

THE INFLUENCE OF ISOLATION ON THE THEOLOGY OF

METHODISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND 1874 - 1924

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S U M M A R Y

PART I

It is the claim of this paper that during the life of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada (1874 - 1924) the character of her theology was influenced profoundly by enforced and chosen isolation though some courageous attempts were made to deepen the theological thinking within the ministry and laity of the outport communities.

Three of the regular Methodist affirmations over-emphasized by the isolation of the outports were -

- (1) Conduct is more important than theology.
- (2) Emotion is more important than reason.
- (3) Doctrine and discipline are more important for preachers than for laity.

Three variations from the Methodist system growing out of the fact of isolation:

- (1) The breakdown in supervision by ordained ministers.
- (2) The domination of the "After Meeting" over the "Class Meeting".
- (3) The irrelevance of the discipline of Christian Stewardship.

PART II

The major affirmations of faith in the Methodist outports were - belief in God as Creator, God as Preserver, Immortality, and Salvation through redemption of sinful man by the Cross of Christ.

Other doctrines considered: Incarnation, Holy Spirit, The Doctrine of the Fall of Man, the Atonement, The Church, Worship.

### PART III

There were some serious attempts made to develop theological thinking in the isolated outports, within the Methodist Conference itself, supplemented by powerful influences from the outside.

- (1) The publishing of the Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting.
- (2) The formation of The Theological Union
- (3) The improvement in the training of preachers.
- (4) The contribution of Sir Wilfred Grenfell.
- (5) The disruption of World War I.
- (6) The indirect influence on Church Union.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISOLATION ON THE THEOLOGY OF  
METHODISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND - 1874-1924

Newfoundland, a rugged, fog-ridden, forbidding, hand-shaped island off the northeast coast of mainland Canada, well out in the rough, cold invincible Atlantic Ocean, was a land of obscurity, loneliness, frugality, and legend. The few Beothic Indians who inhabited the island were visited by Norsemen, Cabot, some adventurous explorers of the seventeenth century, and by some daring French fishermen. These all bounced off the rocky coast until hardy, desperate settlers from the west and south of England and subsequently many Irish immigrants defied the elements, the unfriendly environment and even their home government<sup>1</sup> in order to establish their families in a free land which seemed almost completely separated from ancestral ties or from the exciting New World. Here a meagre but satisfying living was eked out by fishing---although mining and lumbering ultimately developed to considerable financial advantage.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless the price of separation, seclusion and self-sufficiency was a minimum standard of living and a rejection of the world outside their own island.

From the beginning England boasted about her "oldest colony"<sup>3</sup> while at the same time she exploited it shamefully. Little financial help came from the European fishing vessels that found shelter and obtained supplies in Newfoundland ports---though this business cannot be disregarded. A happier association of trade sprang up with the New England States and the West Indies,<sup>4</sup> although even this did little to bring the main ports

into the stream of world commerce--let alone to lift the cloud of isolation from the outports. In fact, as the glorious colonial period began to wane, Newfoundland was segregated from the rest of the world by her own stubborn choice and by the amused indifference of the preoccupied people of the Atlantic countries.

Nevertheless, during the half century with which this paper deals, (1874-1924), it required an all-out effort on the part of Newfoundlanders to resist the pressure that threatened their treasured isolation. 1866 had seen the successful laying of the transatlantic cable terminating at Heart's Content, Trinity Bay, from which it was later connected with the mainland. In 1901 Marconi received the first signal from England to Signal Hill at the entrance to St. John's harbour, opening up the vast field of intercontinental wireless communication. From St. John's in 1919 Alcock and Brown flew their flimsy plane across the Atlantic, establishing a link with Europe which was to be developed in the next thirty years at an amazing rate. Meantime, steam had revolutionized ocean-going ships, and gasoline engines had augmented or replaced the fisherman's dependence on wind and tides. A railroad had been completed in 1898 connecting the east and west coasts. Coastal vessels became more plentiful and had the advantage of being able to continue later in the season and to begin earlier. By the end of this period roads were beginning to be built. Participation in the Boer War, and especially in World War I, helped to crack the wall of isolation. Teachers, ministers, doctors, and other trained personnel from Britain came to Newfoundland, - but all too frequently they soon returned or moved on to the mainland in search of better prospects. A high percentage of Newfoundlanders who went to the United States or Canada

for education or to find work, did not return. In the comfort of their new environment, they dreamed nostalgically of their native land but this sentiment was so precious they could not risk disillusionment by coming back. One of the beloved folk songs<sup>5</sup> reflects this emotion:

By Pacific's wave I'm sighing for my homeland.  
I long to breathe her healthful airs again,  
I pine, tho' nature here in all her splendour  
And majesty of beauty loves to reign.

The vine trees' luscious load is waving o'er me,  
The sweet syringa's petals kiss my hand.  
Though all is fair and bright in California  
I dream of thee my country Newfoundland.

CHORUS:

The sunset floods the golden gates with glory  
The scent of orange groves is on the breeze  
Yet the heart within me cries for my home 'neath northern skies  
An island far away in other seas.

The friends I love and youthful mem'ries call me,  
Their call, my yearning soul cannot withstand.  
Take me back! Oh! take me back from California  
To the hills, the "Dear old hills" of Newfoundland.

Not only was Newfoundland cut off from the outside world but its many communities were isolated from one another as well. The people had settled in small groups, in coves and inlets around the 6000-mile coastline. Even in 1924 only four towns outside of St. John's had a population of 3000.<sup>6</sup> Hundreds of these pockets of 5-50 or more families formed self-contained units with almost no communication between them. Only a few miles apart as the crow flies, they were often many miles by boat, involving a journey around a headland, the buffeting of the rough sea, the meeting of currents and winds--to say nothing of the sudden storms which were the nature of this high and rocky coast. Winning a livelihood from the capricious sea justified a risk which visiting the

neighbouring community did not merit. Thus in the outports an independent self-satisfied life existed, undisturbed by suggestions or comparisons with others. Those who enjoyed the security of aloofness or lacked the imagination or spirit to resist it, stayed, while those who were restless or rebellious got out. Expurged of the agitators, the folk in the outports were not only out to step with the pipers of the world—they were unable even to hear the pipes.

The ocean made it all possible. It gave them seclusion and a living although it was a constant threat to life and security. "The sea always wins in the end" was an accepted slogan. After the sea came the rocky terrain, the impenetrable interior, the almost insurmountable difficulty of developing agriculture, and the frightening problems involved in road building. Ice and frozen muskeg helped a little in establishing intercommunication, but not enough to counteract the normal barriers. Nature and vocations combined to keep the communities divided.

Isolation is writ large in the religious history of Newfoundland, with Methodism providing the best example. It had an unimpressive beginning under the leadership of a strange character, Lawrence Coughlan. Unfortunately, the definitive study of his life and work has yet to be attempted. His strength and weakness, his religious affiliation and his character are "fogged in", and in some confused areas the historical visibility is zero.<sup>7</sup> Confirmed an Anglican, he was converted by John Wesley during the Irish revival<sup>8</sup> and was accepted as an itinerant local preacher in 1755. Nine years later, for reasons not clearly stated, John Wesley had him ordained by Erasmus, a Greek Bishop who was visiting in England. This arbitrary act on the part of John Wesley aroused such

passionate opposition from Brother Charles and other leaders of the Methodist movement in England that Coughlan was forced to resign his ordination. From this embarrassing situation he was rescued providentially by the Spirit who called him to spread the Gospel in the New World. He arrived in Harbour Grace, Conception Bay, in 1765—one year before Barbara Heck prodded Philip Embury into organizing the first Methodist Society in New York.

Lawrence Coughlan found about 5000 people without religious services in the many coves around Conception Bay.<sup>9</sup> Into this situation he threw himself with vigour and courage. So successful was he that after a year the people sent a petition to London to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel asking that an ordained minister be sent to them. Coughlan himself delivered the request and accepted the appointment after being duly and properly ordained by the Bishop of London. He returned in 1767 to consolidate the Methodist cause around Conception Bay. During the next five years he conducted services, held revival meetings, fought liquor, challenged merchants who, he believed, were cheating the people, and kept the religious life stirred up by his fiery, bold, irrational, and sincere sermons.<sup>10</sup>

In his correspondence<sup>11</sup> to John Wesley this ordained Anglican priest claimed defensively "I am, and do confess myself a Methodist". The confusion would be reduced if we could be sure that Coughlan knew and accepted Wesley's Doctrine of Assurance. At any rate, when Coughlan departed from Harbour Grace in 1772 for England, and obscurity, he left 200 communicants, a number of Methodist Societies, and a group of local preachers to serve them.

Notwithstanding this encouraging statistical record, the societies made little progress in the next 20 years. In desperation Dr. Coke<sup>12</sup> urged William Black<sup>13</sup> of the Eastern British American Methodist Conference to visit Newfoundland with the hope that some order, spirit, and inspiration might come to the divided and discouraged societies there. His visit, which lasted for slightly more than a month, supplied such supervision and direction that a new day dawned for the Methodists in Newfoundland. If this type of supervision could have been repeated even every three or five years Methodism would have profited tremendously. Unfortunately this was not to be the case. It is true that the English Conference did send preachers to serve in Newfoundland (e.g. in 1816 six outstanding preachers arrived). Most of these soon moved on, leaving the people of the out-ports to work out their own ingrown ideas and practices undisturbed by developments and directives from beyond their respective coves.

The first real breakthrough promising some wider connection and supervision came in 1874 when the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British America amalgamated with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, and the Canadian Conference of the Methodist New Connexion Church to form the Methodist Church of Canada.<sup>14</sup> It was divided into six conferences, of which one was Newfoundland. For the first time in history Newfoundland had a Methodist Conference, organized August 5, 1874 in George Street Church, St. John's with the Reverend George S. Milligan, then minister of Gower Street Church, as first President.<sup>15</sup> This event struck a noble blow against insular separation by bringing Newfoundland Societies officially into the main stream of Canadian Methodism. Let us not imagine, however, that the strongly built bastions of isolation could be breached so easily.



The resolute defenders, knowing they were situated in an impregnable position and that they were supported by nature, terrain, tradition, and self-imposed discipline, withstood manfully the halfhearted assault of the General Conference, the letters and infrequent visits of the General Superintendent, the college training of the minister, the influence of the national magazine, The Christian Guardian, and the cautious sallies made by the annual conference to bring in some discipline and progress.

It is the claim of this paper that during the life of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada<sup>16</sup> (1874-1924) that the character of her theology was influenced profoundly by enforced and chosen isolation, though some courageous attempts were made to deepen the theological thinking of the ministers and laity of the outport communities. Let us look at some of the theological convictions held, remembering that the Newfoundlanders of this period were practical and concrete thinkers who placed minimal emphasis on concepts and abstractions.

The history of the outports has been recorded to a considerable degree in almost every aspect<sup>17</sup> except in regard to the theology of the people. Religion was a "way" rather than a "truth". The Reverend George Earle, Provost of Queen's College, St. John's--one of the Earles of Chango Islands, Notre Dame Bay, illustrates this fact as he writes with insight and wit:

There must have been something that bound the place together. Beyond question that something was the Church, be it Roman Catholic in the Irish Communities or Church of England in English communities, and in some areas the Methodists. Chango Island was divided between the latter two and they did not always love one another but each took under its wing its share of the community and all was not unfriendly. Common to both was the Bible which was not only revered but read in the old-time

family. It spoke with authority and said among other things that one day should, in fact must, be set aside for worship and rest. Growing up, I felt no sense of compulsion about going to church. It was something the whole community did and this was the only place where the whole population of all ages gathered with regularity. The most objective observer must see in this community custom the cement which bound the outports together and gave a purpose to life in lonely places. The Parson was very much the person of the village for he promoted education and often arranged assistance for the unfortunate and had, in the early missionary days a good idea of medicine.

From such religious and sociological recollections, from three unpublished theses on different aspects of Methodism in Newfoundland, from the files of The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, from the minutes of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada, from the handwritten sermons of the Reverend Charles Lench and of the Reverend Dr. Levi Curtis, and from the short histories of a number of individual circuits as well as general histories of the Methodist Church in the Atlantic area,<sup>19</sup> data can be found from which the following conclusions are drawn with reasonable certainty.

To begin, Methodism in the isolated outports followed so intensely three of the major emphases of the denomination that these were distorted out of true perspective:

(1) CONDUCT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THEOLOGY.

An adherence to a rule of life involving a restricting puritanical moral code coupled with a pietistic dependence on keeping Sunday holy, and attending every possible service, occupied the full attention of the faithful member. While he agreed that works without faith are dead, he was so busy spelling out and defending what he meant by works that there was little time left to consider the nature of the faith.<sup>20</sup>

Isolated from other congregations and unsupervised by authorized overseers,<sup>21</sup> the Methodists failed to understand the faith they had experienced. This impoverished spiritual life accounted substantially for the weakening of the church. They had not realized the danger which Dr. Ralph Chalmers pointed out much later:

Every church needs a theology even as individual Christians should be able to give a reason for the faith that is in them, that is in order to give an intelligent expression to the belief and experience in Christ, and without which the church like the individual would soon lose its power.<sup>22</sup>

## (2) EMOTION IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN REASON

An experience of conversion was essential but an intellectual assent to doctrine was optional at best. The emotionally directed revival meetings and after meetings, resulting in conversions, singing, exhortations, and often uncontrolled hysteria when sins were forgiven, won for the Methodists the not entirely deserved name of "ranting Methodists", "noisy Methodists", and even "mad Methodists". Too often the depth of experience was gauged by the degree of impossibility of describing it.<sup>23</sup> This major emphasis on subjective feeling coupled with a spontaneous and often irrational response made the Methodist look upon theology as unnecessary and indeed as a detriment to true spirituality.

## (3) DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE ARE MORE IMPORTANT TO PREACHERS THAN TO LAITY.<sup>24</sup>

During his probation and his college training the preacher was supposed to study the faith and to accept the doctrines of the church. At ordination he took his vows to maintain the orthodox view of the denomination.<sup>25</sup> Each year he was questioned lest irregularities appear.<sup>26</sup>

Though there is no record of a heresy trial in this period, provision was made should any such unfortunate situation arise. On the other hand, the church member had no pre-confirmation training, nor indeed had he made any confirmation vows.<sup>27</sup> There was no regular form of profession of faith in joining the society, though a convert was expected to attend class meeting, Sunday services, and prayer meeting. He was required to reject smoking, drinking, and card playing, sexual promiscuity, gambling, and swearing.<sup>28</sup> He could believe as much or as little as he liked and disbelieve any doctrine of the church provided he kept quiet about it. He leaned far too heavily on the testimony of the man whom Jesus healed, who, on being badgered by the Jews to tell what kind of man cured him, replied: "Whether he is a sinner, I do not know . . . I do know that once I was blind, now I see."<sup>29</sup> The member could believe or disbelieve almost anything as long as he felt good and could witness to the dramatic change that had come at a specific time through Christ whom he did not know or specially try to follow.<sup>30</sup> This type of religious freedom leads inevitably to a self-destroying universalism.

On the other hand there were at least three variations exclusive to Methodism in Newfoundland, largely due to isolation:

(1) The Supervising Pastor Plan, so necessary to Wesley's system broke down under the weight of distance, inaccessibility, and inadequate transportation. It was too difficult for the supervisor to give adequate direction, correction, instruction, or examination to the probationer or lay preacher. Further, the isolated unordained preacher was given special privileges to baptize, administer the sacrament, marry, bury, and fulfill all the functions of a minister. He did not need supervision nor did the

circuit look beyond this privileged layman for the conducting of meetings or services. So long as he could do all an ordained minister could do, why worry about training or ordination? Thus both the preacher and the people had a low view of apostolic ordination and a high view of the preacher with a conversion experience--whether he had any grasp of theology or not.

(2) The Class Meeting gave way to the After Meeting.<sup>31</sup> It was a basic principle in Wesley's plan that the converts should be grouped in classes for study, self-examination, witnessing, prayer, and fellowship that they might "grow in Grace". Though the after meeting was not designed to replace the class meeting it tended to do so in the isolated communities. It was held at the close of the "formal" service, usually in the evening, and followed the general pattern of a prayer meeting. It was open to all, with an emphasis on singing, prayers, and testimonies. Study and conversation were replaced by fervour, thanksgiving and expressions of assurance of what had been done for them. While it was rich in fellowship and witnessing, it provided little opportunity for spiritual growth or for an understanding of the faith.

(3) Christian Stewardship of time, talents, and material possessions formed an essential avenue of man's response to the redeeming grace of God in the plan of John Wesley. Although the general experience elsewhere was that Christian Stewardship was a practical successor to the conversion experience, the Methodists of the outports could not use it as a Christian discipline because of their isolation. It was no sacrifice to give them to the church or to neighbours since there was nothing else to do when they were not out fishing. In regard to talents, the only outlet was in

the church. Moreover, the unusual economy made proportionate and systematic giving impossible.<sup>32</sup> The local merchant took the fish and supplied the necessities of life with practically no money changing hands. If a man wanted collection for church, he got an advance from the merchant who charged it against his account. In fact men found it easier to deal with God than with the merchant who, in the end, seemed to have control of all practical things.

To summarize briefly: Three of the regular affirmations over-emphasized by the isolation of the outports:

- (1) CONDUCT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THEOLOGY
- (2) EMOTION IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN REASON
- (3) DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE ARE MORE IMPORTANT FOR PREACHERS THAN FOR LAITY

The three variations from the Methodist system growing out of the fact of isolation:

- (1) THE BREAKDOWN IN SUPERVISION BY ORDAINED PREACHERS
- (2) THE DOMINATION OF THE AFTER MEETING OVER THE CLASS MEETING
- (3) THE IRRELEVANCE OF CHRISTIAN STEWARDSHIP

## PART II

The major affirmations of faith in the Methodist outports, were I believe: in God, Creator and Preserver; in Immortality and in Salvation through the redemption of sinful man by the cross of Christ.

(1) The outport Methodist accepted God as creator of the universe and of man without question or struggle. God made the sea and the rocky land, the fish, the birds, the animals of the forest. He made the berries to

ripen, the vegetables to grow, and the tea for drinking. God made the weather, the wind, the storms and the sunshine. Because the Methodist accepted the natural universe as God's handiwork, he did not rebel or ask why, nor did he blame God or nature when disaster occurred. His fervent prayer was not that the physical condition or situation should be changed to suit his needs, but that he and his family might be saved. In one of the most popular of the folk songs this faith in a God who had all things in his control is declared:

When I reach that last big shoal  
Where the ground swells break asunder  
Where the wild sands roll to the surges toll  
Let me be a man and take it  
When my dory fails to make it.<sup>1</sup>

(2) He was sure of God as Preserver. He could face the facts of life in complete dependence upon the providence of God, his Father, as he was a son by adoption. The sea was loved, respected, blessed and feared. It provided sustenance for living but took a terrible toll in death. Though a constant struggle went on between the sea and man, the sea was not regarded as an instrument of the devil to destroy man. It was a fair fight in which man believed that if he was really hard pressed he could appeal to a sympathetic God to bring him through.<sup>2</sup> Birth, disease, and death were faced with a minimum of medicine and a maximum of certainty that God had everything in hand. The outport Christian rejoiced if all went well and wept if it did not. God was thanked both in success and tragedy. Fortunately in these secluded communities there were few agitators to ask embarrassing questions of those who held so uncritical a doctrine of Divine Providence.

(3) Immortality in terms of heaven promised and described in the

Bible<sup>3</sup> and assured to the believer through the resurrection of Jesus, was anticipated with delight by the faithful<sup>4</sup> while sinners were threatened with the alternative.<sup>5</sup> The outport Methodist, who gave way to fantastic emotional expression when a loved one or neighbour died, faced death himself in the spirit of Romans 14: 8-9:

Whether we live, we live unto the Lord and whether we die we die unto the Lord. Whether we live therefore or die we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died and rose and revived that he might be Lord both of the living and of the dead.

(4) Salvation was the central and primary doctrine, based not on "what it was" but on "what it did"<sup>6</sup> for man. Man was obsessed with the awfulness of sin<sup>7</sup> from which he could never free himself. Little attention was paid beyond lip service to "who" won man's salvation since it came through the cross. After man's repentance<sup>8</sup> salvation was mediated through an emotional crisis and developed into a way of life. Conversion has been abused by many who have unduly magnified it at the expense of other important truths. To the Reverend Henry Abraham<sup>9</sup>, conversion does not accomplish as much as many expect. It changes our relationship to God but does not change us entirely. He maintains a careless sinner is often a careless Christian while a cowardly Christian is doubtless a cowardly sinner. "We bring so much of the old character, thought and habit to the new life. . . Just as any bodily organ can be injured so may the more delicate organs of the soul be impaired. One of the highest gifts of the soul is the sensitivity or quickness to discover and dread evil. The man who lives in sin is destroying the organ". He adds: "Sins before conversion you will never forgive yourself. Only God can forgive and does". Since salvation was not a guaranteed state, backsliding was recognized as



natural and rectified by yearly revival services.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the monotony of puritanical morality and the frustration of situation ethics were counteracted by periodic "whipping up of the spirit" that salvation might be maintained.<sup>11</sup> In short, the gospel of salvation was simply "repent and believe", untrammelled by complicated theological theories or categories. I conclude, therefore, that it was the activity of God, not His Being, Person, or Nature that attracted the outport Methodists. They were concerned with His mighty acts, not with His majestic Self; with what He could do for them, not with His cosmic plan for the redemption of the world.

The Incarnation was effected for their salvation with all other implications being ignored.<sup>12</sup> The nature and person of Christ were as foreign to their thinking as was the Trinity.<sup>13</sup>

The Holy Spirit was considered only as a power at work in man, producing fruits and enabling man to be victorious.

The Doctrine of the Fall of Man was basic. Sin had entered the world as a force foreign to the divine purpose. Inherited (not total) depravity is accepted.<sup>14</sup>

The Atonement was all important to man on the basis of what was done<sup>15</sup> without emphasis on who did it.<sup>16</sup>

The Church was a gathering of the community with an inner group of saints who alone were worthy to receive Holy Communion. Baptism was necessary to salvation as was church attendance. The Bible was accepted and taught with authority. Prayer<sup>17</sup> was essential to all and public prayer with the prerogative of those "who could pray." Worship was formal in its non-essentials (e.g. hour, frequency, clothing, etc.), was informal

and unadorned in all essentials ( order of worship, singing, prayer, sermons, doctrines etc.)- Each preacher had so many services to conduct that he had little time for preparation. Thus the denunciation of visible sins and the commendation of accepted virtues, formed a constantly successful theme for any service--and, if the preacher had some quotable mannerism, the triumph of the faith was assured.

### PART III

Fortunately, there were some serious attempts made to develop theological thinking in the isolated outports within the Methodist Conference itself, supplemented by powerful influences from the outside. Six of these will now be considered:

#### (1) THE PUBLICATION OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND METHODIST MONTHLY GREETING

In spite of the national reputation of The Christian Guardian, the official journal of the Methodist Church in Canada, there were few subscribers in Newfoundland in the 1870's and 80's. Indeed even to-day the lack of readers in Newfoundland of the popular United Church Observer is a constant irritation to the editor. It may have been the cost, or the lack of relevant material and news items, or it may have been the problem of distribution which accounted for the pitifully small circulation. At any rate the conference decided to publish its own magazine, electing the Reverend Harry Lewis and the Reverend G.P. Story as the first editors. The initial issue of The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting appeared in August 1888, costing 40¢ per annum or 11 copies delivered to the one address for \$4.00. Soon "The Greeting" as it was affectionately called, became widely read and enthusiastically accepted. With little competition

through the years, it continued successfully until it was forced out of publication late in the 1930's by the depression.

In addition to editorials, articles about religious life in Newfoundland, and news items, there was a letter from the General Superintendent at least yearly and a full account of each annual conference. Temperance education and forceful writing against social evils such as gambling and Sabbath-breaking were found in nearly every issue. Indeed, so necessary did the former seem that for a few years in the early 90's, an auxiliary magazine The Water Lily was published which was devoted exclusively to the cause of temperance. Articles on discipline, conduct, the need for evangelism and special events in the life of the church, filled the pages along with extensive and interesting advertisements. Sermons appeared from time to time, and obituaries received considerable space.

Most significant for our interest, however, was the inclusion of a British supplement which, though the material varied from year to year, contained stories and travelogues about England, along with articles and sermons by leading preachers of the Old Country. Through this medium the reader in the outport around the turn of the century came into contact with such outstanding men as Reverend Hugh Price Hughes, Dr. Joseph Parker and the Reverend J. Scott Lidgett. Later in our period there were re-printed sermons by such distinguished preachers as the Reverend Trevor H. Davies, Dr. John H. Hutton, Dr. H. Waldwyn Hughes, Dr. E Griffith Jones, Dr. C. Campbell Morgan, Dr. A.E. Whitham and Dr. J.E. Jowett—to mention only a few. Not only were these sermons and articles read in the homes but frequently the lay reader, hard pressed on Saturday night, found it valuable to all concerned to read one of these sermons to the congregation

the next day. Undoubtedly many preachers also followed this wide example, believing that the congregation was entitled to the very best.

Two additional comments should be made regarding The Greeting. First, the Reverend F.G. Willey, writing on "ENTIRE SANCTIFICATION" in the June issue, 1890 says:

As The Greeting is being widely circulated and will doubtless be more and more extensively read, it is not our duty to increase its worth by giving this blessed theme all the prominence which it demands. (Italics mine)

The other fact that cannot be ignored is the prevalence of illiteracy. From the following statistics we can judge the extent of the problem.

<u>Date of Census</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>No. Unable to write</u>
1891	197,934	94,281
1901	217,037	97,146
1911	238,670	72,808
1921	263,000	42,148

It appears, however, according to oral tradition that someone was found in most homes who could read The Greeting to the rest of the family.

## (2) THE THEOLOGICAL UNION

This organization was formed in 1888 to hold its meeting at the Annual Conference. There a lecture would be given by one of the preachers; after which discussion would take place. The membership fee was one dollar, which included a subscription to The Methodist Theological Quarterly. In The Greeting of August, 1889, the first activity of the Theological Union is reported. The Reverend G.H. James, who delivered the lecture on "Christian Liberty" is quoted as affirming that the use of money was a test of character and that man was only God's steward. Men, he added, waste more in godless pleasure than God demands for his cause. The editor

was somewhat dissatisfied with Mr. James's effort as he commented; "So far we have had little of theology proper discussed in sermons or lectures of the union". Apparently the hope was that the Conference Sermon and the lecture of the Theological Union should be discussed, not to pick holes in the arguments presented, but to stimulate debate and thus to promote more theological thinking.

An announcement in the June, 1890 issue of The Greeting reads:

The members will please notice that the annual lecture of the Theological Union will be delivered on the preparatory day of Conference in George Street Church. Lecturer--Rev. Henry Lewis--  
Subject "THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE TO ETHICS".

When this event was reported the next month little was said of the lecture itself but much of its enthusiastic reception:

The event of that date (opening June 24th) was the annual lecture in connection with the Theological Union of the Conference. What about the lecture? Well, as one of the editors<sup>2</sup> of The Journal had most to say that evening about the relation of Christian Doctrine to Ethics, we ought to be mute. But what a fine audience there was; wonderful considering so many think theology a dry subject and the singing that night was really good: but the handsome collection of nearly twenty dollars put a climax on all.

No wonder the members of the Union felt happy.

Probably the renewed emphasis in theology aroused by the Union influenced the preacher of the conference sermon to give greater attention to doctrine. At any rate the Reverend John Pratt announced that year as his theme "The Fatherhood of God," using the text "My Father and your Father" (John 20:17). He traced God's self-revelation through God as Creator, God as Preserver, and ultimately God as Destroyer. To Abraham

he was "God Almighty"; to Moses "I am"; to David "Father of Fatherless"; to Malachi "Have We Not All One Father". But in the time of Christ he is "OUR FATHER". Fatherhood, he claimed, meant love, care, and discipline.

Turning to the related subject of Sonship, he dwelt on the uniqueness of Christ. He reaffirmed that fact that all believers are sons of God but only by adoption while Christ was the son of God by procession--of one substance with the Father. He pointed out that Jesus never referred to God as "Our Father" as regarding himself and his followers, but as "My Father and your Father". It is evident from this brief digest that the preacher was grappling (not too successfully, I fear) with the deeper theological implications of the faith.

The next year (1891) as conference time approached, the interest in the Union was still rising:

The members of the Theological Union and the general public will please take notice that (D V) the annual lecture will be delivered in the College Hall on the preparatory day of Conference by Rev. L. Curtis, B.A. Subject--"DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE".

This emphasis was continued in June, 1892, when the lecturer was the Reverend A.D. Martin, M.A., and the theme "THE INCARNATION AND ITS LESSONS" which grew out of the text, "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead, bodily", (Colossians 2.9). Although the editor did not review the lecture itself, he recognized it as "ERUDITE".

By 1906 however, there is evidence of decline. The Greeting reports:

The first gathering in connection with the Conference was the theological lecture on Monday night. The Lecturer was Rev. H.J. Creasy who took as his subject "HIM". Unfortunately the attendance was small. The lecture deserved a better company and had the mark of careful and long preparation.

Though the Theological Lecture was not discontinued, it did lose its popular appeal. In 1910 the July issue of The Greeting reports that the Wednesday evening programme of the Annual Conference attracted a good congregation for the Theological Union. The sermon was preached by the Reverend Sydney A. Chancey of Moreton's Harbour who announced his theme as "THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST". No reference is made to a lecture, suggesting that the two were now joined into one operation--thus confining the evening to a worship rather than a discussion emphasis. By 1919 we find in the agenda of Conference:

8 p.m.	-	Theological Lecture
10 p.m.	-	Theological Union

No more than that. The lecturer is not named, nor his theme, nor was this once great institution considered worthy of reporting.

Like many other good ideas, the theological union served its day only to be plagued by lack of interest as time passed. Its value in stimulating and deepening theological thinking, especially in isolated communities must be recognized with appreciation.

### (3) IMPROVED TRAINING OF PREACHERS

The academic preparation of preachers underwent a decided upgrading during these fifty years, with a stronger emphasis on doctrinal instruction and more rigid requirements for ordination. At the turn of the century, for example, a probationer spent three years of training on circuit under the direction of a supervising pastor. These years were followed by two more in college where he took a mixed programme of Arts and Theology. If he had some Arts subjects prior to his Theology ( and this was very rare), a special course was then provided.

The subjects prescribed included English Bible, Old Testament History, Greek Testament, Homiletics, and Practical Theology, with the addition of Church History in the second and third years. A course in Theology was required each year. The books to be studied were as follows:

(1) ON CIRCUIT

- FIRST YEAR: Doctrine of Methodism  
Wesley's Sermons(I-LII) Burwash  
Wesley, On Christian Perfection  
Fletcher, Last Check  
Steele, Substitute of Holiness or  
Antinomianism Revived
- SECOND YEAR: Gregory, Handbook for Theological  
Students
- THIRD YEAR: Randle, Design and Use of Holy Scripture  
Beet, The New Life in Christ

(2) IN COLLEGE:

- FOURTH YEAR: Systematics Vol. I, Miley or Burwash  
Historical - Fisher
- FIFTH YEAR: Apologetics - Theism and Christian Evidences

Even at best, theological studies by correspondence when the student has little basis or background for the subject and practically no guidance, were less than satisfactory. The Reverend G.P. Story was one of the more scholarly preachers in the 1880's. He left his library to his grandson,<sup>3</sup> Dr. George Story, presently professor of English in Memorial University. I had hoped that some of these prescribed books might still be available through his collection. Unfortunately, this is not the case so it is difficult to check the quality of the works studied.

It seems fair to conclude that the probationer could do little more than read the unfamiliar phraseology, remember as much as possible, and reproduce this as best he could for the examination. If he passed he



would probably follow the same technique in college, without ever coming to grips with the major historical theological issue--let alone an intellectual understanding of his own Christian experience or the faith of the church to which he was committing himself.

However, a decade later (1910), the plan was reversed to require two years on circuit and three years in college. This was a great advantage since the activity on the field left little time or inspiration for proper study. Moreover, the direction of the Professor was essential to the student who had little knowledge on methods of or inclination for study.

Now the requirements were:

(1) ON CIRCUIT

FIRST YEAR: Gregory, Handbook for Theological Students

SECOND YEAR: Dods, Origin and Nature of the Bible

(2) IN COLLEGE

THIRD YEAR: A Course in Logic

FOURTH YEAR: A Course in Ethics

FIFTH YEAR: Systematic Theology (no text given)  
Apologetics--Theism and Christian Evidences

The extra year in college would be invaluable to the theological development of the student and thus might filter through to the people he would serve.

The last decade of our era saw even greater advances in theological training. In 1917, for example, the Reverend John Line, then a Professor at Mount Allison University, said in an address to the Newfoundland Conference that probationers coming to Mount Allison would find new courses in theology and in practical training being offered. He said that the

crucial questions of modern life were being dealt with in new courses of sociology and social ethics. He added that their theological work was being materially revised, taking in modern scientific knowledge with special topics such as eschatology being given a prominent place. How contemporary this announcement sounds. It might well be heard to-day from any theological principal announcing the 1971-72 curriculum.

Again in 1918 the Reverend Oliver Jackson introduced a new feature into The Greeting. It was called "The Canadian Library of Religious Literature". Both the books available and the prices were listed from time to time.<sup>4</sup> These are samples of the growing concern for continuing study and for the distribution of books on religion in general and theology in particular.

#### (4) SIR WILFRED GRENFELL

From 1892 on, Dr. Grenfell exerted a profound influence on the religious thinking of the most isolated area of Newfoundland, the Great Northern Peninsula. While his primary work was serving the needs of the scattered communities as a doctor, and in establishing a hospital at St. Anthony with all the associated medical and health services, he also continued services, read the Bible with people, prayed with the lonely and communicated a practical religion which was appreciated and understood. As a heroic figure his personal religious life and views became a pattern for a host of people.

The theology he propounded was practical and concrete, causing no intellectual struggle nor raising any academic implications. He believed that religion was vital when it had practical and personal bearing. There was no need to apply reason to a living faith. He was not concerned

with the nature or person of Christ since to him the one thing needed was a commitment to follow Him who was the Leader and Friend. In his book What Christ Means to Me he stated: "Christ's religion is primarily for this world and the New Jerusalem is to come down from heaven on to this earth and we are to be the Washingtons and the Nelsons".<sup>5</sup> In describing his Christology, Dr. Grenfell affirms: "Christ means to me a fearless leader whose challenge was not to save ourselves but to lose ourselves, not to understand him but to have courage to follow him".<sup>6</sup> In spite of this apparent tendency to discourage an understanding of the faith, Dr. Grenfell also directed attention to many theological issues. For example: "The danger of losing sight of the conscious personal relationship between God and man that Christ's very incarnation teaches us should exist, must be kept in mind".<sup>7</sup> The Greeting<sup>8</sup> reports that Dr. Grenfell was forced to spend the weekend at Catalina because of rough weather. On Sunday, June 24, 1910, he occupied the pulpit of the Methodist Church, preaching on the subject "CLEANLINESS". A comment made by the reporter who signed W.W.H. reads:

We were impressed with the preacher's theology which is not narrow or confined to any class or creed, but to the fundamental truths of Christianity which certainly are broad enough to include all denominations who worship Christ in spirit and in truth and live lives consistent with Christ's teaching.

No man was closer to the hearts of the isolated families of the northern part of the province nor more widely known and loved throughout Newfoundland than Dr. Grenfell. The imprint of his thinking and religious life on the people is one of the unique treasures of the life of our province.

(5) WORLD WAR I. (1914-1918):

The influence of the Great War penetrated to the loneliest outposts.

Christians were forced to face the implication and inconsistencies of their faith as never before. The Greeting asks in an editorial (January, 1915):

Has the war driven us as a people to our knees in earnest supplication to Almighty God? . . . Has it disclosed to us the true perspective in our view of things, so that the things of permanent value are sought for and the transient proportionally discounted?

Another editorial (April, 1916), entitled "German Christianity" describes the havoc wrought upon faith and true religion by the German scholars.

Apparently the writer equates the destruction by the Hun of life, property and world peace with the devastating Biblical and theological criticisms by these clever, exact, but malicious German teachers:

It matters but little that their dogmatism left the Bible shorn of all divine authority and Christ deprived of His divine attributes . . . It is not too much to say that to-day the church of Christ is suffering from these teachings, and the barrenness, the lack of life and power, the dearth of conversions, the decrease in membership may largely be traced to the books made in Germany.

One final editorial (January, 1919), may be quoted to illustrate the theological disturbance, even in the outports, which was perpetrated by the war:

Even before the great World War men were looking for a wide-spread visitation of saving grace, and now that peace has come, even more intense longing and keener expectations are abroad. Indeed the war has tended to accentuate the need. Society has been bleeding at ten thousand pores and the need for application of Gilead's balm is very real. The people have had to pass through terrible ordeals: their hearts have been wrung with anguish: their spirits have been made bitter by cruel wrongs inflicted by a desperate enemy. They have hardly known whether to love or hate. And now the strife is ended the need of the quickening influences of the river whose waters are for the healing

of the nations is exceedingly pressing. Of one thing we are sure--that God who has created the longing in the hearts of men is waiting to supply the grace.

Clearly this world-shaking event caused the outport Methodist to examine his faith in a realistic and practical way.

#### (6) CHURCH UNION

For the first quarter of the twentieth century the subject of union--particularly as it referred to Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists in Canada occupied a prominent place. In Newfoundland there was less interest aroused than elsewhere since the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists had such a small constituency with the Methodists dominating the scene. Religion, not speculative theology or form of worship or church order, held the chief place in Methodist thought. Standards of doctrine were minimized while definite experience of divine pardon and sanctification were emphasised. Consequently the influence on the theological thinking of the outport Methodist was indirect.

For example, the Editor of The Greeting wrote on February, 1905: "In our opinion only one thing will make union possible or desirable, assurance on the part of the churches that this is the Will of God. If that can be made clear union will come as none wished to be found fighting against God". Again in The Greeting (May, 1910), while commenting on the personnel of the Union Committee, the Editor says: "They are men of scholarship, men of conviction, men who fear God and love their church . . . Who is to decide when any section of the Methodist Church has completed its mission as a separate organization and should be merged into a larger whole? Certainly the Church's Lord and Head."

From time to time the General Superintendent wrote letters to

The Greeting to keep the people informed on the progress of the union talks. In the July, 1920, issues, his letter on organic union contained this information:

I much fear that while we have been working away at forming local union churches, and fitting various bits of ecclesiastical machinery into each other for co-operative activity, that in seeking the good, we have for the time been sacrificing the best and we have to a large extent lost the vision of the tears of Jesus as he stands with uplifted hands, praying the Father that they may be one as thou Father art one in me and I in thee, that they all may be one in us that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. . . We must commit the Spirit of Unity to Him who has inspired it.

The isolation of the Conference, combined with the attitude toward religion of Methodists reduced the influence of the union movement with its urge to re-think the doctrinal and the theological position to a minimum.

I conclude that in spite of entrenched isolation, the publishing of "The Greeting", the impact of the Theological Union, the improved training of ministers, and the significance of the life and work of Sir Wilfred Grenfell, combined to strengthen theological thinking among members of the outport Methodist Church. At the same time the world-shaking events of the Great War and the restless conversations leading to Church Union forced them, albeit unwillingly, to re-examine their doctrines in relation to titanic movements outside the Island. Because of these influences, the theological basis of the Methodist Church in Newfoundland was firmer in 1924 than it had been fifty years earlier.

NOTES

PART I

1. A. H. McLintock, The Establishment of Constitutional Government In Newfoundland 1713-1832, (Toronto: 1941), pp.5-6,14.
2. H.A. Batstone, "Methodism in Newfoundland", (Unpublished thesis: 1967), p. 4. 1895 iron ore on Bell Island. 1909 paper mill- Grand Falls. 1923 paper mill - Corner Brook.
3. Ibid., p. 1.
4. Harold A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries, (University of Toronto Press: 1954), pp. 330-331, 343.
5. D. Carroll, "A Heart Cry From the West".
6. The Book of Knowledge, ed. Arthur Mee, Toronto Grollier Society, Volume XIX, p. 6841. 6000 miles or more of coastline.  
The Official Records of the Newfoundland Government, Provincial Archives, St. John's. Population in 1924, Bonavista - 4300; Harbour Grace - 4100; Grand Falls - 4000; Carbonear - 3550.
7. D.W. Johnson, Methodism In Eastern British America, (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Printing Co. Ltd., N.D.), pp. 241-244. I have followed Johnson as the best interpreter of Coughlan to date.
8. The Journal of John Wesley, Standard Edition, (London), Vol. III, pp. 463-485. Vol. IV, pp. 39-42.
9. D.W. Johnson, Methodism in Eastern British America, (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Printing Co. Ltd., N.D.), p. 242. At the time there were only two Episcopal Clergymen in Newfoundland, one in Trinity and one in St. John's.

10. Lawrence Coughlan, An Account of the Word of God in Newfoundland, North America, (London: W. Gilbert, 1776). The archives of the Newfoundland Conference of the United Church.
11. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, March 1901. Letter quoted - Coughlan to Wesley, 1772.
12. Rupert E. Davies, Methodism, (London: Edworth Press, 1963), p. 102. On September 2, 1784 Rev. Thomas Coke who was episcopally ordained was consecrated Superintendent by John Wesley.
13. H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956), p. 126. While attending the Methodist Conference at Philadelphia, 1789, William Black was appointed Superintendent of the Maritime Circuit.
14. Rev. George H. Cornish, Cyclopaedia of Methodism, (Toronto Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881), p. 19.
15. D.W. Johnson, Methodism in Eastern British America, (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Printing Co. Ltd., N.D.), p. 248.
16. Note at the time of the Union 1884 the name was changed from the Methodist Church of Canada to the Methodist Church in Canada.
17. D.W. Prowse, A History of the Church in Newfoundland. A supplement to A History of Newfoundland, (London: MacMillan & Co., 1895), Ch. III, pp. 38-48.  
Book of Newfoundland, ed. J.R. Smallwood. (Newfoundland Book Publishing Ltd., 1937), Vol. II. Article by Rev. Levi Curtis, M.A., D.D. The Methodist (now United) Church in Newfoundland, pp. 288-295.
18. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 235.



19. Note - All these listed are found in the Archives of the Newfoundland Conference of the United Church, St. John's.
20. Note - At least three quarters of the sermons of Rev. Charles Lench and of Rev. Levi Curtis deal with conduct and moral responsibility.
21. The Book of Newfoundland, ed., J.R. Smallwood, (The Newfoundland Book Publishing Ltd., 1967), Vol. IV, p. 98. - Most Rev. James L. O'Donel appointed Bishop 1784, p. 96. Rt. Rev. Aubrey G. Spencer appointed Bishop 1839. Both denominations had resident episcopal supervision after these dates.
22. R. Chalmers, See The Christ Stand, (Toronto: Ryerson, 1945), pp. 241-242.
23. The familiar predicament of Bottom in A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act IV. Scene I.
24. E.L. Morrow, Church Union in Canada, (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1932), p. 168.
25. Minutes of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada 1875. Appendix C., pp. 33-35. An address delivered by Rev. Egerton Ryerson, The President of the General Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada, Toronto, October 14, 1874.
26. The Discipline
27. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, May 1890, pp. 69-70.
28. Note - Even to-day abstention from these constitutes the basis of conduct for a church member in the mind of many.
29. St. John 9:25.

30. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, December 1905, p. 8.  
Editorial - Conditions of Membership in the Methodist Church.
31. Ibid., April 1890, pp. 59-60.
32. H.A. Batstone, Methodism in Newfoundland (Unpublished thesis, 1967), pp. 18-19.

#### PART II

1. Otto P. Kelland, "Let Me Fish off Cape St. Mary's."
2. Rev. Charles Lench, (handwritten Sermon) A Farewell Sermon for the Labrador Fishermen 3John 2. June 13, 1897 - Bay Roberts.
3. Ibid., "The Immortality of the Soul" Gen. 2:7 and Tim. 6:16.
4. Note - It is true that outport Methodists faced the present more realistically than most Methodists elsewhere though they did concentrate on eternal things as well.
5. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, April, 1919, pp. 13-14.  
Article by F.H. Phillipson. "The Place of Theology in Evangelism" - "A material fire of hell is obsolete but eternal punishment and the reality of retribution are sure though undefined."
6. Rev. Dr. Levi Curtis (handwritten Sermon) "Great Salvation", Heb. 3:2.  
Outline - I. Salvation deliverance by Christ. II. God did it.  
III. Provision for all. IV. In completeness- from sin to holiness.  
V. The danger of neglect. VI. Escape.
7. Minutes of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada 1905, "Our land is still polluted with sin. Dancing, card playing, blasphemy, drunkenness, corruption and licentiousness are not banished from our shore. Sabbath desecration, dishonesty, mammon worship are still to be found in our midst and the armies of Satan are

still strong in members and boldness."

8. Rev. Dr. Levi Curtis, (handwritten Sermon) "Redemption in His Blood", Eph. 1:7, The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, March 1915 - Rev. H.E. Lewis, H.A. In view of repentance as of other doctrines of grace, the heart of man rebels against the revealed will of God. Repentance is a new start made possible not by our own efforts but by the grace of God.
9. Ibid., August 1890 - Sermon. Preached in Fogo 1890.
10. Note - Sometimes these services were a regular series with sermons preached against sin. Cf Rev. Charles Lench - "Rubbish in the Heart" and "Rubbish in the Church" (e.g. lying, swearing, card playing, gambling, parlour and ballroom dancing.). Series preached from October 20, 1905 to November 9, 1905.
11. Rev. Dr. Levi Curtis (handwritten Sermon) "Methodism of the Future". December 14, 1898 - I. The Evangelistic Spirit. II. The Experimental Spirit. III. The Aggressive Spirit.
12. Ibid., "What think ye of Christ"? Matt. 22:22 - I. Questions of the Centuries. II. Tremendously important. III. With it each one must grapple.
13. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, July 1893, pp. 106-107. Rev. Thomas Wilkinson, the ordination sermon. Here we find a notable exception as he emphasizes the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.
14. Ibid., May 1919, p. 3. F.H. Phillipson on "The Doctrine of the Fall".
15. Ibid., May 1919, p. 3. Phillipson on the Atonement. "Three things stand out. Christ died for our sins. Christ is the supreme manifestation of God's love for man. God was in Christ reconciling

the world to Himself".

16. Rev. Charles Lench - Good Friday sermon 1898. He pleads the case for the vicarious offering of Christ as his view of the Atonement. Rev. Dr. Levi Curtis sermon on the Atonement ( no date) I Peter 2:24 - "Who himself bore our Sins on the tree." - an action not a person.
17. Note. Prayer is a subject treated in almost every issue of The Greeting. The question was not what is prayer? Or to whom should we pray? Or what should we pray for? Or when? The only question considered was - Is it answered? It is the answer of prayer that justifies, encourages and stimulates praying. Thus illustrations of answered prayers are frequently found.

#### PART III

1. J.R. Smallwood, The New Newfoundland, (MacMillan, New York, 1931), p. 25.
2. Note - Rev. Henry Lewis, the lecturer, was an editor of The Greeting.
3. Rev. G.P. Story died in 1895.
4. Note - Dicks and Co., a popular Book Store in St. John's had advertised in The Greeting as early as 1909, THE NEWEST THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS BOOKS giving titles and prices.
5. Sir Wilfred Grenfell, What Christ Means to Me. ( Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), p. 53.
6. Ibid., p. 78. (Italics mine).
7. Ibid., p. 19.
8. August, 1910, p. 11.

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3. Grenfell, Sir Wilfred, Story of a Labrador Doctor. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 12th edition (popular).  
-----, What Christ Means to Me. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934 (popular).
4. Lench, Charles, Sermons, 1893-1904. Handwritten.
5. Parsons, Jacob, "The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism, 1765-1855". Unpublished thesis for M.A. degree, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1964.
6. Winsor, Naboth - "Methodism in Newfoundland, 1855-1884". Unpublished thesis for M.A. degree, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971.
7. The Discipline of the Methodist Church in Canada.
8. Minutes of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada. 1874-1924.
9. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, 1888-1924.

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5. McLintock, A.H., The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland 1713-1832, Toronto, 1941.

6. Morrow, E.D., Church Union in Canada, Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1923.
7. Prowse, D.W., A History of Newfoundland, London: Eyre & Spottiswood, 1896.
8. Smallwood, J.R., Ed., The Book of Newfoundland, Vols. II, III, IV. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1967.
9. -----, The New Newfoundland, New York: MacMillan, 1931.
10. Smith, W.T., History of the Methodist Church in Eastern British America, Vols. I, II. Halifax, N.S.: S.P. Huestis, 1890.