for the purposes of Education within the Placentia district,"⁹⁷ claiming that only 111 Protestant children out of 1,200 were being educated.⁹⁸ Yet in 1852, Collett claimed, White, "without the sanction of the Board at any legal meeting," appropri-

ated £30 for his school, which had less than half the attendance of the other, which in any case had room for all the community's children. It was "a waste of the public funds" while "many other places in the district are unprovided for."⁹⁹

HARD TIMES

The winter of 1852/53 was again particularly difficult. Cod and herring were "exceedingly scarce."¹⁰⁰ The government authorized the Relief Commissioners at Harbour Buffett to hand out £40 worth of Indian meal in return for work on the roads, and they reported on January 7 that 15 heads of families qualified for relief.¹⁰¹ Collett was a commissioner,¹⁰² but did not sign the report, which was written by White. In a separate letter, White complained that the current relief procedure was too open and public. He wanted a "strictly private" process, whereby an amount of food would be purchased without the people's knowledge. The committee could then decide who would receive it. At present, people signed for relief and knew the committee had it. As a result, if the committee refused to distribute it, relief supplies 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."¹⁰³ There was also discord within the committee. White and his allies, Hann and Butler, stated they had to withdraw from Collett's company because he made "certain unjust charges and very false statements" against them.¹⁰⁴ Thus the dispensing of relief was kept under the control of the tractarian faction. Evangelicals may have wondered whether the commissioners would act fairly if they spoke out too loudly against White, who was well 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."¹⁰⁵

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.¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷ 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."¹⁰⁸ Thus Feild was helped in his church programme by the expansion of government services in Newfoundland in this period. 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 physical needs.

THE PAMPHLET WAR

On August 11, 1853, White received a pamphlet, which he thought to be of "a most scandalous nature," from a friend.¹⁰⁹ This was *The Church of England in Newfoundland* by Thomas E. Collett. The full title, considerably longer, 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, and felt that not only evangelical Anglicans, but also Methodists were threatened by Feild's tractarianism.¹¹⁰

In the preface, Collett stated that he had "no other object" than to bring before 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."¹¹¹ The pamphlet consists mainly of correspondence — letters between Collett and Bishop Feild, Collett and White, and Collett and Rev. H.P. Disney. It contains letters to the *Public Ledger*, the *Times*, and the evangelical *Newfoundland Guardian*. It also contains 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 documents 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 as a result of dissatisfaction with theological and ceremonial changes. The last section of the pamphlet speaks of the "offensive deformities" of tractarianism outside of Harbour Buffett.¹¹² Two letters draw attention also to the re-baptism at Lamaline and Burin of children 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 churches in St. John's. 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."¹¹³

On October 4, White sent a response to the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society, whose officers included Bishop Feild, lawyers H.W. Hoyles and Bryan Robinson, and C.F. Bennett, a prominent merchant.¹¹⁴ The Committee received this letter on October 17.¹¹⁵ It was then revised and published as a pamphlet in early December 1853.¹¹⁶ 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*; it also included two other letters by White and Collett, and an appendix consisting of two letters to Archdeacon Bridge, two declarations of witnesses, and a legal opinion and letter from Robinson and Hoyles.¹¹⁷

White had not immediately responded to Collett's pamphlet, but 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."¹¹⁸ He changed his mind, however, after "the arrival of Collett's boat" when he returned to Harbour Buffett. It seems that Collett brought mail indicating that the pamphlet was having some impact in St. John's, and White then concluded that it was "absolutely necessary ... to write some explanation" of the pamphlet "to remove the doubts of well-wishers."¹¹⁹ It is possible that he heard also that Collett's pamphlet was having an impact in England, for the *Record* drew attention to it 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."¹²⁰

The *Record* quoted several sections of the pamphlet and requested that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the SPG hold colonial bishops more accountable when complaints were made, since they sent the bishops large amounts of money. The editor thought White had behaved unreasonably in refusing baptism to Richard Collett's child. Collett had paid six shillings for sittings in church, six shillings to the School Society, and had then offered six shillings to the Church Society. There were few in England who gave 18 shillings to the church out of annual earnings of £30. The editor also mentioned the Ingram and Kirby cases, and agreed with Collett that Feild's investigation and his defense of White "entirely passes over the real charge." The bishop simply stated that the missionary gave Edith Kirby quite good pastoral care.¹²¹ The *Record* also printed a letter entitled "Tractarianism in Newfoundland," which referred to Collett's pamphlet and expressed dismay over "the cruel tyranny of these Tractarians." The writer was especially struck by their refusal of baptism, because 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."¹²²

White's strategy was 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.¹²³ Yet according to John Haddon, Collett paid men to haul wood for White in 1849, and also 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."¹²⁴ 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 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."¹²⁵ 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." 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."¹²⁶

The Committee of the Church Society did not publish White's letter in the original, but made several changes. Some of White's language was deleted or changed, and the pamphlet was shaped into a more extensive and intensive condemnation. As Feild said of the Committee, "they know their places and duties."¹²⁷ They particularly faulted Methodists, laying blame for printing the "sinister" pamphlet with "its poison" at "a press avowedly the organ of the Dissenters."¹²⁸ Addressing the controversy about the candles, 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."¹²⁹ They also cut deeper. The pamphlet asserted that the charges against White were "absolutely false," and "must be known to be false by those who published them."¹³⁰ This accusation included those who signed sworn statements regarding Edith Kirby: the affidavits "must have been known to be false when they were made."¹³¹ White was also made to say that the purpose of the whole "wicked" proceeding was to use him as a means "to assail my Bishop," who "desires and endeavors to teach the pure and simple Gospel of Christ."¹³² No such references were made in the original letter. This may well have been the hand of Archdeacon 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 Robinson and Hoyles, the Acting Solicitor General. Their legal opinion considered two charges that were in the pamphlet, and one that was not. They did not speak to the witnesses involved or take sworn statements.¹³³ Yet, they still delivered the opinion that "the whole of the charges are utterly devoid of truth"¹³⁴ and "must have been published with a knowledge of their falsehood."¹³⁵ This was a hasty decision. They received White's letter on October 17, and delivered their report on November 8.¹³⁶ They had not seen Collett's pamphlet, even though Feild said that "without the Pamphlet ... the commentary is unintelligible."¹³⁷ 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 "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.¹³⁸ On December 10, Joseph Woods of the *Courier* wrote an extensive editorial about White's pamphlet. He drew attention to "the un-called-for calumnies" against Dissenters, adding that "the true Protestant portion of the Church of England in this place" rejected the Church Society's reproaches. He then spoke to the "sage legal opinion" of Hoyles and Robinson. In lending their names and offices to the slander, they had compromised "their professional capacity." They had become "the 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."¹³⁹

However, the legal opinion did Feild and the Church Society some good in England. On December 23 the *Morning Chronicle* reported that "two legal gentlemen of great respectability" had carried out a formal investigation and had found the charges, "malicious calumnies," against White to be totally false. The *Colonial Church Chronicle*, a Church of England journal, printed the article, commenting that the charges were made by "an unscrupulous assailant," and that the report gave "complete vindication" to White.¹⁴⁰ The *Morning Chronicle* article also appeared in the *London Standard* and the *St. John's Patriot*.¹⁴¹

GOVERNOR K.B. HAMILTON

Although neither Feild nor Bridge nor any member of the Committee had seen a copy of Collett's pamphlet as late as October, the evangelical governor, Ker Baillie Hamilton, received a copy in July or August 1853.¹⁴² His reaction did not become known until Archdeacon Bridge came to his door collecting for the Church Society on November 4, 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*.¹⁴³ The governor had accepted the position of Patron of the Society upon his arrival the previous January, and had pledged to give £60 annually.¹⁴⁴ Hamilton was not at home, but wrote to Bridge that evening to say that he was giving to the Church of England outside the Newfoundland Church Society "for reasons which conscientiously constrain me," and enclosed £35.¹⁴⁵ 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 praised the Society and promised his "fullest support." Bridge asked why the governor had withdrawn his support, and Hamilton replied that it was due to the "circumstances" revealed in Collett's pamphlet, which dis-

closed that the Society sanctioned actions "which are not in harmony with the Church of England."¹⁴⁶ As Patron, he had reminded the Society that it was the responsibility of the clergy to "preach the Gospel," which he defined as "those evangelistic truths which alone are effectual to diffuse regenerating life."¹⁴⁷

Bridge asked for an interview before meeting with the Committee,¹⁴⁸ in order to show that Collett's charges were "a tissue of vile and malignant calumnies."¹⁴⁹ Hamilton agreed to meet Bridge, but emphasized that part of his role as Patron was "to guard against abuses."¹⁵⁰ The interview was pivotal. Bridge tried to discredit Collett 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."¹⁵¹ Bridge then reported his interview with the governor to the Committee of the Church Society, "carefully abstaining" from telling them that he had communicated "any opinion of Collett's character."¹⁵²

On November 9, Hamilton told Bridge that the Hoyles and Robinson report did not change his understanding 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."¹⁵³

Bridge and the Committee concluded that Hamilton's objection had shifted from the charges against White to a "misinterpretation" of Feild's letter to Collett of February 26, 1850.¹⁵⁴ By that letter, the bishop "was made responsible for allowing a system" which appeared to let the clergy put a price upon the sacraments.¹⁵⁵ The Committee was quick to reply.¹⁵⁶ Its letter chastised the governor for considering Collett's charges as possibly valid, since 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 his Royal Instructions.¹⁵⁷ He had also "cast imputations" upon an exemplary clergyman. The Church Society had not changed its principles since Hamilton became Patron in January. It had not changed them since 1846, when the Committee approved the policy that, except for the poor, people could "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 a matter between him and Archdeacon Bridge, and the governor had "unnecessarily published aspersions" on Collett's character, which the Committee could only "deeply regret and deplore."¹⁵⁸ Remarkably, Bridge said the Committee drew up this statement "with the greatest deliberation," not wanting "to give offense."¹⁵⁹

Governor Hamilton responded through the Colonial Secretary, James Crowdy. Since the letter was "entirely derogatory" to his office, he declined to re-

ceive it, though he kept a copy.¹⁶⁰ The following day, November 12, he resigned as Patron of the Society.¹⁶¹ On November 15 the Committee sent an apology, saying it would be glad "to withdraw any expression which can be considered derogatory," and that it believed that the bishop "was misunderstood by his Excellency." The governor refused the reply, did not keep a copy, and forbade the Committee to communicate with him any further.¹⁶² In late November, Hamilton sent the correspondence and the resolution of the Church Society to the Colonial Office, requesting a ruling from the SPG.¹⁶³

Feild had been away in Conception Bay during these events. On his return he wrote to Hamilton expressing regret that the Committee had used language "so hasty and unbecoming, and so derogatory to Your Excellency's high position and office." However, he noted the apology, reaffirmed his faith in White as "a most exemplary Clergyman," and said of Collett, "I could wish ... that your Excellency had known [him] as long as I have." He regretted that the governor had left the Church Society,¹⁶⁴ and apologized for any part he or his clergy or friends had in that separation.¹⁶⁵ In reply, Hamilton sympathized with the bishop in having to repudiate the actions of the Society, and informed him that he had asked the Colonial Office to bring the matter before the SPG for a ruling, the main question being "the Bishop's own letter to Mr. Collett." Feild said he was not sure what the governor was referring to, but Hamilton simply advised the bishop to write to the SPG about "the sense" in which his letter to Collett should be read, and ended the exchange.¹⁶⁶

In January 1854, Bishop Feild weighed in with his own 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*.¹⁶⁷ He probably wrote it just after receiving Bridge's *Statement*. He included an appendix consisting of his letter of February 26, 1850, to Collett, the correspondence between himself and Hamilton in December 1853, and his letters to the clergy on the anniversary of the Church Society in 1845.

Feild's pamphlet was prompted by the fact that Governor Hamilton and "some influential and long-trying friends" had withheld their contributions to the Church Society. Its purpose was to inform the diocese that Hamilton had "much misunderstood" the bishop's letter to Collett and to "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."¹⁶⁸ He quoted a section of the letter in which he wrote 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. Strictly speaking what Feild said was 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 pre-

pared 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.¹⁶⁹

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 passages from the Bible to support the principle that a minister should be paid by the people 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.¹⁷⁰ On the coast between Cape Race to Cape Ray, for example, the number of clergy had increased from two to nine, "all ordained and appointed by myself [Feild]."¹⁷¹

The SPG had suggested that the bishop should remove clergy from any mission that did not make a salary contribution equal to half the sum paid by the Society. Feild had refused, arguing that this would punish those who did pay, and play into the hands of those who did not — "their very aim and desire in some instances would be gratified, and one of them would reign as Priest and King."¹⁷² It would also provide an excellent opportunity for Methodists to move in and take over the territory. Feild wanted the Church of England to remain in the community, and required his clergy to demand payment where it was not willingly given.

Feild's pamphlet in turn provoked Governor Hamilton, who in February 1854 published *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*.¹⁷³ It could be said that the governor should have been more tactful and attempted reconciliation behind the scenes. However, when Archdeacon Bridge and Bishop Feild had published pamphlets which were pointed attacks on him personally and on his actions as governor, he must have felt that it was necessary to defend himself.¹⁷⁴ 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's resolution.¹⁷⁵ 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."¹⁷⁶ Hamilton pointedly asked which was correct.¹⁷⁷ He then addressed what he believed was the 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." 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."¹⁷⁸ This issue was 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."¹⁷⁹ 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."¹⁸⁰

It was unusual for a governor to become involved in church affairs in this way, and one can only conclude that 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. In a sense, the governor was attempting to procure religious freedom for a segment of colonial society.

Hamilton's tenure in Newfoundland has not been given favourable reviews. Frederick Jones claimed that "there is no doubt that Ker Baillie Hamilton exacerbated any conflict into which he entered."¹⁸¹ Jones quoted Prowse's estimate that he was "as unfit a man as the British Government could possibly have selected to fill the difficult position."¹⁸² It is time to reconsider this extreme position. Contrary to Jones's 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."¹⁸³ 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 the administration of Bishop Feild. Hamilton did not enter this issue with zeal and hostility when he read about it in July or August 1853.¹⁸⁴ He took no action until November, when he told Bridge that he could not in all conscience pay to the Church Society in light of Collett's pamphlet. He did give him £35 for the local church.¹⁸⁵ 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."¹⁸⁶ Similarly, he did not enter the pamphlet affray until forced to respond to the pamphlets of the archdeacon and the bishop.

White's pamphlet prompted a letter from John Haddon to Bridge, which was published in the *Courier* on February 20, 1854. Haddon's purpose was to defend "the character of a just man." Collett had been instrumental and helpful in building both the schoolroom 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.¹⁸⁷ Haddon attacked Hoyles and Robinson,

as he had in an earlier letter to Bridge.¹⁸⁸ He, elsewhere, described the legal opinion as “an experiment upon the gullibility of the public” which nevertheless did “afford some degree of amusement.”¹⁸⁹ On April 29, Woods published a third letter in which Haddon demanded that Bridge should “point out distinctly” why Collett and some members of his family were refused Holy Communion. He eloquently challenged the hierarchy to rethink its defense of White:

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 forbore to use their poison or their edge, seeking simply justice for himself and family, and not revenge upon his adversaries.¹⁹⁰

Haddon concluded that White and the Church Society “in their zeal to remove the imputation of tractarianism have disregarded ... truth, justice and mercy.”¹⁹¹

The high point of the reporting of the controversy in the press was April 29, 1854. In addition to Haddon's third letter, the *Courier* printed an article from the *Record* (March 23) stating that Hamilton's pamphlet gave “melancholy confirmation” of Collett's charges. 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.” Archdeacon Bridge was clearly 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.”¹⁹² The Newfoundland Church Society was the instrument used by Bishop Feild to work “against every Evangelical influence” and to promote his own “extreme views.” The clergy had become “tax-fixers and tax collectors.”¹⁹³

Robert John Parsons of the *Patriot* joined in, but not by attacking Feild. His target was Hamilton, who was heartily disliked by pro-responsible government Liberals like himself. 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 and Feild — though he had criticized the latter in the past — and described Collett as “the *Quixotte* [sic] of that district, seeking out visionary ecclesiastical oppressions to make battle with,” one of those “fickle and impulsive creatures, who desire to be *their own* prelates and priests.” Hamilton also 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.”¹⁹⁴ In this way, the internal troubles of the Church of England became embroiled with the controversy over responsible government.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

On April 29, Joseph Woods also advertised in the *Courier* yet another pamphlet featuring Thomas Edwards Collett:

*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.*¹⁹⁵

The pamphlet had three sections. The first was 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 second and main section was a history of the ten years of turbulence after Bishop Feild arrived in Newfoundland. The third section was an appendix containing letters, affidavits, and extracts from Bishop Feild’s *Charges* of 1844 and 1847, and correspondence relating to controversies between Feild and the congregations at the Cathedral and St. Thomas’s Church in St. John’s.¹⁹⁶

The preface and the main section of the pamphlet were probably not written by Collett. The key issue addressed in the pamphlet 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.”¹⁹⁷ Since his arrival in Newfoundland, Feild had set upon a course to 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 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 1844.¹⁹⁸ It was the loss of freedom to be an evangelical member of the Church of England, due to the measures outlined in the bishop’s charge, that Collett was protesting at Harbour Buffett. To please his bishop, White 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.”¹⁹⁹

The pamphlet also contested the significance of the Church Society's income rising from £170 to £1,800 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 saw "the boastful announcement vanishing into smoke."²⁰⁰ 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." 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."²⁰¹

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. Two were reprints of articles which had appeared in the Dublin *Christian Examiner* and the Saint John (New Brunswick) *Church Witness* commenting on the power of tractarian bishops, the lack of control from the SPG, and Feild's alleged practice of requiring payments for sacraments.²⁰² The third, and most significant, was a letter from the SPG Secretary, Ernest Hawkins, to the Colonial Office, in which he stated that he had told Feild as early as August 1850 "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."²⁰³ Feild claimed that he "had no recollection of the letter alluded to."²⁰⁴ A correspondent to the *Courier* correctly wrote that this judgement of the SPG was "of incalculable importance to the interests of the Church of England in Newfoundland." No longer could the bishop deny ordinances to a person who did not pay the Church Society due to "inability or conscientious objections." William Charles St. John at the *Weekly Herald* also printed the SPG decision on June 14, headlined "The Point Settled." Parsons at the *Patriot* was not impressed, and called the very notion of voluntary subscription absurd.²⁰⁵ That last word marked the end of press coverage of the controversy between tractarian and evangelical Anglicans. The debate appears to have become submerged by other issues.

Did the SPG ruling change matters within the Church? In June 1854, this note was added to the "Standing Rules" in the Church Society's annual report:

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.²⁰⁶

The rules had at least become more explicit, even though Feild had already said in his pamphlet that he had never required a clergyman to withhold the ordinances of the Church from someone who did not pay to the Church Society, though he might excuse a clergyman who did so.²⁰⁷ Indeed, two years later one of his clergy refused a person Holy Communion on the grounds that he did not pay to the Church Society.²⁰⁸

In the summer of 1854 Bishop Feild decided, sensibly, to move White from Harbour Buffett to Harbour Breton, to replace J.G. Mountain.²⁰⁹ 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."²¹⁰ 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." In his reply on April 21, 1855, White 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 by a piece of heartless chicanery, to imagine that I was unfaithful to my trust."²¹¹

The evangelicals may have won a battle, but they lost the war. In the long term, Bishop Feild effectively silenced the evangelical voice within the Church of England through his control over the appointment of clergy and their training according to tractarian principles at Queen's College in St. John's. In the same way, the evangelical Anglicans won the battle in the press, but this had no long-lasting impact. Feild possessed and used his powers to transform the Church of England in Newfoundland from an evangelical to a tractarian institution.

The Church was also positioned to dispense other expanding government services and 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 active ministry, their role became to receive the priestly ministrations of the clergy.

Some did not comply. The person who went into the church and cut up the candles committed an act of far-reaching symbolic proportions: a palpable demonstra-

tion 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."²¹² 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.

Notes

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

²Center for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University (CNS), *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.

⁵*Ibid.*, September 6, 1853.

⁶Thomas R. Millman and A.R. Kelley, *Atlantic Canada to 1900, A History of the Anglican Church* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), p. 93.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁹*Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, September 22, 1847 (St. John's: J.C. Withers, n.d.), p. 8.

¹⁰D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland from English, Colonial and Foreign Records* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1895), p. 443.

¹¹Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (PANL), GN 2/2 1849 Box 35, January to June Report of Commissioners of Relief, Harbour Buffett to Crowdy, June 4, 1849, pp. 413-415.

¹²*Royal Gazette*, November 2, 1847. PANL, GN 2/2, Box 35, 1849, pp. 359-360. Pack to Crowdy, September 6, 1849. PANL, GN 2/1/A Vol. 47, pp. 190-191, Crowdy to Commissioners of the Poor, Harbour Buffett, January 16, 1849.

¹³*Patriot*, October 20, 1847.

¹⁴[William Kepple White], *Published Under the Direction of the Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society* (St. John's: J.T. Burton, 1854), pp. 5-6.

¹⁵Collett, *Church of England*, p. 3.

¹⁶[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 6.

¹⁷See *Book of Common Prayer*, "The thanksgiving of women after child-birth, commonly called the churching of women."

¹⁸[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 6-7. White to Richard Collett and Samuel Masters, Harbour Buffett, October 12, 1849.

¹⁹Collett'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 Society. The Society's 1850 Annual Report showed that he paid £2.7 in 1848 and £1 in 1849. *Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, September, 1850 (St. John's: J.W. McCoubrey, 1850), p. xxxii.

²⁰[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 7-8. Collett to White, Harbour Buffett, October 14, 1849.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 9.

²²PANL, MG598 A194 Jeynes to Bishop Spencer, October 12, 1840.

²³Thomas E. Collett, *The Church of England in Newfoundland*, No. 2 (St. John's: Joseph Woods, 1854), p. 4.

²⁴In 1851 Masters stated in his affidavit, "I, Samuel Masters ... a member of the Church of England." Collett also said "we are, as we ever were, members of the Church of England" (*Church of England*, pp. 13, 15).

²⁵[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 9. Spencer was not the only SPG evangelical bishop in the colonies. Another was E.O. Vidal, the first bishop of Sierra Leone (C.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: Society's Office, 1901], p. 765). For Vidal's evangelical preaching, see The Bishop of Sierra Leone (E.O. Vidal), *Parish Sermons* (London: James Darling, 1852). Newfoundlanders were aware of Vidal and others; see "Report of Committee of Colonial Church and School Society," *Public Ledger*, June 5, 1855.

²⁶PANL, SPG, MG598 A195 "Harbour Beaufet Memorial from the Inhabitants to the Bishop of the Diocese," 1843.

²⁷[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 9.

²⁸SPG, *Report of the Society for the year 1831* (London: Printed for the Society, 1832), Robertson to Archdeacon Wix, December 22, 1830, p. 101.

²⁹*Lives of Missionaries, North America* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, n.d.), p. 222. Mountain held a similar 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 great grievance by many parties in the District." PANL, GN 2/2 1853 Box 41, July to December: Gaden to Crowdy, Colonial Secretary, October 25, 1853.

³⁰PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²Collett, *Church of England*, p. 10. *Courier*, April 12, 1854. See also *Public Ledger*, December 30, 1853.

³³Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 21.

³⁴PANL, SPG, MG598 A216. A letter William Thomas sent to the Committee of the SPG, December 26, 1853.

³⁵(London) *Record*, August 19, 1850.

³⁶H.W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild* (London: W. Wells Gardner, 1877), p. 44-45.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

³⁸See *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?).

³⁹PANL, MG595 P-15 *Proceedings of the Church of England Society for Newfoundland and the Colonies, 1848-1849* (London: George Barclay, 1849), p. 1.

⁴⁰PANL, MG595 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. 1.

⁴¹PANL, MG595 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. PANL, MG595 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.

⁴²PANL, MG595 P-15 Colonial and Continental Church Society, *Newfoundland School Society, Annual Report, 1843*, p. 18. PANL, MG595 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. 15.

⁴³*Proceedings of the Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland, Second Year, 1824-1825* (London: R.G. Gunnell and Co., 1825), p. 63. PANL, SPG, MG598 A194, Bishop Spencer to Campbell, SPG, March 3, 1841.

⁴⁴*Public Ledger*, February 26, 1850.

⁴⁵Afterwards the Board met in Harbour Buffett; *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1851, p. 243.

⁴⁶Calvin Hollett, "Resistance to Bishop Edward Feild in Newfoundland, 1845-1857, Harbour Buffett: A Case Study" (MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2002), Appendix, p. 256, Ann Maria Bendle to Emma Collett, April 11, 1850.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 266-267, 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 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 Year, 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.

⁴⁸*Times*, September 25, 1850.

⁴⁹Collett, *Church of England*, p. 7.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, pp. 14-15.

⁵²*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 5.

⁵³PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 Feild, "Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffett, August 10th 1851," p. 13.

⁵⁴[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 14.

⁵⁵PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 Feild, "Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffett, August 10th 1851," p. 13.

⁵⁶Collett, *Church of England*, p. 9.

⁵⁷[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 3. The testimony of White's other witness, Francis Burton, is weak: "he never asked hir to confess hir sins or denied giving hir the Sacrement if she fild a desire to receive it [*sic*]," p. 4.

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

⁵⁹*Times*, September 25, 1847.

⁶⁰Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, "Mission Roll," p. 857.

⁶¹*Times*, 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.

⁶²*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.

⁶³Collett, *Church of England*, p. 7.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. Feild to Le Marchant, May 31, 1851.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

⁶⁶PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, Harbour Buffett, October 4, 1853.

⁶⁷PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 Feild, "Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffett, August 10th 1851," pp. 8, 12.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁹[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 15.

⁷⁰PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 Feild, "Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffett, August 10th 1851," p. 11.

⁷¹[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 15.

⁷²Collett, *Church of England*, p. 8.

⁷³PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 Feild, "Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffett, August 10th 1851," p. 16.

⁷⁴*Times*, August 30, 1851.

⁷⁵*Public Ledger*, August 26, 1851. "Omega," an anonymous correspondent to the *Public Ledger*, may have been John Haddon back in Harbour Buffett from Bonavista for the summer. It was not Collett. See *Church of England*, p. 14. 'Paul Pry,' wrote from Placentia Bay that he noticed a decrease in subscriptions to the Church Society, "particularly in Beaufit." What could decrease them further? His answer: "merely to apply the *Puseyite Lucifer match* to the candles in the church of that harbour" (*Express*, May 10, 1853).

⁷⁶Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 7.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸*Public Ledger*, August 26, 1851.

⁷⁹Collett, *Church of England*, p. 14.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸¹Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 37.

⁸²PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

⁸³[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, Appendix, p. 5. They delivered the results of their investigation on November 8, 1853.

⁸⁴Collett, *Church of England*, p. 15.

⁸⁵Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 8.

⁸⁶For example, 1844 and 1845.

⁸⁷Quoted from Bishop Feild's Charge to Clergy of Bermuda, 1849, in Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 15.

⁸⁸[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 16.

⁸⁹Frederick Jones, "Bishop Feild: A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland" (PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1971), p. 147.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), p. 21.

⁹²E.P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-century English Society: class struggle without class?," *Social History* 3.2 (May 1978), p. 164.

⁹³Diary of John Collett, October 26, 1926. Property of David Collett, St. John's, Newfoundland.

⁹⁴*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1859, Appendix, Education, p. 279.

⁹⁵*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 entirely 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, Port de Grave, February 14, 1850, and Harbour Grace, February 10, 1851.

⁹⁶Ibid., May 23, 1851.

⁹⁷Ibid., 1851, Appendix, Education, p. 83.

⁹⁸Ibid., 1848/49, Appendix, Education Reports, p. 404.

⁹⁹PANL, GN 2/2 1856 July to September, Box 45, pp. 391-393. Collett to Kent, September 22, 1856.

¹⁰⁰PANL, GN 2/2 Box 41, 1853, p. 57.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁰²PANL, GN 2/1/A Vol. 48, September 27, 1852, p. 367.

¹⁰³PANL, GN 2/2 Box 41, 1853, pp. 51-54.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., April 19, 1853, pp. 431-432.

¹⁰⁵PANL, SPG, MG598 A222 Annual Report to SPG, October 23, 1854. Collett received two barrels of Indian meal for distribution in 1850. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1851, Appendix, pp. 132-133.

¹⁰⁶*Royal Gazette*, October 2, 1849.

¹⁰⁷PANL, GN 2/2, Tocque to Crowdy, August 28, 1848, p. 701.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 702.

¹⁰⁹PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

¹¹⁰J.P. Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation, Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics, 1745-1855* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1999), pp. 236f., 266.

¹¹¹Collett, *Church of England in Newfoundland*, p. 2.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 25.

¹¹⁴*The Twelfth Annual Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, June 8, 1853 (St. John's: J.T. Burton, 1853), p. 3.

¹¹⁵Thomas 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.

¹¹⁶Henry Winton had a copy by December 6; *Public Ledger*, December 6, 1853.

¹¹⁷(St. John's: J.T. Burton, 1853).

¹¹⁸PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

¹¹⁹PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 White to Bishop Feild, October 4, 1853.

¹²⁰[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 4.

¹²¹*Record*, September 5, 1853.

¹²²*Ibid.*, September 15, 1853.

¹²³PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 White to the Newfoundland Church Society, October 4, 1853.

¹²⁴*Courier*, April 22, 1854.

¹²⁵Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 5.

¹²⁶PANL, SPG, MG598 A216, 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 quotation. *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.

¹²⁷PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 Feild, "Address Read in the Schoolroom in Harbor Buffett, August 10th 1851," p. 7.

¹²⁸[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, p. 4.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³²*Ibid.*, p. 15, 18.

¹³³Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 6.

¹³⁴[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, Appendix, p. 4.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³⁶[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, Appendix, p. 6.

¹³⁷PANL, SPG, MG598 A216 Bishop Feild to Hawkins, October 11, 1853.

¹³⁸[White], *Committee of the Newfoundland Church Society*, Appendix, p. 6-7.

¹³⁹*Courier*, December 10, 1853.

¹⁴⁰*The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, January, 1854, p. 250.

¹⁴¹*Patriot*, January 28, 1854.

¹⁴²Ker 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.

¹⁴³Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 3 and Appendix, p. 1. Hamilton to Bridge, November 4, 1853. The same correspondence forms the Appendix of Hamilton's *Comments Upon a Recent Resolution*.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., Appendix, p. 2-3. Bridge to Hamilton, November 5, 1853. Appendix, pp. 3-4. Hamilton to Bridge, November 7, 1853.

¹⁴⁷*Royal Gazette*, June 14, 1853.

¹⁴⁸Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., Appendix, p. 5. Bridge to Hamilton, November 8, 1853.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., Appendix, p. 6. Hamilton to Bridge, November 8, 1853.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁵³Ibid., Appendix, p. 9. Hamilton to Bridge, November 9, 1853.

¹⁵⁴*The Church of England in Newfoundland*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵⁵Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁵⁷Ibid. 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).

¹⁵⁸Ibid., Appendix, pp. 10-12. Committee of "The Newfoundland Church Society" to Hamilton, November 10, 1853.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 7. Also Appendix, p. 13. Crowdy to Bridge, November 11, 1853.

¹⁶¹Ibid., Appendix, p. 13. Crowdy to Bridge, November 12, 1853.

¹⁶²Ibid., Appendix, pp. 13-14. Committee of "The Newfoundland Church Society" to Crowdy, November 15, 1853.

¹⁶³PANL, CO 194 V.140 1853 Despatches, Offices and Individuals, Hamilton to Duke of Newcastle, November 19, 1853, pp. 53-64.

¹⁶⁴See *Royal Gazette*, June 14, 1853, "Address of the Governor" to the Newfoundland Church Society.

¹⁶⁵Edward Feild, *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* (St. John's: J.C. Withers, [1854]), pp. 17-18. Feild to Hamilton, December 10, 1853.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 19-21. Feild to Hamilton, December 12, 1853. Hamilton to Feild, December 13, 1853.

¹⁶⁷Ibid.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 4-5, 13-14. See Appendix, pp. 15-16. Feild to Collett, February 26, 1850.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 5-7. The Church Society adopted the system or "plan" at their 1845 Anniversary Meeting; *Times*, October 18, 1845.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁷³(St. John's: J.C. Withers, 1854). His last entry in the pamphlet is February 4th, 1854.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 3, 6.

¹⁷⁵Feild, *An Address on the System*, p. 17. Feild to Hamilton, December 10, 1853.

¹⁷⁶Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁷Hamilton, *Comments Upon a Recent Resolution*, p. 3. Quoted from Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 4-5. Hamilton to William Thomas, February 4, 1854.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 8. Hamilton to William Thomas, December 8, 1853.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁸¹*Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (DCB), Vol. XI (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), "Ker Baillie Hamilton," by Frederick Jones, p. 44.

¹⁸²Ibid. See D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*, p. 466.

¹⁸³DCB, "Ker Baillie Hamilton," p. 44.

¹⁸⁴Hamilton, *Comments Upon a Recent Resolution*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁵Bridge, *A Statement of Some Recent Proceedings*, pp. 3-4 and Appendix, pp. 1-3.

¹⁸⁶Feild, *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. DCB, "Ker Baillie Hamilton," p. 44.

¹⁸⁷*Courier*, April 22, 1854. Haddon to Bridge, February 20, 1854.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., 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. See Hollett, "Resistance to Bishop Edward Feild," Appendix, pp. 264-265, Haddon to Collett, April 7, 1854.

¹⁸⁹Hollett, "Resistance to Bishop Edward Feild," Appendix, pp. 264-265, Haddon to Collett, April 7, 1854.

¹⁹⁰*Courier*, April 29, 1854. Haddon to Bridge, February 27, 1854.

¹⁹¹Ibid.

¹⁹²Ibid.

¹⁹³*Record*, March 30, 1854.

¹⁹⁴*Patriot*, April 29, 1854.

¹⁹⁵Collett, *Church of England*, No. 2, p. 3.

¹⁹⁶The *Courier* advertised the pamphlet bi-weekly for over a year from April 29, 1854 to June 30, 1855. Surprisingly, it has not been cited in scholarship on Bishop Feild.

¹⁹⁷Collett, *The Church of England*, No. 2, p. 2.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., p. 22-27.

²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 28-31.

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 33-34.

²⁰²*Courier*, June 10, 1854.

²⁰³Ibid., Hawkins to Duke of Newcastle, April 22, 1854.

²⁰⁴Ibid., Feild to Hamilton, June 2, 1854.

²⁰⁵*Patriot*, June 24, 1854.

²⁰⁶*The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Newfoundland Church Society*, June 26, 1854 (St. John's: J.C. Withers, 1854), p. 8.

²⁰⁷Feild, *An Address on the System*, pp. 13-14.

²⁰⁸Hollett, "Resistance to Bishop Edward Feild," Appendix, p. 268, Collett to Charles Simms, Harbour Buffett, December 26, 1856.

²⁰⁹PANL, SPG, MG598 A222 White, SPG Quarterly Report, Harbor Buffet, June 30, 1854.

²¹⁰PANL, SPG, MG598 A222 White, SPG Quarterly Report, Harbor Breton, Christmas 1855(4).

²¹¹*Times*, January 31, 1855.

²¹²E.P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-century English Society: class struggle without class?," *Social History* 3.2 (May 1978), p. 154.