

A HISTORY OF S.P.G.-SUPPORTED SCHOOLS  
IN NEWFOUNDLAND:  
1701-1827

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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

(Without Author's Permission)

GAY J. (PEDDLE) WHITE







**A History of S.P.G.-Supported Schools in Newfoundland:  
1701 - 1827**

by

**Gay J. (Peddle) White**

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

**Department of Religious Studies  
Memorial University of Newfoundland**

**May 2001**

**St. John's**

**Newfoundland**

## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the educational activities of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) in Newfoundland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries on the basis of all relevant unpublished archival materials, especially the letters of missionaries, teachers, and interested parties. In the thesis, Newfoundland educational developments are placed into appropriate demographic and economic contexts and compared with those in England and elsewhere. Special attention is paid to the work of the S.P.G. in St. John's, Bonavista Bay, and Conception Bay. The results show that although Newfoundland's retarded colonization in the eighteenth century delayed educational developments on the island, basic and gender-specific education for vocational purposes was achieved through the S.P.G. similar to what occurred in England and North America. Problems in attendance and staffing were also the result of the precarious nature of the climate, fishery, and economy in Newfoundland.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Brenda (Russell) Sceviour, my cousin, fellow student and friend, who passed away suddenly on March 11, 1997. My memory of her words of encouragement and praise were very instrumental in the completion of this work despite many obstacles. Brenda believed that God had put her on this earth to "make a difference." Although the greatness she would have achieved in her field of study is now lost, she has made a "profound difference" to her family and friends. I am grateful to have known and loved her.

First, I would like to thank the Newfoundland Integrated Education Council for the monetary award I received in 1993. Their generous assistance allowed me to take a year's leave from work in order to pursue this degree.

Although my name appears alone on the title, this work would not have been possible without the continued support and encouragement of my family and friends. A special thank you is extended to my parents, Lavern and Phyllis Peddle, who, from their example, have always encouraged their children to work hard and to take pride in all we set out to accomplish in life. Gratitude is also extended to my Uncle Ray and Aunt June Russell who opened their home to me while I researched for this thesis. Thank you to my husband, Don, who has made countless sacrifices in order for me to pursue this seven-year project. Although an unexpected illness did not allow me to complete this thesis in the time frame we had anticipated, it could not have been finished without his patience

and support. Thank you to my sons, Russell and Benjamin who continue to inspire me in all life's pursuits.

Thank you to the professors at the Department of Religious Studies whom I have studied under, Dr. David Hawkin Departmental Head, and Mary Walsh for their guidance and support. Also, gratitude is extended to the staff at the Center for Newfoundland Studies for all their help. A special thank you is extended to Dr. Terrence Murphy whose classes inspired me to pursue a major in Religious Studies as an undergraduate student and who was instrumental in my enrollment as a graduate student. I would also like to thank Dr. David Bell and Dr. Sheldon MacKenzie whose graduate classes I found thought-provoking and enjoyable. It was truly an educational experience.

Finally, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Dr. Hans Rolimann, my thesis supervisor. His great knowledge and work in the field of Religious Studies in Newfoundland has been a constant source of inspiration throughout this thesis. Also, his dedication and guidance during the last seven years has inspired me to complete this study, despite the many times I felt I could not continue. He provoked within me a desire to learn more; no doubt the mark of a true educator.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION .....	1
The Establishment of the S.P.C.K. ....	2
The Establishment of the S.P.G. ....	7
Newfoundland in the Eighteenth Century .....	9
Contribution to Scholarship .....	14
Nature and Scope .....	15

### CHAPTER 2

S.P.C.K. CHARITY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND S.P.G.-SPONSORED SCHOOLS IN NEWFOUNDLAND .....	18
Motivating Factors Behind the Establishment of Charity Schools .....	20
Establishing and Funding of Schools .....	22
The Teacher .....	27
The School Building .....	37
The Organization, Schedule, and Population of Eighteenth-Century Charity Schools .....	39
Curriculum and Teaching Methods .....	45
The Sunday School Movement in England .....	54
The Sunday School Movement in Newfoundland .....	58
Conclusion .....	60

## CHAPTER 3

CHARITY AND S.P.G.-SPONSORED SCHOOLS IN BONAVISTA .....	64
Bonavista .....	65
The Charity School in Bonavista: 1727 - 1820 .....	66
The Ministry of Henry Jones in Bonavista .....	66
Religious Reasons Behind the Establishment of the School in Bonavista in 1727 .....	67
The Establishment of a Charity School in Bonavista .....	68
Financing of the Bonavista Charity School .....	71
The School Teacher .....	72
The School Building .....	76
The Children .....	77
Instructional Time .....	80
Curriculum and Teaching Methods .....	82
Jones Leaves Bonavista for Trinity .....	86
The Ministry of William Peasley in Bonavista: 1743 - 1744 .....	87
George Bemister, Schoolmaster in Bonavista: 1790 - 1807 .....	89
Edward Mullaby, Schoolmaster in Bonavista: 1809 - 1816 .....	92
Mrs. Hosier, Schoolmistress in Bonavista: 1812 - 1822. ....	93
Conclusion .....	95

## CHAPTER 4

S.P.G.-SPONSORED SCHOOLS IN ST. JOHN'S .....	98
John Jackson, S.P.G. Missionary: 1701-1705 .....	102
Jacob Rice, Anglican Missionary in St. John's: 1705-1712 .....	105
The Educational Endeavours of Jacob Rice in St. John's .....	108
The Religious State of St. John's: 1715-1744 .....	109
William Peasley, S.P.G. Missionary in St. John's: 1744-1751 .....	111
The First S.P.G.-Sponsored School in St. John's .....	112
Edward Langman, S.P.G. Missionary: 1751-1783 .....	115
Walter Price, S.P.G. Missionary: 1784-1790 .....	118
Walter Price's Educational Endeavours .....	121
A Changed Island .....	123
John Harries, S.P.G. Missionary in St. John's: 1791-1810 .....	124
The First Grammar School in Newfoundland .....	125
Lionel Chancey, S.P.G. Schoolmaster in St. John's, 1799-1810 .....	126
The St. John's Schools of Industry .....	130
David Rowland, S.P.G. Missionary: 1810-1817 .....	131
Paul Phillips: S.P.G. Schoolmaster, 1810 .....	133
Thomas Marshall: S.P.G. Schoolmaster, 1812-1822 .....	133
Conclusion .....	137

## CHAPTER 5

S.P.G.-SPONSORED SCHOOLS AT CONCEPTION BAY .....	140
Carbonear .....	141
Harbour Grace .....	143
Laurence Coughlan: The First Resident S.P.G. Missionary in Conception Bay, 1766-1773 .....	145
School Teachers in Harbour Grace, 1767-1776 .....	148
Nature of the School in Harbour Grace, 1767-1776 .....	151
Curriculum .....	156
The School Building in Harbour Grace .....	158
James Balfour: Missionary in Harbour Grace and Carbonear, 1775-1791 .....	160
Edward Freeman: Schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, 1778-9. ....	163
James Balfour: Missionary and Schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, 1779-83. ....	165
William Lampen: Schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, 1785 - 1821 .....	167
The School House at Harbour Grace .....	177
The Succession of S.P.G. Missionaries in Harbour Grace: 1775-1812 .....	178
The Contribution of Lewis Amadeus Anspach to Education in Conception Bay .....	183
Frederick H. Carrington, S.P.G. Missionary in Harbour Grace: 1813 - 1818 ....	187
Other Schools at Conception Bay .....	187
Port de Grave .....	188
Carbonear .....	189

Bay Roberts .....	192
Grates Cove .....	193
John Leigh, S.P.G. Missionary in Harbour Grace: 1819-1820 .....	194
Conclusion .....	196
<b>CHAPTER 6</b>	
<b>THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE BEGINNING OF LOCAL AUTHORITY AND REFORM .....</b>	<b>202</b>
Population Increase, Economic and Political Development .....	203
The Church of England in Newfoundland at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century .....	206
The Appointment of an Ecclesiastical Commissary in Newfoundland .....	208
The “National System” of Education .....	209
John Leigh, Ecclesiastical Commissary, 1821-1823. ....	211
The Newfoundland School Society .....	214
George Coster, Ecclesiastical Commissary (1824) and Archdeacon (1825-30) ..	217
An Episcopal Inquiry into the S.P.G. Schools in Newfoundland .....	220
The S.P.G. National Central Training School in St. John’s .....	223
Conclusion .....	225
<b>CHAPTER 7</b>	
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>228</b>

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Church of England found itself in a difficult position with religiously alternating monarchs, political strife, and pressure from dissenting congregations for further episcopal and doctrinal reform. After Cromwell's Puritan Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the position of the Anglican church was strengthened through its close alliance with the crown. There were still major problems, however, that plagued the Church of England: the lax state of morality, the renewed threat of Roman Catholicism, and the public activities of dissenting congregations who were competing for the hearts, minds, and funds of poverty-stricken parishioners.<sup>1</sup> The social needs, moral condition, and secular ideas of the post-Commonwealth period evoked a new and rapidly growing societal response to these challenges and led to a spirit of philanthropy and the establishment of socially beneficial societies.

In 1678 there were no less than 42 societies in London and Westminster. These societies first attracted notice after King William III's proclamation "for the preventing and punishing immorality and profaneness" in 1691.<sup>2</sup> The Society for the Reformation of Manners, with which many dissenters were associated, came into being at this time. This

society served as a direct organizational model for the establishment of Anglican societies such as the educationally-oriented Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) and its younger sister society, the mission-minded Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.). According to Josiah Woodward, one of the S.P.C.K.'s first corresponding members, societies that first met for "mutual assistance and consolation," began to widen their scope to include also in their mandate societal betterment.<sup>3</sup> This ameliorative purpose, however, was not the only reason for the establishment of societies. Critics of the movement, such as Bernard Mandeville, suggested that the associates of these societies often had ulterior and self-seeking motives, using their altruistic memberships as a vehicle for their own social mobility and ethical and religious self-improvement.<sup>4</sup>

### **The Establishment of the S.P.C.K.**

In the early eighteenth century there were two factors that promoted the interest of Anglicans in pedagogical activity in England: pauperism and the perceived threat of Roman Catholicism. This period, generally cited as a time of prosperity in Britain, was also characterized by a growth in population, trade and industry. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were in Britain and Wales approximately five and a half million people. With all mercantile systems, however, wealth was dependent upon cheap labour, which also meant excessive poverty. According to Gregory King, nearly a fifth of the population of Great Britain, approximately one million people, were in occasional receipt

of poor relief.<sup>5</sup> Although this state of poverty itself did not ignite the reformers' passion for philanthropic work, the perceived moral laxness and ignorance of the Christian faith facing this class of people, prompted reform. It was believed that "vice and immorality" were a direct result of a "gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion"<sup>6</sup> and that this threatened the stability of society. The second factor that prompted the interest in the plight of the poor was the fear that the poverty of the people would assist in the spread of Roman Catholicism throughout England. It was believed that the ignorance and sedition of the poor were perfect conditions for the spread of a religion that was filled with "beads and Latin charms."<sup>7</sup> Thus catechetical instruction became the one way to ensure the morality of the poor and stop the spread of Roman Catholicism in England.

Thomas Bray, founding member of the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.), was born in Shropshire in 1658. Bray received his education at All Souls College in Oxford and graduated with a BA. in 1678. In 1690, Bray became rector of Sheldon and received the degree of M.A. in 1693.<sup>8</sup> In 1696 the first volume of *A Course of Lectures Upon the Church Catechism* was published at Oxford. The book focussed on catechizing the young and was based upon Bray's method of teaching young people. Bray's reputation, based upon this publication, led Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, to appoint him Ecclesiastical Commissary to Maryland.<sup>9</sup> Because the situation of the Church of England was uncertain at Maryland, Bray delayed his visit until 1699.

While waiting for his voyage, Bray was busy writing and organizing support for catechetical teachings at home and abroad.

On 8 March 1699 Bray and four of his friends met to launch the voluntary Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The friends and founders of the S.P.C.K. consisted of Justice Hook, an Irishman and lawyer who later became Chief Justice of Carnarvon and in whose home the initial meetings were held; Lord Guifford, a young businessman who in 1714 became President of the Board of Trade; Humphrey Mackworth, a lawyer who married an heiress and became Governor of Neath Castle in 1703; and Colonel Maynard Colchester, colonel of Gloucestershire who had operated a charity school prior to the establishment of the S.P.C.K.<sup>10</sup>. These gentlemen met as a voluntary association and signed the following statement:

Whereas the growth of vice and immorality is greatly owing to gross ignorance of the Christian religion, wee whose names are underwritten do agree to meet together, as often as we can conveniently, to consult (under the conduct of the Divine Providence and assistance) how we may be able by due and lawfull methods to promote Christian Knowledge.<sup>11</sup>

The Society's aim was threefold. It committed itself (1) to the provision of parochial libraries at England and abroad, (2) to "erecting catechetical schools in each parish in and about London"<sup>12</sup> in order to promote religious instruction as prescribed by the Anglican church, and (3) by providing missionaries for the plantations.<sup>13</sup> From 1695 to 1701 Bray was responsible for sending 129 missionaries to the colonies and plantations.<sup>14</sup> Although Bray's scheme was for the establishment of a Society propagating the Anglican faith in the American colonies, the S.P.C.K.'s main focus was

to initiate and co-ordinate charity schools for the poor in England. In the American colonies, the main aim of the Society was limited to providing parochial libraries and to distributing Christian literature to the laity.<sup>15</sup>

In December 1699 Bray finally embarked upon his journey to North America. After a stormy voyage he arrived in Maryland on 12 March 1700.<sup>16</sup> After working on the Maryland Assembly's Act of 1696 and securing the position of the Anglican Church in Maryland with established parishes and poll tax for the support of the clergy, Bray held a meeting with seventeen clergymen. Two topics discussed at the meeting were the instruction of children and the reduction of Quaker influence in Pennsylvania and upon the Anglican religion. By July 1700, Bray was back in England, where he attended a S.P.C.K. meeting and reported on his trip. His visit to America renewed his interest in the spiritual plight of the British subjects overseas. Upon his return to London, he wrote *A Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion, on the Continent of North America* to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this memorial Bray discussed the state of religion in the American colonies and the desire for more Anglican clergy to serve the needs of English subjects overseas. Although Bray did not visit Newfoundland personally, he discussed the conditions on the island based upon information he received from a sea captain with whom he had travelled. Bray raised the question:

Is it credible, that in a colony of so many thousand souls, who are all of them natives from England, from whence our shipping do sail to it, during many months of the year, and in whose navigation our best seamen are bred up; and where so many hundred families abide perpetually, some 20 years, most of the whole course of their lives; and from whose trade such profit accrues to the nation, so little care

has been taken, with respect to such a colony, that there never was, nor yet is, any Preaching, Prayers or Sacraments, or any Ministerial and Divine Offices, performed on that island; but that they should be suffered to live as those who know no God in the World.<sup>17</sup>

Although the accuracy of this statement is questionable, especially since there had been Anglican clergy in the early seventeenth century settlements and since naval chaplains had visited Newfoundland during the fishing season since the seventeenth century aboard naval convoys, suffice it to say that the spiritual destitution reportedly experienced by the inhabitants of Newfoundland helped prompt benevolent activity by the professed patrons of religion. When John Jackson was appointed to St. John's by the Bishop of London in 1701, the S.P.C.K. supplied him with books not exceeding the sum of six pounds to distribute among his parishioners. The S.P.C.K. also ordered that Jackson become a correspondent for Newfoundland.<sup>18</sup>

Although the S.P.C.K. did send out and support some missionaries in the early years of the society, direct support of schools in the colonies was not undertaken.<sup>19</sup> Because the S.P.C.K. was unable to concentrate more fully on missionary efforts abroad due to its focus on pedagogical activities in England, Bray, along with his S.P.C.K. colleagues and support from the bishops of London and Canterbury, devised a plan for another society to deal with propagating the gospel in foreign parts. Bray, who felt that he needed the full official support of both church and crown, appealed directly to King William in the spring of 1701, after his proposal had been delegated to a committee for examination. In Bray's appeal he explained that many of the inhabitants in America were

destitute of instruction in the Christian religion because they were unable to support resident clergymen. Thus, he felt that it was necessary for Britain to help with the propagating of the gospel in those areas. He also asserted that there were many people in England who would help if there was a corporate society established to which they could contribute.<sup>20</sup>

### **The Establishment of the S.P.G.**

On 5 May 1701 the draft of a charter for “Erecting a Corporation for Propagating the Gospell in Foreign Parts” was discussed at the S.P.C.K. meeting. Amendments were made to the charter on 19 May 1701, and on 16 June 1701 a Charter was issued by King William with which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts became officially incorporated.<sup>21</sup> On 27 June 1701 the first meeting of the S.P.G. was held at Lambeth Palace, chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>22</sup> Its focus was the “propagation of the gospel” to both the colonists and natives. Its objectives were clearly stated: to help provide maintenance to orthodox clergy in the plantations, colonies and factories; and to undertake any “other provisions . . . , as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospell in those parts.”<sup>23</sup> In order to accomplish this task, the S.P.G. engaged in the following: (1) the provision of Anglican missionaries; (2) the establishment of churches and church organizations; (3) the distribution of church literature and supporting schools; (4) the gift of parochial libraries; and (5) the foundation and assistance of colleges to ensure a supply of trained clergy.<sup>24</sup> On 28 October 1701 the

S.P.C.K.'s activities in America virtually ended except for supplying missionaries with books. This decision was made as a result of the founding of the S.P.G. and its commitment to the colonies.<sup>25</sup>

Unlike its parent society, the voluntary S.P.C.K., the S.P.G. was a corporate society with official support from both church and state. Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, was named the first president of the Society and John Chamberlayne, a noted linguist and first new member added to the S.P.C.K. after the original five, was named secretary. At the initial meeting steps were taken to publish the Society's charter, design a corporate seal,<sup>26</sup> and to prepare by-laws and standing orders.<sup>27</sup>

The first S.P.G. missionaries were sent out to the American colonies in 1702. The first catechist sent out to New York followed nearly two years later; however, the Society's involvement in formal pedagogical activities was rather minimal in the first decade of the eighteenth century. This was certainly not because the S.P.G. did not see the importance of educational endeavours, but that it was more focussed upon establishing missions and ensuring a place for the Anglican Church in the American colonies.<sup>28</sup> At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the involvement of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland was virtually non-existent in comparison to other American colonies, especially after the controversy surrounding the tenure of John Jackson in 1705.<sup>29</sup> The lack of civil authority on the island and the difficulty of collecting the subscriptions promised placed resident clergy into a precarious situation at best. It was the general practice of the Society to send out missionaries as a result of petitions forwarded to it

from principal inhabitants in colonial settlements. Many of these inhabitants in Newfoundland, however, did not live there the entire year. Therefore, they did not perceive the need for such institutions and settlement. Also, because settlement in Newfoundland was so transient, subscriptions promised one year would be hard to procure the next. In 1730, John Fordyce arrived in St. John's as the resident Anglican minister with a promised subscription of forty-five pounds per annum, plus one quintal of merchantable fish per boat. By 1734, Fordyce applied to the S.P.G. for support. He complained that the promised forty-five pounds were reduced to approximately twenty-two pounds because some subscribers had died while others had returned to England.<sup>30</sup> In fact, not until the mid-eighteenth century was there a steady and concentrated effort by the S.P.G. to propagate the Anglican faith in Newfoundland. It would be the beginning of the nineteenth century before such a commitment by the S.P.G. included pedagogical activities on the island.

### **Newfoundland in the Eighteenth Century**

Traditionally Newfoundlanders have boasted that the island is the "oldest British colony" in North America. While it is true that the shores of Newfoundland have been used by the British since the sixteenth century, it did not receive full colonial status until the nineteenth century. From the beginning of England's involvement in the Newfoundland fishery, the island had been governed by the "fishing admiral" system. Simply put, the captain of the first fishing vessel that arrived in any harbour of

Newfoundland was accepted as the admiral or governing authority for that area. The captain of the second vessel became the vice-admiral and the third, the rear admiral. At each harbour, these men were given the authority to regulate and enforce limited civil and criminal laws. All serious cases, however, were sent to England for judgment.<sup>31</sup> No provisions were made for the regulation and enforcement of laws during the non-fishing season. At the end of the seventeenth century the English Parliament ensured the continuance of Newfoundland's precarious existence by issuing the King William's Act in 1699. The purpose of this act was to encourage the migratory fishery by reinforcing the "fishery admiral" system. The Act also added the authority of the naval commander as governor and appeal judge.<sup>32</sup> Although this act recognized that a limited amount of settlement was needed in order to ensure England's rights to the island and its surrounding waters, it refrained from allowing the establishment of any legal institutions and government on the island.<sup>33</sup>

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the period of focus for this thesis, the population of year-round inhabitants would increase fairly steadily while the act of 1699 would be virtually ignored.<sup>34</sup> At the beginning of the eighteenth century the population fluctuated as a result of an unstable cod stock and markets, as well as problems caused by war.<sup>35</sup> By the late 1720s the fishery stabilized, catches were good, and population began to increase as also Irish immigrants employed in the fishery became a factor in Newfoundland's population.<sup>36</sup> At this point, conditions in Newfoundland had become so chaotic administratively due to the lack of regulations and enforcement that

the British Government in 1729 attempted to instill order in Newfoundland by appointing the naval commander as the Governor for the whole island with full military and civil authority. He was also authorized to appoint winter magistrates as he left in the fall.<sup>37</sup> This was done contrary to King William's Act.

The S.P.G., which was an incorporated society, became involved with Newfoundland at the beginning of the eighteenth century with the support of John Jackson at St. John's in 1703. The lack of civil authority in St. John's during Jackson's tenure no doubt contributed to the S.P.G.'s reluctance to remain involved in Newfoundland after Jackson's removal in 1705. This is evident by the long hiatus from 1705 to 1730. One year after a governor and winter magistrates were appointed to Newfoundland, the S.P.G. also appointed its first missionary to the island since Jackson. On 13 August 1730, Robert Killpatrick, the newly appointed S.P.G. missionary to Trinity, arrived in St. John's. There he preached before Lord Vere, the commodore, and Captain Osbourne, the Governor. He left St. John's on 31 August 1730 and arrived in Trinity on 2 September. On the following Sunday, Killpatrick preached his first sermon at Trinity and baptized seventeen children and two adults, one of whom was noted as the "Justice of the Harbour."<sup>38</sup> Thus began a renewed formal relationship with the island.

Although legal and social institutions of settlement were in direct violation of King William's Act, it appears that no one opposed the appointment of magistrates or the establishment of churches or even schools, since the migratory fishery continued to expand, especially after the 1750s when the Western European markets soared.<sup>39</sup> By the

1750s the demand for Newfoundland fish rose as the population in Western Europe increased. As a result, the population of Newfoundland and those involved in the fishery also increased. With the increase in Newfoundland's population there was also a concentrated effort by the inhabitants to find other means of employment to supplement the cod fishery, such as ship building, logging, salmon fishing, sealing and even whaling.<sup>40</sup> All these activities could be undertaken during the winter season after the seasonal cod fishery had ended. One of the main reasons why year-round settlement became preferred by those involved in the Newfoundland fishery was the constant threat of war that plagued England during the eighteenth century. The fear of being captured by the enemy during the trans-Atlantic trek and the desire to avoid the press gangs that enlisted the fishermen to the Royal Navy made year-round residency in Newfoundland more appealing.

Although settlement increased throughout the eighteenth century, the migratory fishery was also very active, at least until the end of the century. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the fishery was stable with good catches reported. The markets now soared and settlement increased in Newfoundland.<sup>41</sup> At this time, year-round inhabitants numbered approximately 7,300 compared with the ca. 3,500 in the 1730s. By the 1770s this number had risen to 12, 000 year-round inhabitants.<sup>42</sup> According to the Grant Head, the actual numbers of inhabitants in Newfoundland increased slowly in the eighteenth century. The most significant development, however, was the increase in the percentage of year-round inhabitants as compared to those involved every summer in the migratory

fishery. In the 1730s, thirty percent of the fishing activity was carried out by year-round inhabitants. By the 1770s, fifty percent of total fishing activities were carried out by residents, and at the end of the eighteenth century this figure rose to ninety percent of all fishing activities in Newfoundland. Although these numbers represent the activity for the island as a whole, areas such as Conception Bay, Trinity Bay, and Bonavista Bay were places of year-round residency throughout the eighteenth century. At St. John's, however, seasonal fishermen would outnumber the year-round inhabitants until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>43</sup>

Another factor which led to year-round residency in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century was the Irish immigration. The number of Irish immigrating to Newfoundland became notable in the 1720s and 1730s.<sup>44</sup> By the middle of the eighteenth century it was noted that although the inhabitants of English origin had increased by twenty percent, the number of Irish inhabitants had increased thirteen times over. The Irish immigrated to Newfoundland at this time to escape the massive unemployment and famine that was prevalent in their country. The English merchants, on the other hand, needed a supply of labour for the fishery because many of the fishermen they relied upon were pressed into naval service. As shown in the following chapters, the rapid increase in the numbers of Irish Catholic inhabitants would be a source of contention for many of the Anglican clergy stationed in Newfoundland as they attempted to propagate the Anglican faith with limited numbers and resources. Also, the fear of the spread of Catholicism

would serve as one of the major reasons why the S.P.G. became involved in many areas in Newfoundland when it did.

### **Contribution to Scholarship**

Although there have been several studies on the history of education in Newfoundland, such as Arthur Barnes' dissertation, *A History of Education in Newfoundland* and Frederick Rowe's *The Development of Education in Newfoundland*, these works focus mainly on educational developments in the nineteenth century and the local societies that developed after the S.P.G. initiatives. More recently, James Healey has written a M.Ed thesis titled, "An Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland: 1703 - 1859." Healey, however, does not use the archival sources such as the Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace, the *S.P.G. Letter Series*, which contains letters to the S.P.G. from S.P.G. missionaries and teachers, as well as other people connected with Newfoundland, the *S.P.G. Journals*, or reports from contemporaries involved, such as Thomas Bray's *A Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion, on the Continent of North America* and Bishop John Inglis' "Letter From the Bishop of Nova Scotia to the Secretary of the Society, Etc." found in *An Account of the State of the Schools in the Island of Newfoundland, Established or Assisted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. As a result of this, Healey omits crucial data on which a reconstruction of the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland can be based. In addition, the curricula of these schools are not dealt with in his study, nor is any

comparison with other charity schools in this time period offered. In contrast, this study offers a comparative study of other charity and S.P.G.-sponsored schools and the educational trends that occurred in order to understand and evaluate the ideology, curriculum, methodology and type of teacher employed in the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland. Finally, Healey does not put in context the events relevant to understand the nature of the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Here the economics and demographics of Newfoundland and their effect upon the schools are important to consider. A reliable source-based study of S.P.G.-sponsored schools and their contribution to educational development in Newfoundland has thus remained a desideratum of historical scholarship.

#### **Nature and Scope**

In order to understand and evaluate the pedagogical activities of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this thesis has been divided into three large parts. The first section, which includes chapter two, offers a comparative study of the charity schools by the S.P.C.K. in England and the S.P.G.-sponsored charity schools in North America, especially in Newfoundland. By highlighting the similarities and differences that existed between the two institutions and its schools there emerges a clearer picture of the type of education offered by the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland. This is necessary to compensate for some of the lack of specificity in the reports of the S.P.G. teachers and missionaries. From this study

it will become evident that the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland were similar to those that existed in England and other North American colonies. Also from this comparative study, the educational aims of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland and how it undertook the task of achieving its goals become evident.

The second section comprises chapters three, four and five. It offers a historical reconstruction of pedagogical involvement of the S.P.G. in three areas of Newfoundland: Bonavista Bay, St. John's and Conception Bay. This section traces the involvement of the S.P.G. in these communities and its contribution to education. It also answers two very important questions: (1) how these schools were shaped by the local needs of each community, both religiously and economically, and (2) how the need of child labour in the sedentary fishery of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries affected the education of the poor. These settlements were chosen as the focus for this study because -- although each settlement is unique in its relationship with the S.P.G.-- together they furnish the most important and consistent developments of S.P.G.-sponsored education in Newfoundland. Although Trinity -- with its resident S.P.G.-sponsored missionary since 1730 -- has been identified as a major settlement in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century, it did not have a formal S.P.G.-sponsored school during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1765 the S.P.G. did show interest in assisting the establishment of a school at Trinity;<sup>45</sup> however, the S.P.G. missionary at the time, James Balfour, responded that such a plan would not be feasible because during the summer children were involved in the fishery and in the winter the inhabitants migrated inland to winter

quarters for food, shelter and employment.<sup>46</sup> In 1766, however, Balfour recorded that he did teach a few children at his own home “in seasonable weather at leisure hours.”<sup>47</sup>

The final section of this study includes chapter six and seven. Chapter six highlights the developments and changes that occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century economically, politically and socially. As a result of these changes, there was a notable shift in S.P.G. involvement in the Anglican church and its sponsored schools in Newfoundland. Thus, this chapter emphasizes the mutual attempt of the Anglican clergy in Newfoundland and the S.P.G. to regulate their affairs ecclesiastically and scholastically. Finally, chapter seven offers the reader an evaluation of the S.P.G.’s pedagogical activities in Newfoundland. What were the aims and objectives of the S.P.G. and to what end did the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland achieve this goal?

## CHAPTER 2

### S.P.C.K. CHARITY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND S.P.G.-SPONSORED SCHOOLS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

The task of reconstructing the nature and curriculum of S.P.G. charity schools in Newfoundland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries requires a close study of S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. archival sources pertaining to Newfoundland and a comparison of the nature and curriculum of S.P.C.K. charity schools and S.P.G. schools in other colonies during this period. Pedagogical material contained in the letters of Newfoundland missionaries and school teachers, and the S.P.G. Journals, is limited and sporadic. According to the "Rules and Orders" set down and approved by the S.P.G. in 1712, teachers were to "send to the secretary of the Society, once every six months an account of their respective rules, and the number of their scholars, with the method and success of their teaching."<sup>48</sup> Too often, however, the only information that exists on a particular S.P.G. school in Newfoundland is the name of the teacher and the approximate number of scholars taught. In 1820 Rev. John Leigh<sup>49</sup>, the S.P.G. missionary in Harbour Grace, recognized the deficiency of pedagogical information in Newfoundland and suggested that S.P.G. school teachers should be required to submit annual reports about

their schools.<sup>50</sup> Although some school teachers submitted annual reports after this date, details concerning the nature and curriculum of these schools are still scant at best.

There were some missionaries and teachers, however, who did include specific information concerning pedagogy in Newfoundland within their correspondences. Henry Jones, missionary to Bonavista (1725 - 1742), wrote numerous letters to the S.P.G. and the Bishop of London. In these letters he referred to the establishment of a charity school in Bonavista and provided brief references about the curriculum and the children who attended this school.<sup>51</sup> Also, the letters sent from Henry Newman, the secretary for the S.P.C.K. in England, to Jones provide information on many of the textbooks used in this school, which in turn reveal details about the curriculum.<sup>52</sup> The S.P.G. schoolmaster William Lampen (1786 - 1792; 1796 - 1821), who began teaching under the guidance of the then S.P.G. missionary James Balfour (1775 - 1792), provided some details concerning the nature and curriculum of his school.<sup>53</sup> Although this valuable information is an excellent starting point for reconstructing the S.P.G. charity schools in Newfoundland, the fragmentary nature of the sources does not allow for a complete reconstruction. From the information that does exist, however, we can conclude that the S.P.G. charity schools in Newfoundland resemble on a whole the S.P.C.K. charity schools in England, despite some differences due to economic, geographical and demographic considerations unique to Newfoundland. Thus, from a comparison of the two institutions on both sides of the Atlantic there emerges a clearer picture of the nature and curriculum of eighteenth century S.P.G. charity schools in Newfoundland.

### **Motivating Factors Behind the Establishment of Charity Schools**

According to the humanist tradition<sup>54</sup> of the seventeenth century, the state was believed to be governed according to certain ethical principles and depended upon the virtues of the population for its well-being and continued existence. Any discord within the economic or political sphere was seen as a moral problem that could only be solved within the realm of religion. The political unrest of the seventeenth century generated in the early eighteenth century the desire by the ruling class to achieve a "healthy existence of state,"<sup>55</sup> which included religious and moral stability. Pauperism, with its ignorance and indifference, was targeted as the root of discord and moral decadence in eighteenth-century England. According to the first circular letter of the S.P.C.K., the "barbarous ignorance . . . among the common people, especially those of a poorer sort . . . [were greatly responsible for the] monstrous increase in Deism, Profaneness and Vice."<sup>56</sup> The fact that the ruling class could have been largely responsible for this problem, and that a solution could be found with better wages and the lowering of land taxes appears not to have been considered. The English poor of the eighteenth century were seen as an economic inevitability, and, theologically, as an expression of the will of God. Thus, to remedy the plight of the poor materially was not a viable option.

The great God has wisely ordained, . . . that among mankind there should be some rich and some poor: And . . . hath given to the rich the superior and more honourable business of life. Nor is it possible, according to the present course of nature and human affairs, to alter this constitution of things, nor is it our design to attempt anything so unreasonable.<sup>57</sup>

In keeping with this social philosophy and according to the faith in cognitive endeavours during the eighteenth century,<sup>58</sup> the founding members of the S.P.C.K. sought a solution to remedy the plight of the poor through educating their children. The S.P.C.K. believed that instruction in the Anglican faith and Godly discipline would remedy these problems of irreligion and pauperism and thus create a healthy existence of state.

This Christian mercantile philosophy, together with the cognitive theory of *tabula rasa*, provided the intellectual foundation for the establishment of charity schools for the poor. M.G. Jones in *The Charity School Movement* attributes to John Locke the popularization of the *tabula rasa* theory, but William Sheasgreen in his article "John Locke and the charity school movement"<sup>59</sup> offers sound evidence to dispute this claim. Despite this debate, there is no doubt that Locke's psychology in his *Essay Concerning Education* and his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* typified early eighteenth-century thought on the education of the poor. *Tabula rasa* is a notion used by such educational philanthropists as James Talbot in his handbook *The Christian Monitor* to explain the notion that a child's mind was "like blank paper or smooth wax," on which it was their duty to imprint the fundamental duties of the Anglican religion.<sup>60</sup>

The mission of the S.P.C.K. was to aid in the establishment of common schools nationwide so that poor children, often neglected by their parents and the state, would be instructed in Anglicanism and Christian virtues. There was no intent to offer a liberal education that would lead to social mobility. Instead, based on the eighteenth-century social philosophy and a rigid class system, poor children, once educated under the tenets

of the Anglican faith, would find contentment with their stations as “hewers of wood and drawers of water.”<sup>61</sup> Based upon such philosophies, the central theme of the Charity Schools’ aims, methodology and curriculum was religion, or, more specifically for the S.P.C.K. schools, the Anglican faith. The goal of literacy was not an end in itself, but a means for the poor to avail themselves of the Christian Bible and Anglican literature. This would ensure the poor an opportunity to serve God and their fellow human being as pious but humble members of society.

In Newfoundland this religious outlook and social improvement scheme was echoed in a petition from the inhabitants of Bonavista during the eighteenth century when they wrote to the S.P.G. requesting a school teacher for their area.

... three hundred poor children ... [having] little sense of the ends for which Providence has placed them in this world as the untutor’d savages of the woods

... To be able to read is among the first blessings, since it furnishes the medium [the Bible] of improving the mind, and learning our duty to God and our neighbour.<sup>62</sup>

There was no desire in Bonavista to improve the lot of the poor in Bonavista economically. Instead, Jones and the more affluent inhabitants in Bonavista established a charity school in their area in order that the poor children could realize their lot in life and still be good servants.

### **Establishing and Funding of Schools**

One of the main objectives of the S.P.C.K. was to “promote that good design of erecting Catechicall Schools in each parish in and about London . . .”<sup>63</sup> Although there

were evidently schools for the poor before the formation of the S.P.C.K.<sup>64</sup>, it is credited with activating and coordinating public interest in this philanthropic work. The S.P.C.K. did not manage and rarely financed the schools it promoted. Local control was emphasized and each parish was responsible for financing its own schools either through the endowment of wealthy benefactors or joint subscriptions. Endowed schools were the schools that one or two wealthy patrons financed, whereas subscription schools relied upon the guinea contribution of the rising middle-class. This new method of financing gained much popularity because it allowed the middle-class to become involved in philanthropic work that had previously been only available to the wealthy, and thus ensured them a means to salvation and even social advancement.<sup>65</sup>

Members of the central S.P.C.K. in London subscribed to what they called a "Stock for Insurance." This insurance served as a guarantee for parishes that found themselves deficient of money yet needed to set up a charity school. The guarantee was only about five pounds and was rarely called upon by the parishes.<sup>66</sup> Generally the income of the S.P.C.K. was relatively small. Except for some investments that ensured them a small income, it relied upon the money subscribed by their members. This was done on a voluntary basis, because the Society was not incorporated under Royal Charter and therefore often found itself unable to legally acquire legacies and a continuance of subscriptions. Practically all the income collected by the S.P.C.K. went back to the members in the form of books at reduced prices.<sup>67</sup>

In the subscription charity schools the task of acquiring finances and providing managers fell upon the local laity and clergy. The first annual *Account of the Charity Schools* in 1704 reported that the idea of establishing a charity school was either suggested by the minister to some of his parishioners, or by two or three parishioners to their clergy.<sup>68</sup> Next, they would solicit other subscribers to help support this useful design. A body of trustees, consisting of certain subscribers, was first formed. They would raise the funds needed, find a school building, appoint teachers, inspect schools, and sometimes even feed and clothe the children.<sup>69</sup> These schools, with only a few exceptions, were not controlled by the vestry, but by the local subscribers at their general meetings.<sup>70</sup>

Another contribution of the central S.P.C.K. to these schools was the provision and distribution of books.

In an age when books were scarce and dear it supplied its members with devotional literature and sent them, at cost price, Bibles, testaments, prayer books and primers for the use of the children and the teachers in the schools.<sup>71</sup>

The S.P.C.K. also provided guidance and advice in the establishment of schools, the curriculum taught, the methodology used, and the qualifications of teachers. It served as a central directing body that emphasized local control of the schools with encouragement and support.

Although the influence of the S.P.C.K. was felt in the colonies overseas<sup>72</sup>, the S.P.G. was mainly responsible for pedagogical activities in England's foreign settlements. Based on the design of Thomas Bray, the newly formed S.P.G. was devoted to

propagating the gospel to the English colonies overseas. In order to spread the Church of England and its doctrines, the S.P.G. adopted various lines of activity to accomplish this task. Besides providing missionaries and setting up parochial libraries, the S.P.G. committed itself to the spreading of the Anglican faith by distributing Christian Literature and supporting schools overseas.<sup>73</sup>

The S.P.G. was financially in a better position to support schools than the S.P.C.K. It was a corporate society by Royal Charter, which ensured it certain legal rights and benefits. Unlike the voluntary S.P.C.K., the S.P.G. was legally entitled to receive lands and money and invest them up to a yearly value of two thousand pounds, to plead or to legally advocate its case at court if needed, and to have a common seal.<sup>74</sup> This society was also entitled to receive the Royal Letter issued by the crown, which gave its fund-raising efforts validity. These letters were sent from the crown to the archbishops with the direction to co-ordinate within their parishes a collection from all churches in their diocese for the S.P.G. From 1701 to 1783 six of these letters were issued, which raised a total of sixty-five thousand, one hundred and ten pounds.<sup>75</sup> The S.P.G. was given full official status as the organ of the Church, with the archbishops and bishops serving as leaders in their work. Therefore, the schools it sponsored varied somewhat from the S.P.C.K. schools in terms of financing and management.

The S.P.G., stationed in England, was forced to rely upon its missionaries in the field or government officials to evaluate the need for charity schools in their region. Then, if the inhabitants of that mission agreed to provide the school teacher with a school

and residence, the S.P.G. contributed books and an annual salary to the chosen school teacher. In the case where a paying school had been established by the inhabitants of a particular region, the S.P.G. would supplement the teacher's income usually on the condition that he/she taught a number of poor children gratis. The S.P.G. teacher was required to consult with the minister of the parish about the methods of managing a school and be ready to be advised by him.<sup>76</sup> Thus, we see two major differences in the S.P.C.K. schools in England and the S.P.G. schools in the colonies. The S.P.G., unlike its sister Society the S.P.C.K., provided salaries to the school teacher, which essentially gave them more control over the school teachers and their schools. Also, the S.P.G. teacher was responsible to the parish minister, who served as proxy for the S.P.G. in England, whereas the S.P.C.K. teacher answered directly to the trustees or local subscribers.

In Newfoundland the first person to receive a salary from the S.P.G. specifically for the duty of schoolmaster was Reverend William Peasley in St. John's during 1744<sup>77</sup>, over thirty years after there were schoolmasters supported by the S.P.G. in the American colonies.<sup>78</sup> Although there is reported to have been a schoolmistress in Bonavista as early as 1727, the inhabitants of that community, and not the S.P.G., undertook the task of providing her with a salary. The delayed date of S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland may be indicative of British attitudes toward Newfoundland as a temporary fishing station and not an established settlement. Because the S.P.G. was an official organization under Royal Charter, it makes sense that it would not oppose

government policy and establish social institutions such as schools in Newfoundland, unless the society felt it was an absolute necessity. It is interesting to note that S.P.G. support in Newfoundland for pedagogical endeavours was first undertaken in St. John's during 1744 and secondly in Harbour Grace in 1768 only after the threat of Roman Catholicism was made apparent to the Society.

### **The Teacher**

In England the recruiting of teachers was the responsibility of the local trustees of an individual school, although there were a few cases when the S.P.C.K. was asked to procure teachers for certain schools. The main contribution of the S.P.C.K., however, was that it provided a sense of professionalism<sup>79</sup> for school masters and mistresses in common schools that had been lacking prior to the formation of the Society. Prior to this, teachers of the poor did not adhere to any particular standard. Teaching poor children was not considered a full-time job, nor did the teaching of the basics require any specific qualifications. Non-classical educators were often the elderly looking for some form of old age pension, the discarded servant, the ruined tradesman or a member of the community with another full-time occupation. On the other hand, the S.P.C.K. teachers were required to be full-time employees in attendance at school during the hours prescribed in order that they could monitor learning and prevent any disorders.<sup>80</sup>

The qualifications drafted by the S.P.C.K. in 1704, called the "Rules and Orders", provided guidelines and regulations for its teachers and represent the

expectations the Society had of an eighteenth-century educator. It is clear from the following qualifications that religious and moral attributes were just as important, if not more important, than the ability of the school teacher to teach the curriculum. It was expected that the master should be:

1. A member of the Church of England, of a sober life and conversation, and not under the age of twenty-five years.
2. One that frequents Holy Communion.
3. One that hath a Good Government of himself and his Passions.
4. One of a meek Temper and humble behaviour.
5. One of a good Genius for teaching.
6. One who understands well the Grounds and Principles of the Christian Religion, and is able to give a good Account thereof to the Minister of the Parish or Ordinary on Examination.
7. One that can write a good Hand, and who understands the Grounds of Arithmetic.
8. One who keeps good order in his family.
9. One who is approved by the Minister of the Parish (being a subscriber) before he is presented to be Licensed by the Ordinary.<sup>81</sup>

From the women teachers the same qualifications were demanded; however, instead of needing to be able to write a good hand and understand the grounds of arithmetic, the woman teacher was required to be:

7. One that is sufficiently grounded in the English Tongue so as to be able to teach her scholars to read, and also who understands knitting, writing, plane work so as to be able to instruct her scholars in the same, in order to fit them either for Service or Apprenticeship.<sup>82</sup>

Based on the above Rules and Orders we can see that the S.P.C.K.'s main intention was to provide guidelines and suggestions for the recruitment of teachers, yet the ultimate authority for hiring teachers rested with the local trustees. Despite its intent, during the early eighteenth century, the S.P.C.K. was constantly asked by managers and trustees of charity schools to find for them and/or recommend a teacher for their school. The teachers it recommended were only those candidates that were personally known to members of the S.P.C.K.<sup>83</sup>

The S.P.G., based on the S.P.C.K. model, also required certain qualifications and guidelines to be adhered to by the school teachers whom the Society employed. The S.P.G. "Rules and Orders," like those drafted by the S.P.C.K., added a sense of professionalism and standard to the charity schools in the colonies. Based upon these "Rules and Orders," not just anyone could be accepted as a S.P.C.K. or S.P.G. school teacher. He or she not only needed to be able to impart the curriculum, he or she also needed to display good behaviour and morality. The following is a list of several qualifications for an S.P.G. schoolmaster.

1. That no person be admitted as Schoolmaster till he brings Certificates of the following particulars:
  1. his age
  2. his condition of life whether single or married
  3. his temper
  4. his prudence

5. his learning
  6. his sober and pious Conversation
  7. his zeal for the Christian Religion and diligence in his calling
  8. his affection to the present government<sup>84</sup>
  9. his conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.
2. That no person should be employed as a Schoolmaster by the Society till he has been tried and approved by three members appointed by the Society . . . who shall testify by word or writing his ability to teach reading, writing and the Catechism of the Church of England and such exposition there of as the Society shall order..
4. That no Testimonial shall be allowed of, but such as are signed by the respective minister of the parish; and where not practical, by some other person of Credit or note, three at least of the Communion of the Church of England where one shall be a Clergyman, and such as shall be well known to some of the members of the Society . . .
7. That all Schoolmasters sent over to the plantations by the Society, being married men, be obliged to take their wives with them, unless they can offer such reasons as shall induce the Society to dispense therewith.<sup>85</sup>

Unlike the S.P.C.K. rules, the S.P.G. appears not to have made any provisions for the hiring of women. Based upon the above information, it is clear that the intention of the S.P.G., unlike the S.P.C.K., was to be directly responsible for the employment of school teachers. It did not specify certain particulars but required certificates about the behaviour and qualifications of potential school teachers so that the Society could make the ultimate decision. In fact the S.P.G. had the power to refuse to appoint school teachers unless they were approved by three members appointed by the said Society. The

acceptance or refusal of a particular teacher of an S.P.C.K. charity school ultimately rested with the managers and trustees of that particular school.

Added to these qualifications, the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. teachers also had to adhere to certain rules of conduct laid down by their respective societies. Both required virtually the same conduct and behaviour,<sup>46</sup> except for numbers 11 and 13 in the following S.P.G. rules of conduct, which pertain only to its teachers in the colonies. These rules of conduct show that the emphasis was on a moral and religious education, rather than a liberal one. It is apparent that both societies felt that the teachers employed to instruct the poor children must themselves lead exemplary lives both morally and religiously. According to the S.P.G. orders specified for school teachers, it was expected:

1. That they will consider the end for which they are employed by the Society, viz. The instructing and disposing children to believe and live as Christians.
2. In order to this end, that they teach them truly and distinctly, that they may be capable of reading the Holy Scriptures, and other pious and useful Books, for informing their understandings, and regulating their manners.
3. That they instruct them thoroughly in the Church - Catechism; Teach them to read it distinctly and exactly, then to learn it perfectly by Heart; endeavouring to make them understand the Sense and Meaning of it, by the help of such Expositions as the Society shall send over.
4. That they teach them to write a plain and legible hand in order to fit them for useful employments; with as much arithmetic as shall be necessary to the same purpose.
5. That they be industrious and give constant attendance at proper School-Hours.
6. That they daily use, Morning and Evening, the Prayers composed for their use . . . with their Scholars in the School, and teach them the Prayers and Graces composed for their use at home.

7. That they advise their scholars to be constant at Church on the Lord's Day, Morning, and Afternoon, and at all other times of Public Worship; that they cause them to carry their Bibles and Prayer Books with them, instructing them how to use them there, and how to demean themselves in the several Parts of Worship; that they be there present with them, taking care of their reverent and decent behaviour, and examine them afterwards, as to what they have heard and learned.

8. That when any other Scholars are fit for it they recommend them to the Minister of the Parish, to be Publicly Catechized in the Church.

9. That they take especial care of their manners, both in their school and out of them; warning them seriously of those vices to which children are most liable; teaching them to abhor lying and falsehood, and to avoid all sorts of evil speaking; to love truth and honesty; to be modest, gentle, well-behaved, just and affable and courteous to all their companions; respectful to their superiors particularly those that minister in Holy things, and especially to the Minister of their Parish; and all this from a sense and fear of Almighty God; endeavouring to bring them to their tender years to the sense of religion, which may render it the constant principle of their lives and actions.

10. That they use all kind and gentle methods in the governing of their scholars, that they may be loved as well as feared, by them; and that when correction is necessary, they make the children to understand, that it is given them out of kindness, for their good, bringing them to a sense of their fault as well as of their punishment.

11. That they frequently consult with the Minister of the Parish in which they dwell, about the methods of managing their schools; and be ready to be advised by him.

12. That they do in their whole conversation show examples of piety and virtue to their scholars, and to all with whom they shall converse.

13. That they send to the secretary of the Society, once every six months an account of their respective rules, and the number of their scholars, with the method and success of their teaching.<sup>87</sup>

Although Arthur Barnes and James Healey present these instructions as “amusing”<sup>88</sup>, it is clear that they carry a deeper significance to the modern-day researcher. These rules of conduct give us insight into the religious and moral foci of the eighteenth-

century charity school in England and in Newfoundland. The rules also signify a progression towards charity education as a professional institution, which required adherence to strict guidelines and regulations from the educators and the students. Before the Charity School movement, teachers of the poor lacked any professional status. From the above instructions for S.P.G. school teachers we can see that the education of the poor was no longer viewed as a by-industry nor could it be approached haphazardly. Instead we see an attempt to institutionalize the charity schools with rules and regulations governing their existence.

Although teacher professionalism was an emphasis for both the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. through their Rules and Orders, there was no professional training for their educators. The emphasis was on procuring an orthodox and loyal teacher, rather than a teacher trained in the rudiments of pedagogy. The S.P.C.K. approached the idea of a training institution for teachers as early as 1703;<sup>89</sup> however, a lack of funds always kept the plan from materializing. Nevertheless, the idea of training teachers was not abandoned. In 1707 the S.P.C.K. published *the Christian School Master*, which encouraged schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to learn the art of teaching by visiting other schools where there were trained and experienced teachers. Here they would learn the best way to instruct the children and manage a school from observing their experienced colleagues and even give lessons under supervision.<sup>90</sup> This collegial approach to training was also encouraged by the S.P.G. in Newfoundland in the early nineteenth century, when outport teachers were sent to St. John's to learn the Madras

System of education under the then S.P.G. schoolmaster Joseph Beacon. The Madras or Bell System of Education was developed by Andrew Bell, a British clergyman and educator, during his tenure at India in the latter part of the eighteenth century. This monitorial system of teaching allowed hundreds of children to be taught by one teacher with the help of pupil monitors or assistants. Thus, this system not only allowed for mass education, it afforded the older child the opportunity to learn by teaching the younger students.

On the 12 June 1828, Frederick Carrington (1818 - 1839), the S.P.G. missionary in St. John's, wrote to the S.P.G. that the Bishop of Nova Scotia, during his Primary Visitation to Newfoundland the previous summer, procured a passage for Joseph Beacon on the *HMS Alligator* in order that he could travel to Halifax to receive instruction in the Madras System from the schoolmaster at that port.<sup>91</sup> On 21 January 1829, Carrington again wrote the S.P.G. to inform them that Beacon (now known as Bacon) had submitted a report to him signifying that Thomas Parker, Thomas Mulley, William Loader, John Coffin, John [Sunsburg], Richard Witts, Richard Pamiter and Sarah Wiseman had attended his school to learn the Madras or National System. Many of these school teachers were in St. John's during the summer and fall of 1828 and were slated to return the following spring for further instruction.<sup>92</sup>

The salaries of S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. teachers in the early eighteenth century varied. The S.P.C.K. schoolmaster in London received an annual salary of thirty pounds, with coal and rent-free housing. The London schoolmistress received a lower salary, the

maximum being twenty-four pounds a year.<sup>93</sup> In the country the salaries were often lower. In 1709 a woman teacher at Launceston earned as little as ten pounds, and a male teacher at Ross earned as little as eighteen pounds.<sup>94</sup> Country teachers were often allowed to supplement their income by teaching paying students outside of regular school hours. The amount a S.P.C.K. teacher would receive depended upon the population and economic condition of the community. The local trustees who paid the salaries of their teachers could only pay them what the community could afford. In the second half of the eighteenth century it was possible to find schoolmasters in London receiving salaries as high as fifty to sixty-five pounds for teaching charity school children.<sup>95</sup> In 1724 a system of payment by results was suggested in the official rules of the S.P.C.K.. This meant that the teacher would not receive his/her salary until a child could "name and distinguish all the letters in the alphabet," when he could spell well, read well and distinctly, and repeat the catechism.<sup>96</sup> This system of payment would be adopted by the S.P.G. in Newfoundland upon the urging of George Coster, Archdeacon of Newfoundland, in 1827. This, Coster asserted, would ensure that daily attendance, number of students, and proficiency achieved were recorded.<sup>97</sup>

The S.P.G. teachers in the colonies were given annual salaries by the Society in England. Between 1720 and 1730, the average pay for a school teacher was ten to fifteen pounds per annum, whereas an S.P.G. missionary received fifty to fifty-five pounds per annum.<sup>98</sup> In Newfoundland, the first schoolmaster salary given by the S.P.G. was ten pounds in 1744. In 1788, William Lampen, schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, received an

increase in his salary from ten to fifteen pounds.<sup>99</sup> By 1812, the same teacher received another increase after almost thirty years of service to twenty pounds per annum.<sup>100</sup> It must be noted, however, that many of the salaries given by the S.P.G. to their teachers in Newfoundland served only as a supplement to their income. They also procured a salary from the parents of paying students enrolled in their schools. For example, William Lampen, schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, wrote on 20 October 1787 that he “scarcely receives more than 30 pence per paying student.”<sup>101</sup> On the 10 October 1788, Lampen enclosed in his letter to the Society a certificate from James Balfour signifying that he taught that year “12 children on the Society’s bounty, 42 exclusive of bounty and 9 in evening school.”<sup>102</sup> Considering the sum of thirty pence per child exclusive of the S.P.G.’s bounty and the nine evening students, it is calculated that in 1788 Lampen had a potential earning of six pounds, seven shillings and six pence plus fifteen pounds from the S.P.G.. This totals to a potential earning of twenty-one pounds, seven shillings and six pence. At Portugal Cove in 1821, the S.P.G. schoolmaster John Curtis reported to the Society that he received 27 pounds and 10 shillings for that year’s teaching in addition to the salary he received from the S.P.G.<sup>103</sup> There were teachers in less prosperous settlements in Newfoundland, however, who were receiving only S.P.G. financial support for their teaching services. On 21 December 1802, the then missionary to Trinity Bay John Clinch informed the S.P.G. that Mr. Thomas, the S.P.G. schoolmaster at Scilly Cove (now Winterton), taught 31 students, all of whom were taught gratis because of the extreme poverty of the inhabitants of that community.<sup>104</sup>

In 1830, George Coster, Newfoundland's first Archdeacon, recommended that most Newfoundland S.P.G. teachers receive a base salary of fifteen pounds from the Society plus fifteen shillings for every free scholar taught. The exception to this recommendation was John Coffin, who was teaching at King's Cove and Kiels (now Keels). For him, Coster recommended a total salary of thirty pounds per annum.<sup>105</sup> These salaries were extremely low in comparison to what the S.P.G. paid its missionaries in the colonies. Although constant complaints were made by several missionaries about the high cost of living in Newfoundland and their inability to subsist on their salaries, in 1821 their salaries had been raised to two hundred and fifty pounds,<sup>106</sup> while the average teacher was receiving an annual salary of fifteen pounds plus stipends received from paying students. This salary also appears relatively low compared to the average price paid for labour in the fishery. While the lowest paid, inexperienced labouring fisherman received approximately 14 pounds in 1804, the highest paid labourer in the fishery, usually the boat master, received as much as 50 pounds.<sup>107</sup> It is no wonder that school teachers were hard to procure in Newfoundland, especially full-time, well-educated teachers.

### **The School Building**

The first recorded schoolhouse built in Newfoundland was in Harbour Grace in 1768 under the direction of their then S.P.G. missionary Laurence Coughlan. It is reported that the inhabitants of this area built a commodious school house, which was

opened for use on 17 February 1768.<sup>108</sup> Although Henry Jones in Bonavista reported that the inhabitants in 1725 planned on building a school house, there is subsequently no mention of it having been built. Instead school was held either at the church or in the teacher's home. In the eighteenth century, unlike today, any unoccupied house or room could be utilized as a school. Wooden benches, slates, pencils, and a few books constituted the charity school's equipment.<sup>109</sup> There were some elaborately-built school buildings in London and other wealthy regions of England in the eighteenth century: however, these buildings were often designed to display the wealth of the patrons rather than being conducive to the learner.<sup>110</sup> In Newfoundland, as well as in rural England, charity schools were conducted either in the church, the teacher's home, or a modest schoolroom built for that purpose. In Ashton, England, for example, the school was conducted in a room attached to the church. Today this room serves as the vestry.<sup>111</sup> On 10 December 1802, Lionel Chancey, the then S.P.G. schoolmaster in St. John's, wrote to the S.P.G. that he had built "unto his house a capacious school room sufficient for sixty pupils to receive instruction."<sup>112</sup> In 1819 Thomas G. Laugharne, the then S.P.G. missionary in Twillingate, reported to the S.P.G. that he conducted gratuitously a daily school for boys during that winter in his own home.<sup>113</sup> Finally, John Curtis, the S.P.G. schoolmaster at Portugal Cove, wrote to the S.P.G. in 1821 that his school was conducted in the church due to the fact that no school room had been built. Because of this, he reasoned, the Catholics were averse to his school and would not allow their children to attend.<sup>114</sup>

### **The Organization, Schedule, and Population of Eighteenth-Century Charity Schools**

The children of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. charity schools were drawn from the lower classes: the labouring poor and those in receipt of poor relief. In England the labouring poor consisted of common seamen and soldiers, servants, artificers, mechanics, labourers and petty tradesmen.<sup>115</sup> In Newfoundland the labouring poor were the servants, fishermen, and poor planters, whose debt to the merchants far outweighed their income. Also, many charity school children were orphans or they were the sons and daughters of widows. While many in this class managed to maintain an existence, they could not afford, nor could they readily grasp the need for their children to be educated. The children who spent their day at school constituted a loss of earnings for the poor labouring family because they could not contribute their share to the weekly earning.

Ideally, the S.P.C.K. wished to provide catechetical instruction to the children of the poor exclusively. In many rural areas in England, however, this was not possible. Many country teachers had to subsidize their income by taking paying students. Although the S.P.C.K. encouraged that this be done out of school hours lest the teacher favour the paying student, it could not exclude paying students from the charity schools, as the final authority rested with the individual trustees. In fact the trustees of St. Anne, Blackfriars, sanctioned the practice of mixing charity children with paying students as early as 1709.<sup>116</sup> In the colonies, the S.P.G. found itself economically unable to adhere to the desired class segregation of the S.P.C.K. The S.P.G.-supported parish schools that

included all the children in the region. These schools and the teachers' residence were usually built at the expense of the inhabitants, with the condition that the S.P.G. would help choose and support the teacher. Parents who could afford it were expected to pay a small fee, whereas those students whose parents could not afford the small fee were taught gratis. Thus, in Newfoundland, most of the S.P.G. schools had both paying students and those students who were instructed on the Society's bounty. This meant that the teacher instructed a certain number of pupils gratis, and in return the S.P.G. supplemented his or her income with an annual salary. In 1793, George Bemister, the then S.P.G. schoolmaster in Bonavista, reported to the S.P.G. that he taught approximately forty students that year, twenty of whom were taught gratis.<sup>117</sup> Lionel Chancey, the S.P.G. schoolmaster at St. John's in 1803, informed the S.P.G. that he had taught fifty students the previous year and ten of those were taught gratis.<sup>118</sup>

The S.P.C.K. and James Talbot's *The Christian Schoolmaster* outlined a school course for a total of four years. This was normally accepted by the London charity schools. The rural charity schools, however, rarely retained students longer than two years.<sup>119</sup> This was usually due to pressure from the poor-law officers and parents who needed their children to supplement the household income. Although archival information on the S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland does not specify any time frame for a school course, William Lampen, an S.P.G. schoolmaster in Harbour Grace (1784 - 1819), indicated to the S.P.G. that he discharged the students on the Society's bounty after they reached a certain level of competency. He informed them in one of his letters<sup>120</sup> that he

had two charity boys who were at the writing stage of their schooling. One of the boys he planned to discharge soon, the other he planned to keep a little longer so as not to do him an injustice. From this information, it appears that the length of schooling for a charity child under Lampen's instruction depended upon a level of competency and not any particular pre-set time frame.

Another factor concerning the length of schooling was the age of the students and their degree of scholarship. In the S.P.C.K. charity schools the students generally ranged from ages of about seven<sup>121</sup> to eleven, although there were some places where the age of departure may have been as late as fourteen.<sup>122</sup> In Newfoundland there is evidence, however, that children were beginning school as early as age three and departing as late as age fifteen.<sup>123</sup> This age span was not reflective of the length of the school course offered in Bonavista. It is important to remember that students entered school at different ages and thus their departure age varied. The reason for this early attendance at school may in fact be related to the fishery. Children as young as six years of age would have been considered valuable assets to the family fishery. Therefore, parents may have felt it necessary to start them early in order that they could learn to read and write before they were physically capable of being employed in the fishery. According to Laugharne, the missionary at Twillingate from 1819 to 1823, "Every child, as soon as He is able to walk, is, during the Summer employed in the Fishery."<sup>124</sup>

Recommended school hours for S.P.C.K. charity schools were from Monday to Friday 7 - 11 a.m., 1 - 5 p.m. in the summer half of the year and 8 - 11 a.m., 1 - 4 p.m. in

the winter half of the year.<sup>125</sup> It was also recommended that holidays be given only three times a year at the great festivals; three weeks at Christmas and one week at Easter and Whitsuntide or one week before and after these three church festivals.<sup>126</sup> The harvest month was to be avoided for fear the children would fall into bad company and be harmed by these bad examples.<sup>127</sup> Regardless of these rules, teachers in the English country schools report being plagued with irregular attendance in the summer months and especially at harvest time.

The daily school hours for some of the S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland were very similar to that recommended by the S.P.C.K. in its schools in England. Laurence Coughlan reported in 1768 that the then schoolmaster, Arthur Thomey, kept school from 6 a.m. to 12 noon; 1 - 6 p.m. in the summer months and 8:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. in the winter half of the year.<sup>128</sup> John Griggs, the S.P.G. schoolmaster who succeeded Thomey in 1771, reported that he kept school from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 2 - 5 p.m. in the summer half of the year and 8 a.m. to 12 noon and 1 - 4 p.m. in the winter half. There were several S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland, however, that were unable to provide full-time instructional hours because they lacked full-time educators. In 1743 William Peasley, missionary to Bonavista (1743 - 44), informed the S.P.G. that he "set apart four hours every day to teach as many children (of which there is a great number) to read as that time will permit."<sup>129</sup> In consideration of this service, the S.P.G. gave Peasley an additional 10 pound gratuity.<sup>130</sup> Also, in 1821, Aubrey George Spencer, the then S.P.G. missionary at

Trinity, reported that every day during the winter he devoted three hours of his afternoon to teach the children in that settlement.<sup>131</sup>

The recommended school holidays for the S.P.G. schools in the colonies appear to have been basically the same as those of the S.P.C.K. schools in England. A S.P.G. schoolmaster in the colony of New York reported that “a fortnight at Christmas, a week at Easter, a week at Whitsuntide, and every Saturday afternoon” was taken as holidays throughout the school year.<sup>132</sup> In Newfoundland, the only reference to a holiday was made by William Lampen in 1791 when he mentioned taking a Christmas break.<sup>133</sup> In some Newfoundland settlements there were cultural and climatic factors, however, which made year-round schooling difficult to maintain. In the winter months many of the poorer inhabitants in settlements on the coast of Newfoundland migrated to the woods for better access to wood and shelter. This would have removed them from the opportunity to avail of any schooling offered in their communities. Based upon a request made by the S.P.G. on March 1, 1765, James Balfour, the then S.P.G. missionary at Trinity, investigated the possibility of having an S.P.G. teacher in that community. Balfour wrote to the S.P.G. on October 24, 1765, that although it was much wanted, he felt that the inhabitants could never support a full-time teacher. He reported that “a teacher’s business as well as everyone’s must be in the summertime.” He explained that during the winter about fifty inhabitants, all hardy men, were the only inhabitants that remained in Trinity. The rest, including the women and children, went into the woods where they resided until more seasonable weather.<sup>134</sup> Another factor which contributed to low student enrolment in the

winter was the severity of the winters. In 1830 Frederick Carrington, the then missionary in St. John's, reported to the S.P.G. that Miss Rennells, a schoolmistress for the girls' school in St. John's, informed him that she had a daily enrolment of 100 girls; however, the severity of the winter decreased the attendance to only 60 students.<sup>135</sup> Also, William Lampen, the S.P.G. schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, reported in 1789 that as the winter approached, he feared that he would lose some of the ten charity children he taught that year. But, he felt that the vacancies would soon be filled by "those who can sustain the severity of winter."<sup>136</sup> The fishery also interfered with continuous instruction throughout the year. William Lampen reported in 1787 that the seventy-five students he taught that year had not attended the full twelve months. He explained that because of the nature of trade and the country, parents could not afford to have their children enrolled in school for twelve months. Six of those months the children were employed in the fishery. This situation decreased his year-round numbers to approximately fifty.<sup>137</sup> In 1820 Thomas G. Laugharne, the then S.P.G. missionary to Twillingate, reported that because the children were employed in the fishery during the summer, he was forced to close his school and proposed to reopen it when the fishing season had ended.<sup>138</sup>

Charity schools were for boys, or girls, or they were both mixed in England and its colonies. The offering of an elementary education to all girls who cared to avail of it was according to W.K. Lowther Clarke, "a step forward for which the founders of the S.P.C.K. deserve boundless praise."<sup>139</sup> R. Smith of Upton-upon-Severn, Worcester, also shared the mind-set of the S.P.C.K. He was interested in imparting a basic education to

girls, not because he believed that women were equal and deserved the same opportunities, but that “they will teach their children when they are mothers.”<sup>140</sup> The majority of S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland were attended by both genders. The only exception appears to have been in St. John’s in the early nineteenth century. Gender specific charity schools had been established here by Lord Gambier and supported by voluntary subscription; however, through the solicitation of the S.P.G. missionary Frederick Carrington, the S.P.G. agreed to add these schools to their list and supplement the salaries of the schoolmistress and schoolmaster.<sup>141</sup> Reading and the tenets of the Anglican faith were two areas of the curriculum that were imparted to both girls and boys alike and often side by side; however, the curriculum which followed these subjects were often gender specific.

### **Curriculum and Teaching Methods**

The primary evidence available about the S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland does not provide much detailed information on the curriculum taught nor the methodology used. However, a comparison of the curriculum and methodology of the S.P.C.K. charity schools and S.P.G.-sponsored charity schools in Newfoundland can be accomplished based upon the information found in letters from the S.P.G. missionaries and teachers in Newfoundland and the textbooks they requested. This creates a clearer picture and helps to fill in the gaps concerning the early teaching methodology and the curriculum taught in S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland. Missionaries and teachers in charge of S.P.G. charity

schools in Newfoundland throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries continually requested certain books for their students. Bibles, Books of Common Prayers, New Testaments, primers, hornbooks, spellers and *the Whole Duty of Man*, an Exposition of the Church Catechism, were among the many texts requested in the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, Mrs. Trimmer's *Abridgement to the Scriptures* and her spelling books, and the Universal first and second class spelling books were added to the list.

James Talbot's *The Christian Schoolmaster* was used by many teachers and sponsors of S.P.C.K. charity schools as a teacher's manual throughout the eighteenth century. According to Talbot, a child, upon entering school, should be "taught to say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer with an explanatory answer belonging to each, by frequent repetition from the mouth of the master."<sup>142</sup> They should also learn a short prayer to be said every morning and evening, and a grace to be said before and after meal time. Once these principles were inculcated, moral instruction to discourage vice, profaneness and idleness was then imparted.<sup>143</sup> According to the S.P.G. rules of conduct, the S.P.G. teacher was required to teach the daily use of prayers and graces as well as warn their students against vices, lying and evil speaking. William Lampen, the schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, reported to the S.P.G. in 1788 that the charity children attending his school had "grown excessively rude" because of the lack of education and care paid to their morals. He felt confident that his continual efforts would result in a reformation of their manners.<sup>144</sup>

The next stage in a charity school child's education was to learn the rudiments of reading. This was the most important part of the so called "literary curriculum," because it was through reading that the religious objective of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. charity schools could be realized. Many children began learning the alphabet with the aid of a horn-book. The horn-book was the earliest lesson book made for children to use themselves. The most common horn-book was composed of a piece of wood cut in the shape of a paddle so that it could be easily held. On one side of the wood, the lesson sheet was pasted and covered with a piece of transparent horn, which was secured at its edges by narrow brass strips. There were also more expensive editions that were bounded with leather instead of metal.<sup>145</sup> The lesson sheet was handwritten or printed from type. It comprised a cross in the top left hand corner followed by the alphabet in small and capital letters, the vowels, the vowels in combination with the consonants (sometimes followed by the nine digits), the phrase "in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost," and the Lord's Prayer.<sup>146</sup> From the correspondence in the S.P.C.K. Archives it is evident that the children of Henry Jones' school in Bonavista between 1725 to 1742 used this educational tool. In 1732 and again in 1741, Henry Newman, secretary of the S.P.C.K., wrote to Henry Jones to inform him that thirty-six (including twelve gilded) primers<sup>147</sup> and one hundred horn-books<sup>148</sup> had been sent by the S.P.C.K.

Evidently, all other missionaries and S.P.G. teachers in Newfoundland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries relied upon the primer. The primer not only held the information found on the horn-book, but expanded upon this with syllabic

learning of words, verses and sentences through recitation. The content of the primers was religiously oriented and served as an extension to the religious and moral principles imparted in the first stage of the child's education. Although there were many variations of the primer in the eighteenth century based upon religious affiliations, the format was similar for most.<sup>149</sup> *The New England Primer*<sup>150</sup> provides a basic outline of the various sections in the primer. The primer, like the horn-book, began with the letters of the alphabet, making clear distinctions between vowels, consonants, double letters, italic and capitals. The next section, the "syllabrium" as it was frequently termed, began with vowel-consonant combinations and was followed by one-syllable words and advanced by degree to six-syllable words. The third section included "An Alphabet of Lessons for Youth." This consisted of a series of moral and instructive sentences excerpted from the Bible and worded so that each sentence began with a successive capital letter of the alphabet. Also within this section were alphabetic rhymes accompanied with pictures. It was these twenty-four pictures together with alphabetic poems that made the primer famous.<sup>151</sup> The next section consisted of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, excerpts from the Bible, an introduction to numbers one to one hundred in Roman, Arabic and written form, and finally a short version of the Catechism in the question and answer format.<sup>152</sup> Several of these sections were expected to be committed to memory, including the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Catechism.<sup>153</sup>

In addition to the horn-books and primers, John Lewis's *Catechism*, Dixon's *Speller*, *The Book of Common Prayer*, *The Whole Duty of Man*, and the Bible were also

used as textbooks in the S.P.G. charity schools in Newfoundland. Henry Dixon's *The English Instructor* was popularly known in Newfoundland as "Dixon's Spelling Book." This book, which went through twenty-one editions before his death in 1701, was one of the most successful elementary textbooks of the eighteenth century. Its popularity is said to have extended well into the nineteenth century.<sup>154</sup> The lessons of this book were "formed on the plan of the church Catechism inculcating on tender minds their duty to God, their neighbour and themselves."<sup>155</sup> Dixon, not unlike his contemporaries, believed that the best way to teach a student to read and spell was by dividing words into syllables.<sup>156</sup> John Lewis's *Exposition of the Catechism* was used as a more advanced version of the Catechism than that which was found in the ordinary primer. Lewis's *Catechism* was a ninety-six page book that followed the question and answer format. Its queries centred on the Christian Covenant, Faith, Obedience, Prayer and the Sacraments.<sup>157</sup>

The method of teaching students to read was essentially recitation. This method was not only used in learning the alphabet, but was also used to teach syllables and individual words.<sup>158</sup> Learning by recitation was a tedious venture that required the student to commit to memory the letters of the alphabet, syllables and individual words. Being able to recognize and repeat them from imitation was believed to make the alphabet familiar to both the eye and memory. Each step in this process was to be mastered before advancing to the next level. In response to the S.P.G.'s request, Mr. Rowland Jones, the S.P.G. schoolmaster at Chester, Pennsylvania, wrote on 17 June 1730

a descriptive account of the methodology he employed to teach his students to read. This account is believed to be a fair representation of the method used by most S.P.G. schoolmasters in the eighteenth century.

I endeavour (for beginners), to get Primmers well furnished with syllables, vizt, from one to 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8. I take them several times over them till they are perfect by way of repeating according as I find occasion and then to some place forward according to their capacity and commonly every two or three leaves. I make them repeat perhaps 2 or 3 times over, and when they get the Primer well I serve them so in the Psalter and we have some Psalters with the Proverbs in the latter end. I give them that to learn the which I take to be very agreeable and still follow repetitions till I find they are masters of such places. Then I remove them, into such places as I judge they are fit for either in the new or old Testament and as I find they advance I move them not regarding the beginning or ending of the Bible but moving them where I think they may have benefit by. So making them perfect in their vowels, consonants and diphthongs, and when they go on their reading clean without any noises, singing or stumbling, with deliberate way, then I set them to begin the Bible, in order to go throughout.<sup>159</sup>

When the students had become competent in reading, they could advance to the art of writing. It is possible, however, that some students were not in school long enough to progress to this level. As we have already observed, many teachers in rural communities complained that parents and poor law officers took the children from the schools to begin work long before they completed the prescribed program. Writing, like reading, was taught through memory and imitation. The child learned to write by writing copies of sentences provided. When this imitation was mastered, the student was allowed to transcribe some useful sentences of scripture. The method of self-correction was then introduced, requiring the student to compare his work with the original and correct any mistakes found.<sup>160</sup> Although girls were not excluded from writing, they often advanced to

housewifery after they had mastered the rudiments of reading. Because writing was seen as a separate discipline from reading and more advanced, it was often viewed as of no benefit for the poor girl. Rowland Jones, S.P.G. schoolmaster at Chester, Pennsylvania, describes the methodology used to teach writing in his letter to the S.P.G. on 17 June 1730.

And when I begin writers I follow them in the letters till they come to cut pretty clean letters and then to one syllable and so to 2, 3, 4 and to the longest words and when they join handsomely I give them some sweet pleasing verses. some perhaps on their business, some on behaviour, some on their duty to Parents, &c.: of such I seldom want them at command and when they come to manage double copies readily I give them some delightful sentences or Proverbs or some places in the Psalms or any part of the Bible as they are of forwardness and also to other fancies that may be of their benefit.<sup>161</sup>

Arithmetic was considered an even more advanced subject, and normally only available to boys after reading and writing had been mastered. It began with the counting of numbers from 1 to 100 in the three forms that would be useful in finding any chapter, psalm or verse in the Bible.<sup>162</sup> The next, and final, level of mathematics a charity school boy learned was often referred to as “casting accounts, arithmetic or cyphering.” This involved a study of the first four rules of mathematics: addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. It prepared students for keeping accounts and chart navigation and offered them a solid prerequisite for vocational training as a merchant’s clerk or sailor. According to Rowland Jones, the methodology employed to teach arithmetic followed the same lines as the disciplines of reading and writing.

when I set them to cyphering I keep them to my old fancy of repeating and shall go over every Rule till they are in a case to move forward and so on. And I find no

way that goes beyond that way of repeating both in spelling, reading, writing and cyphering, and several Gentlemen, vizt ministers and others, has commended it and some schoolmasters take to it . . .<sup>163</sup>

Singing, although it did not develop as a recognized charity school subject, did find its way into some of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. schools. Children who were taught to sing were encouraged by the parish minister to take part in the church service on Sundays and other special occasions.<sup>164</sup> "Solo singing" was discouraged by the S.P.C.K. and only singing in "full chorus" was approved. Many contemporaries like the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson, opposed singing in the charity schools because it undermined social discipline. It was his opinion that children who sang well could acquire a pride in themselves that undermined the purpose of charity schools, which was to make poor children good servants and good Christians.<sup>165</sup> In several of the S.P.G. schools in New York, the singing of the Psalms was a part of the curriculum. Joseph Hildreth, the S.P.G. schoolmaster at Trinity School, New York (1744 - 1777), gave considerable attention to having his students taught to sing psalms. He instructed those who were capable of "Psalmody" three times a week. Amos Bull, Hildreth's successor, continued to instruct psalmody during his tenure at Trinity School in New York.<sup>166</sup> In Newfoundland the only S.P.G. school that is known to have offered singing as a part of the curriculum was the school in Harbour Grace taught by Mr. Thomey (1768 - 1769) under the direction of the then S.P.G. missionary Laurence Coughlan.<sup>167</sup>

Vocational instruction was also often part of the charity school curriculum. For girls, who were rarely exposed to writing and arithmetic, vocational instruction played a

predominant role in their education. In addition to reading, plain needlework, knitting, sometimes spinning, and when possible housewifery was taught in order to prepare them for domestic service. Vocational training for boys in the charity schools centred on preparing them for sea service. Mathematics played an important role as a prerequisite for seamanship. Newfoundland would have been considered an ideal location for such training, especially considering that a move was under way in the first half of the eighteenth century to establish charity schools in England near ports to secure sailors for the Royal Navy, for merchant men, and for the fishing trade.<sup>168</sup> In 1727 Henry Jones in Bonavista reported to the S.P.G. that he would teach "casting accounts" that winter.<sup>169</sup> This was taught possibly to prepare the boys in Bonavista for sea service. Also, William Lampen, the S.P.G. teacher in Harbour Grace, reported to the S.P.G. in 1789 that he was placing male students in apprenticeship at counting houses as a part of their education.<sup>170</sup> Vocational instruction for girls is not mentioned. Because of limited resources and the fact that the majority of the S.P.G. school teachers during the eighteenth century were male, the instruction of plain needle work, kitting, spinning and housewifery was the responsibility of the mother or older female at home. The exception to this was the St. John's School of Industry in 1804, which employed a female teacher and offered specific instruction in plain sewing, carding, spinning and knitting.<sup>171</sup> For the most part, however, S.P.G. charity schools in Newfoundland were confined to teaching the rudiments of the three R's with assiduous and constant religious teaching. Once this basic education had been imparted, most of the children had to leave school to be indentured into the fishery.

### **The Sunday School Movement in England**

No discussion on the contribution of the S.P.G. to education in Newfoundland can be complete without reference to the Sunday School Movement, which began in England during the latter part of the eighteenth century and flourished on the island during the early nineteenth century. As with the day charity school movement, this movement was first popularized in England and found prominence in Newfoundland communities a couple of decades later. At the end of the eighteenth century, Sunday schools were being established in England as a continuation of earlier attempts to provide education for the children of the poor. Robert Raikes, editor of *The Gloucester Journal*, Hannah Mores and her sisters at Medip Hills, and Sarah Trimmer at Brentford are accredited with being the first persons to popularize Sunday school instruction. Although there were Sunday schools in existence before Robert Raikes and his friend Reverend Thomas Stock began their work in 1782, his letters and articles in *The Gloucester Journal* and *The Gentleman's Magazine* were so popular that many nineteenth-century publicists equated education of the poor with Sunday school instruction.<sup>172</sup>

The Sunday school movement was considered a revival and continuance of the earlier daily charity school movement. Like its predecessor, the Sunday schools were local in nature and based upon the same ideology as the daily charity schools: to save the souls of the poor children, which would in turn benefit society as a whole. The primary aim of the Sunday school was

To prevent vice - to encourage industry and virtue - to dispel the darkness of ignorance - to diffuse the light of knowledge - to bring men cheerfully to submit to their stations - to obey the laws of God and their country - to that part of the community, the country poor, happy - to lead them into the pleasant paths of religion here, and to endeavour to prepare them for a glorious eternity.<sup>173</sup>

A major influence that contributed to the rapid spread of Sunday schools in the late eighteenth century was the Industrial Revolution. Although child labour was an established practice before the Industrial Revolution in the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was an increase in the number of children who were engaged in industry. A rise in population and mass urbanization resulted in a failure of the existing charity schools to provide education for all the poor children.<sup>174</sup> Because of a revolution in hygiene and medical skills, there was a reduction in the death rate of children. Therefore more poor and unwanted infants survived and needed parish support.<sup>175</sup> The socially conscious middle class was distressed to find scores of children after work hours on weekdays and on Sundays prowling through the streets and giving no regard to the Sabbath.<sup>176</sup> Although efforts were renewed to establish schools for the poor, the machines could not afford to spare the children who offered a good form of cheap labour during the weekdays. The Sunday school offered a viable solution. It gave instruction to the poor in reading and the duties of the Christian religion on Sundays without interfering with industry on the weekdays.

Another influence that contributed to the advent of Sunday schools was the growth of Dissent and the advance of the Evangelical party within the Established Church. Laqueur writes:

The number of Congregationalists more than doubled between 1750 and 1800 and increased almost fourfold again by 1838; Baptists almost tripled their membership in the second half of the eighteenth century and more than tripled again during the next thirty-eight years; the Methodists, numerically the most important, expanded from 22, 642 members in 1767 to 93, 003 in 1801 to over half a million by the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>177</sup>

These members were largely being drawn from the lower classes, which prompted a growth in Anglican Evangelicalism. It is estimated that by 1800 there were approximately three hundred to five hundred clergymen of the Anglican faith placed throughout England to encourage religious activism, an effort which resulted in the establishment of many Sunday schools.<sup>178</sup>

Also, the method of financing the Sunday schools was the same as that which financed the S.P.C.K. charity schools in the early eighteenth century. It was a voluntary movement that relied upon the subscriptions and donations of the middle class. Its curriculum, like the daily charity schools, was religiously centred, with the Bible and the Catechism as its primary texts. Sunday school teachers were mainly recruited from private-venture teachers who usually taught during the week. Although they were entrusted with the instruction of the letters and reading, the religious teaching often fell upon the clergy or the respectable laymen of the parish. Teachers were usually paid anywhere from one shilling to one shilling and six pence per Sunday, which was raised by voluntary subscription in the parish.<sup>179</sup> The children attended Sunday schools both morning and evening, taking time out to attend the church service.

The effects of Sunday schools were reported as very positive and widespread. In all areas of England where Sunday schools were started, reports of remarkable reformation abound.

'Quietness, decency and order replaced noise, profaneness and vice' in Manchester; the colliers of the Forest of Dean, 'a most savage race' and their children were civilized by the schools. The country around Painswick, Gloucestershire changed its character after the Sunday schools were introduced there by a wealthy cloth manufacturer of the neighbourhood. Formerly, the children had been 'the nuisance of the place.' They were ignorant, profane clamorous, filthy, impatient of restraint. On Sundays the farmers and their families dared not leave their orchards unguarded when they attended service at Painswick church . . . Within two years a 'remarkable reformation' had taken place.<sup>180</sup>

In 1785 the "Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools" or, as it was usually known, the "Sunday School Society", was formed in London in September of 1785. It came into existence through the efforts of a Baptist merchant, William Fox, and it was interdenominational in character. The committee that was formed was truly ecumenical, with an equal number of Churchmen and Dissenters working side by side. Its main goal was to serve as a central body that would systematize and coordinate the Sunday schools being established in England. In 1787 the Sunday School Society reported 201 affiliated schools with 10, 232 children, and in 1797, 1086 schools were reported with 69, 000 pupils in attendance.<sup>181</sup> By 1804 each of these figures had nearly doubled, and it was reported that at least 4, 100 pounds in cash grants had been distributed since 1785 in support of these schools.<sup>182</sup> As with the earlier cooperation of church and Dissent in the early charity school movement, this Society was also affected by political unrest at the close of the eighteenth century. Anglicans began to suspect the

Methodist and Dissenter of introducing into these schools “Jacobinical principles.” As a result, the Church of England started to withdraw its association with the Sunday School Society and began to establish parish Sunday schools under their own control.

### **The Sunday School Movement in Newfoundland**

In Newfoundland, the S.P.G. missionary in Harbour Grace Lewis Amadeus Anspach (1802 - 1812) has been accredited with recognizing the need for Sunday schools and introducing them in Newfoundland. Like in England, however, there is evidence to suggest that there were children receiving instruction on the Sabbath prior to the opening of William Lampen’s Sunday school in Harbour Grace in 1803 under the direction of Anspach. As early as 1799, and repeated in 1801, John Thomas, the S.P.G. schoolmaster in Scilly Cove, reported that every Sunday he instructed the children in their catechism after evening service.<sup>183</sup> Whether Thomas provided this Sunday evening instruction as an extension to his day school or whether it was intended to provide other children in the community with religious instruction is uncertain. Lionel Chancey, the S.P.G. schoolmaster in St. John’s, reported to the S.P.G. in his letter of 10 December 1802, that he intended on Sunday to assemble his scholars and “such children as may be enabled to attend with my scholars” to instruct in reading the scriptures and rehearsing the Catechism. He hoped that this would “advance scriptural knowledge - love of virtue and respectful regard for the Established Religion.”<sup>184</sup> Chancey clearly stated, however, that his intentions were not to establish a school on the Sabbath but to provide this service

only until Christmas time. During the next eight years of Chancey's tenure as schoolmaster in St. John's, schooling on Sunday is never again broached.

Lewis Amadeus Anspach, the new S.P.G. missionary, arrived in Harbour Grace with his family on 30 May 1803 to assume his mission. On 19 December 1803, Anspach wrote to the S.P.G. that since his arrival he endeavoured to convince his parishioners that "a Sunday school would materially contribute to the advancement of religion." To the S.P.G., Anspach explained that

An institution of this kind is wanted in this Bay, more, I believe than in most parts of the world. There are in this district, . . . more than 3000 children most of them accustomed from their birth to cursing and swearing, a total disregard of their parents, an absolute neglect of the Lord's Day, and vices of every kind. The necessity of an institution of this kind is universally felt and acknowledged.<sup>185</sup>

Throughout his tenure in Harbour Grace, Anspach repeatedly reported the success of the Sunday schools.<sup>186</sup> In 1807, he solicited the financial support of the S.P.G. for the Sunday schoolmaster because the inhabitants were unable to continue their support due to an unfavourable fishery that year. Anspach wrote that he did not want to relinquish the Sunday school because it had such a positive impact upon the community.<sup>187</sup> The Society responded by increasing William Lampen's salary by five pounds because of his instructing in the Sunday school in Harbour Grace.<sup>188</sup>

The popularity of the S.P.G. Sunday schools grew rapidly in Newfoundland during the early nineteenth century. Although this institution only offered one day a week instruction, it appears to have met the objectives of the S.P.G. and served the educational needs of many Newfoundland communities in the nineteenth century. It provided many

poor Newfoundland children, who would have otherwise not received it, the basics of reading and spelling while ensuring their inculcation of Anglican principles. Sunday schools were cheaper to run than day schools and Sunday schoolmasters were easier to procure than full-time qualified educators. S.P.G. Sunday schoolmasters were given a salary of five pounds per annum to conduct Sunday schools in their communities.

Finally, the Sunday school did not interfere with the fishing industry, which required many of the poor children for production. In 1821, John Curtis, the S.P.G. schoolmaster at Portugal Cove, repeated Anspach's sentiments when he reported to the S.P.G. that he had fifty-seven children enrolled in his Sunday school. He explained that most of these children had "no other means of learning to read, as their parents are not capable of teaching them, nor can they afford to keep them at school on the weekdays, but employ them at a very early age as assistance to procure the necessities of life." In the summer months these children worked at the fishery and in the winter they worked in the woods.<sup>189</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Despite the differences in the economic, geographical and demographic considerations between eighteenth-century Newfoundland and its mother country, England, the pedagogical activities in Newfoundland resembled those that occurred in England. The ideology and social philosophy behind the establishing of the S.P.C.K. charity school in England were eventually reflected in the establishing of the S.P.G.

schools in Newfoundland. The perceived need to defend the Anglican faith against Dissent and encroaching Catholicism, the desire by the ruling and middle-classes to ensure that their servants accept their lot in life and remain loyal and obedient, and the social advancement and the notion of divine rewards associated with such philanthropic work were all motivating factors for educational developments in England and Newfoundland. The fact that the need for such institutions was realized much later in Newfoundland is indicative of the political, economic and social retardation that existed in Newfoundland. Throughout the eighteenth century, Newfoundland was never considered any more than a fishing station for England. Therefore, any social or institutional progress that would have naturally developed in a frontier nation was thwarted in Newfoundland by its policy of non-settlement.

Teacher qualifications, methods used and the curriculum taught were similar in both the S.P.C.K. charity schools in England and the S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland. Although both organizations had "Rules and Orders" governing the qualifications and behaviours of its teachers, circumstances did not always ensure that these requirements were met. As we shall see in the following chapters, the S.P.G. teachers procured in Newfoundland often did not meet these requirements. Oftentimes an S.P.G. missionary or the laity chose a teacher who was able to teach but whose religious devotions were questionable, or they were forced to chose a teacher who was religiously qualified yet not well versed in the basics of the literary curriculum. This does not indicate incompetence

nor indifference on behalf of the S.P.G. missionary or the laity of a community. Rather it was a result of the lack of choice offered in such isolated areas.

Based upon the aims and objectives of the pedagogical activities of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G., and the textbooks used, it is evident that the curriculum taught was very similar. The theme was religious education with a focus on the basics of reading, writing and possibly arithmetic. Although gender specific vocation was a part of the S.P.C.K. charity school, its practice at the S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland appears to be limited. The methodology of teaching in all areas of the curriculum was constant repetition and correction until each skill was learned. In the early nineteenth century, the monitorial method of teaching that led the way for mass education was used in both England and Newfoundland. In Newfoundland, this type of teaching was encouraged by the S.P.G. as a means to increase its pool of qualified teachers.

Finding and funding qualified teachers in Newfoundland was only a part of the problem encountered when trying to educate the poor. The economy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the charity schools biggest obstacle. Even if the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. could find and employ qualified teachers for its schools, it could not ensure the attendance of the children. In Newfoundland, the labour-intensive fishery required all capable members of a family to participate in the industry six months out of the year. Having able-bodied children at school six days during the week was not economically viable. Thus, the Sunday school became the best solution to this problem. At these schools, children were able to learn the basics of reading and the church

catechism while still contributing to the family income. Sunday schools were also cheaper to operate and qualified teachers were easier to procure because it allowed them the opportunity to have other full-time employment. It was due to the advent of Sunday schools in Newfoundland that many Newfoundland children, who could not otherwise afford the opportunity, received some education, although rudimentary.

With these similarities between the pedagogical activities in England and Newfoundland firmly established, a better reconstruction of the S.P.G. charity schools in Newfoundland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is possible. The following three chapters will explore the pedagogical activities in several major areas in Newfoundland based upon the primary sources available. An understanding of the educational trends in England during this period and a knowledge of the economic, social, and religious conditions of certain Newfoundland communities creates a clearer picture of the educational activities and trends alluded to in the correspondences between S.P.G. missionaries and teachers in Newfoundland and the S.P.G. committee in England.

## CHAPTER 3

### CHARITY AND S.P.G.-SPONSORED SCHOOLS IN BONAVIDA

Located on the northeast coast of Newfoundland, Bonavista Bay is bounded on the east side by the Bonavista Peninsula and on the west side by a wide blunt headland ending at Cape Freels. Bonavista Bay was an important fishing resort for the migratory fishery as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was first visited by the English migratory fishermen in the mid-seventeenth century and is believed to have been first settled by men from South Devon and the Channel Islands.<sup>190</sup> Its access to rich summer fishing grounds, a salmon fishery, trapping and the seal population made it ideal for habitation. In the early eighteenth century, Bonavista Bay had a year round population equivalent to the other major bays in Newfoundland, but it failed to grow at the same rate as the others throughout the eighteenth century. Well into the latter part of the century, the inshore cod fishery in Bonavista was still predominately a migratory industry operated from England.<sup>191</sup> On the northeastern tip of the Bonavista Peninsula, Bonavista was the largest settlement in the bay. This chapter will explore the establishment of several schools in this community throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

## **Bonavista**

Bonavista is one of the oldest and largest settlements on the northeast coast of Newfoundland. According to a map of Newfoundland produced by Captain James Cook in 1763, Bonavista was settled "on or before 1660." George Davis, however, a merchant of Carbonear, wrote to James Cook in 1764 that "Uncle John Walcome was the first man child born (in Bonavista), who was eighty years old when he died and has been dead upwards of 30 years."<sup>192</sup> If this is true, then settlement in Bonavista can be dated as early as the mid-seventeenth century.

According to Gordon Hancock<sup>193</sup>, permanent settlement can only be determined by the number of women in proportion to men. Out of the sixteen planters listed in the 1677 census for Bonavista, thirteen had their wives and a total of thirty-four sons and daughters. These people, with ninety-seven servants, brought the total population in Bonavista to one hundred and sixty people. It is interesting that the number of wives, sons and daughters had increased from a total of nineteen recorded in the 1675 census to a total of forty-seven just two years later.<sup>194</sup>

In 1713, Queen Anne's War ended with the Treaty of Utrecht. This treaty granted the English exclusive rights to settlement in Newfoundland. It also established what has become known as the "French Shore," which gave the French the right to fish from Cape Bonavista to the Northern Peninsula and southward to the west coast. Although Bonavista was considered a part of the French Shore, it continued to expand as

an English settlement.<sup>195</sup> George Davis confirms this in his letter to James Cook, dated 1764, that there was “never any Frenchman yet fished” at Bonavista.<sup>196</sup>

Bonavista is the site of the first known formal school in Newfoundland. It was established by Henry Jones, an Anglican missionary, with the aid of the more affluent settlers of the community. Although there is some speculation that Jacob Rice, an Anglican missionary in St. John’s, had established a school at his mission as early as 1705, there are no primary sources available to provide any conclusive details of his school.<sup>197</sup>

### **The Charity School in Bonavista: 1727 - 1820**

#### **The Ministry of Henry Jones in Bonavista**

Reverend Henry Jones arrived in Bonavista in 1725 as an Anglican missionary under the personal patronage of the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson. Jones wrote in November to the Bishop of London from Bonavista to inform him that he “. . . arrived safely in Bonavista about [the] Middle of May; and was kindly received . . .”<sup>198</sup> Also, in a letter addressed to the S.P.G. Secretary, bearing the same date as the former, Jones gave an account of his arrival in Bonavista as “. . . in the month of May.”<sup>199</sup> There is evidence available, however, that suggests that Jones’ recorded arrival in Bonavista in 1725 may not have been the first time he had been in Newfoundland. Jones wrote to the S.P.G. Secretary from Trinity on 29 November 1746, requesting a removal to a mission with a milder climate. In this letter he stated that he was 56 years of age and had been in this

“cold country about 26 years.”<sup>200</sup> Although these years may have been crude estimates by Jones, it is possible that Jones may have been in Newfoundland prior to his tenure in Bonavista.

#### Religious Reasons Behind the Establishment of the School in Bonavista in 1727

The school in Bonavista, similar to the S.P.C.K. charity schools in England, was initiated for religious reasons. From Jones’ initial correspondence to England from Bonavista in 1725, it appears that he desired to educate the youth of his mission in order to promote the faith of the Church of England. Jones wrote that he wanted to establish a charity school so that he could instill a “. . . knowledge of [the] grounds and principals [sic] of the [Chris]tian Religion in the youth . . . ” in Bonavista. He believed that this goal could be accomplished by “. . . instructing the poor children in reading and knowledge and practice of their duty as [Chris]tians which is very much wanted thro[ugh] poverty or ignorance and vice of their parents.”<sup>201</sup>

This religious motivation was by no means unique. It reflected in fact similar reasons surrounding the establishment of S.P.C.K. schools in England during the eighteenth century. In one of the initial meetings of the S.P.C.K., dated 16 March 1698/9, a subscription form that was to be signed by every member of the Society was read and approved. It states that:

Whereas it is evident to common observation , That the growth of vice and debauchery is greatly owing to the gross ignorance of the principals of the Christian Religion, especially among the poorer sort . . . hereunto subscribed for and towards the setting up a School within this Parish for teaching poor children (whose parents

are unable to afford them any education) to read and write, and to repeat and understand the Church Catechism . . .<sup>202</sup>

Thus it is clear that Jones' desire to establish a charity school in Bonavista was following the practice of the age in which he lived. The clergy and aristocrats of the day generally felt that the parents of the poor were incapable or unwilling to provide their children with a basic education that would make them pious and productive members of society. As a result, they became self-appointed guardians of the poor children, based on the altruistic belief that they knew what was best for these children and society as a whole. Jones was no exception. From his letter, it is clear that he believed that the poor children of Bonavista were not receiving the proper guidance from their parents.

#### The Establishment of a Charity School in Bonavista

There is some debate as to when Jones' school actually came into existence. Frederick Rowe gives as the beginning of the charity school in Bonavista 1722 or 1723.<sup>203</sup> James Healey, in his thesis "An Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland. 1703 - 1850," relies upon Rowe's estimated starting date, but contends that "no one has been able to verify one way or another."<sup>204</sup> Other historians cite 1726 as the date of the first school in Bonavista.<sup>205</sup> Hans Rollmann and Bonita Powers in their article "Bonavista's 'Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water': The First School in Newfoundland,"<sup>206</sup> using primary evidence to support their claim, put forth the school's starting date as the spring of 1727. Garfield Fizzard in his article "Newfoundland's First Known School" reiterates Rollmann and Power's claim and rejects previous dates cited as being set "without giving

any primary sources for that conclusion."<sup>207</sup> He also offers evidence from primary sources and concludes with "reasonable confidence" that the school was opened for the first time in the spring of 1727.<sup>208</sup> A close look at the available primary sources can add much needed insight into this variance.

At a public meeting held sometime between the middle of May 1725 and 6 November 1725, Jones proposed to the inhabitants of Bonavista the possibility of establishing a charity school, along with other plans for the mission. In response to this proposal, Jones wrote that "Some Persons promise to pay for [the] Schooling of one Child Each - to be sent as soon as [the] Winter is past."<sup>209</sup> This was a promise to begin the charitable design of instructing the poor children as early as the spring of 1726. Jones wrote also to the S.P.G. on 6 November 1725 that "... Several Persons promised to send one child each at Spring of [the] year and to pay for its teaching."<sup>210</sup> Further on in this letter, however, he revealed his fear that the inhabitants of Bonavista would not be able to raise enough money for this purpose; therefore, he requested the Society's benevolent assistance. While on medical leave in England during the winter of 1726/7, Jones again wrote to the S.P.G. Secretary to inform him that although the inhabitants of Bonavista were willing to provide for a minister and open a charity school, due to the poverty of most of them, it was beyond their power. He reported,

I raised by subscription 8 pounds and am promised more, for teaching the poor Children to read for the year 1727, have ordered a schoolmistress to begin to teach them early this spring, and intend to use my utmost power to assist in their instruction myself as soon as I shall arrive there.<sup>211</sup>

This can explain the existing confusion over when the school in Bonavista was first established. While it appears that plans were made to start a school in the spring of 1726, a lack of funds delayed the opening until the spring of 1727.

The Schoolmistress did begin teaching in the Spring of 1727. Jones confirms this in two letters he wrote on 7 November to the Bishop of London<sup>212</sup> and to the S.P.G. Secretary. He wrote to the S.P.G. Secretary that he arrived back in Bonavista on 31 May 1727 and "... that all the poor Children of this port whose parents would send them have been taught gratis."<sup>213</sup> It is based on this evidence that Fizzard correctly concludes, with reasonable confidence, that the school in Bonavista was opened for the first time in the spring of 1727.

There is also primary evidence available to suggest that Jones himself undertook the task of teaching the children of Bonavista to read as early as 1725. During a meeting held by the S.P.G. on January 21, 1725/6 it was reported that a letter was read from Henry Jones in Newfoundland to the Lord Bishop of London, "... signifying that he teaches the children there to read, and performs Divine Service there . . ."<sup>214</sup> Based on his work in Bonavista, the Society agreed to give Jones a gratuity of thirty pounds, and that once he was to confirm that he had met with success for setting up a school there, the Society would take his case into further consideration. Thus, we can conclude that although the formal charity school was indeed not opened until the Spring of 1727, Jones did in fact undertake the task of teaching the children in Bonavista to read prior to this time.

### Financing of the Bonavista Charity School

Initially, the charity school in Bonavista, like many S.P.C.K. Charity Schools in England, began as a subscription school. In Bonavista, Jones approached the subject of a charity school at a public meeting in 1725 to “ . . . [the] most substantial of [the] Inhabitants.”<sup>215</sup> Some of these inhabitants responded by promising each to sponsor financially one child to attend this school. As we have already seen in chapter two of this thesis, this was how S.P.C.K. charity schools in England were usually founded.<sup>216</sup> He then wrote the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. in England in order to secure additional support for his pedagogical endeavours. He felt that the parishioners of Bonavista, although willing, could not repair the church, support him, and establish a charity school in their area. Unfortunately, the letter Jones wrote to Henry Newman, secretary of the S.P.C.K., is not available, but from Newman’s response<sup>217</sup> we can conclude that Jones must have informed them of his plan and requested some books and a salary for himself or another appropriate teacher. The S.P.C.K. sent school supplies and books to the school in Bonavista but felt that the S.P.G., whose main venue was to support missions in the colonies overseas, could more appropriately address Jones’ need for financial support. Newman forwarded Jones’ letter to the Bishop of London so he could properly represent Jones’ plans to that Society. In response to this appeal, the S.P.G. agreed to give Jones a gratuity of thirty pounds for his services in Bonavista. The Society also agreed that

... upon his informing the Society of the success he meets with for settling a school there and sending over proper certificates thereof the Society will take his case into further consideration.<sup>218</sup>

Throughout Jones' tenure in Bonavista, however, the S.P.G.'s financial contributions to the school were limited to gratuities for Jones' services and books for the poor children. The teacher's salary and all other expenses must have been paid by the inhabitants of Bonavista. Why the S.P.G. did not adopt the schoolmistress as an S.P.G. teacher is unclear. The anonymity surrounding her identity in the letters of Jones may have been a factor in the S.P.G.'s lack of direct support. As we see in the above quotation, the S.P.G. required "proper certificates" before they would take Jones' case into further consideration. The schoolmistress of 1727 possibly may not have met the requirements needed for an S.P.G. teacher.

#### The School Teacher

From the primary sources available it is evident that throughout Jones' mission in Bonavista, he was actively involved in the schooling of the children. It is also certain that Jones did not attempt this task alone. When Jones first mentioned hiring a school mistress in his letter to the S.P.G. in 1725, he informed them that she was "willing to make teaching her entire business if it can be made a sufficient maintenance for her."<sup>219</sup> In November 1727 Jones wrote that a schoolmistress, satisfied by the subscriptions raised for her, taught all the poor children sent to her that year gratis.<sup>220</sup> It is unclear, however, whether this schoolmistress continued to maintain the school in Bonavista or whether her

contract ended in the fall of 1727. In a letter to the Bishop of London bearing the same date as above, Jones speculated that the charitable nature of the Bonavista inhabitants seemed "to lag with respect to a continuance of [the] school. . . ." <sup>221</sup> This could explain Jones' silence concerning a schoolmistress until 1731. It is possible that within those four years the inhabitants in Bonavista were incapable or unwilling to provide support for a full-time school teacher. According to Gordon Handcock, some inhabitants of Bonavista and Trinity began to move northward to Fogo and Twillingate for fur, salmon and cod between the years 1728 and 1732. <sup>222</sup> This fluctuation of population must have certainly interfered with a continual commitment to a charity school in Bonavista. The apparently unstable conditions of school keeping in Bonavista were also common for early settlements in the American colonies in the early eighteenth century. Col. Caleb Heathcote of New York wrote in 1707 that to give an account of the number of schools in his area was very difficult because "some places have a schoolmaster for a year at a time, and then perhaps none in seven years after . . ." <sup>223</sup>

Jones' commitment to pedagogical activities in Bonavista, however, remained constant. Jones reported to the Bishop of London in 1727 that the "poor children shall not want due instruction tho[ugh] I undertake their schooling myself, and I design this winter to enter such of them as are capable, upon writing and arithmetic . . ." <sup>224</sup> Also, in October 1728, Jones wrote to the S.P.G.,

I continue my School here for the Instruction of all the Poor Children, to the satisfaction of my Self and [the] People, among whom, Such are not backward in giving me encouragement, . . . <sup>225</sup>

In Jones' correspondence to the S.P.G. and the Bishop of London during 1729 and 1730 there is no mention of a school in Bonavista. Also, Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K., wrote to Jones in July 1731 and commented that because Jones hadn't written him for more books, he concluded that he did not need any more.<sup>226</sup> There are several factors that could have interfered with the continuation of a school in Bonavista during this time. First, there was a migration of inhabitants from Bonavista to Fogo and Twillingate to take advantage of the salmon, fur and cod available there. Secondly, Jones acquired the role of Justice of the Peace in Bonavista in 1729. In 1729, Jones wrote to the Bishop of London that most of the servants had withdrawn their subscriptions because he was obligated as Justice of the Peace to punish some "lawless persons for their offences."<sup>227</sup> If they withdrew their subscriptions for his ministerial services because of his judicial activities, it is possible that they boycotted his school as well. Finally, Jones wrote to the S.P.G. in 1729 to inform them that the inhabitants of Bonavista had been inflicted with "sickness" since June of that year. This would have not only interfered with Jones' commitment to the school, but also would have affected attendance by the children.

In the summer of 1731 Jones mentioned again the presence of a school teacher in Bonavista. He wrote

... we have a School Mistress [that] teaches between 20 and 30 Children; she is very careful and writes a good hand, and shall want no encouragement or assistance [that] I shall be able to give her.<sup>228</sup>

Again, Jones failed to reveal the identity of this school teacher. Was she the same schoolmistress employed in 1727 or a different one? When the schoolmistress was employed in 1727, Jones wrote to the S.P.G. to inform the society that she had taught the students to read and that he would undertake to teach the students to write and cast accounts. However, when Jones referred to the schoolmistress of 1731, he made the point that “she writes a good hand” and thus would require no assistance from him. Whether this was the same schoolmistress who within time became more proficient and now could teach writing or whether she was a successor is unclear.

In 1731 there is no mention as to how this schoolmistress was paid for her services. In 1727 the schoolmistress received a salary of eight pounds that Jones raised through subscriptions for that purpose.<sup>229</sup> Also, the school of 1727 had been called a “charity” school for the “poor” children of Bonavista. In 1731 there is no mention of a charity school, rather a school for the youth of Bonavista. The omission of this information makes it appear likely that the schoolmistress of 1731 primarily taught students whose parents were willing and capable of paying for their instruction. This would have allowed some poor children to be taught gratis without subscriptions being raised. Although the S.P.C.K. frowned on the mixing of classes in the classroom, most of the S.P.G. schools in the American colonies during the eighteenth century were set up in this manner. After 1731, Jones never again mentions a school teacher in Bonavista in any of his letters to the Bishop of London or the S.P.G., although he does again refer to the school in a letter to the S.P.G. Secretary dated October 29, 1735.<sup>230</sup> Also, in 1741, Henry Newman

wrote Jones to inform him that they were sending the schoolbooks he had requested.<sup>231</sup> Based upon this information, we can conclude that, although a school teacher may not have been employed throughout Jones' tenure in Bonavista, some form of education persisted.

### The School Building

It is very doubtful that a schoolhouse was built when the schoolmistress began teaching in the spring of 1727. During a meeting held in 1725, several items were highlighted that needed to be attended to by the inhabitants of Bonavista: repairs to the church, maintenance and habitation for the minister, and assistance for the poor who were incapable of providing for themselves. The inhabitants also promised financial support for the establishment of a charity school in their community.<sup>232</sup> When Jones was on medical leave in England during the winter of 1727, he wrote to the S.P.G. that although the Bonavista inhabitants were willing to fulfill all of the obligations promised in 1725 as well as "to build a schoolhouse,"<sup>233</sup> due to the poverty of most, these charitable designs were beyond their power. It was not until four years later, in 1731, that Jones informed the Bishop of London that the church in Bonavista was "near finished." He also explained that he had raised one hundred and thirty pounds in subscriptions for the church, although this amount was not sufficient to finish the church completely. Throughout Jones' correspondence with England, he never mentioned a school building. Had Jones and the inhabitants undertaken the task of building a school, it most certainly

would have appeared in Jones' letters. Based on this, we can conclude that the school in Bonavista, like many other rural schools in England and the American colonies, was conducted either in the church or the teacher's home. Although we cannot rule out the church as a place of schooling in the summer, it is unlikely that any schooling occurred there in the winter. As early as 1725, Jones had to procure a vacant dwelling house to hold divine service in the winter because the church was not suitable.<sup>234</sup> Thus we can conclude that schooling in the winter was conducted at the home of Jones, the teacher or the vacant home used for divine service.

#### The Children

There is little information concerning the children who attended the school in Bonavista. Based on Jones' letters, we can conclude the following. In 1731 Jones reported that there were between 20 and 30 children receiving instruction from the schoolmistress.<sup>235</sup> Although there is no other mention of the number of children taught any other time during Jones' tenure we can assume that the numbers fluctuated with the seasons and years. In 1727 Jones informed the S.P.G. that "all the poor children" attending his school were taught gratis.<sup>236</sup> This lack of gender specification suggests that the school in Bonavista, like other S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. schools, was for both boys and girls. Jones also never indicated the age of the students at the school in any of his letters. Students at the S.P.C.K. charity schools in England were usually between the ages of seven to eleven.<sup>237</sup> Considering, however, that Bonavista was a settlement involved in the

fishery, it is likely that any child of a poor fisherman, servant, or poor planter would have been needed for the fishery at a young age. As indicated below, by the end of the eighteenth century, children were attending the S.P.G. school in Bonavista as young as three years of age.

From 1725 to 1728 Jones made it quite clear that he concentrated his educational endeavours upon “the poor children.” These children would have been the sons and daughters of fishermen, servants and poor planters. It is interesting that any mention of the children enrolled in the school in Bonavista after 1728 does not specify to which social class they belonged. Jones simply called them the “children” or “youth.” In fact, he never again called it a “charity school.” Does this imply that the school redefined itself to also include paying students? When Jones mentioned his school again in 1731, he stated that “between 20 and 30 children” were being taught by a schoolmistress.<sup>238</sup> In 1735 he referred to the “youth” as receiving instruction. Although the S.P.C.K. discouraged the practice of mixing classes in its schools, practicality and economics often deemed it a necessity. Paying children were often taught alongside poor children so an income for the schoolmaster or schoolmistress could be ensured.<sup>239</sup> Unlike in 1727, in 1731 Jones did not mention raising any subscriptions to procure this schoolmistress. In the *S.P.G. Journals* for this period there is no mention of a salary or gratuity for a schoolmistress for Bonavista. Thus the possibility exists that the schoolmistress in Bonavista in 1731 received an adequate salary from the paying students, which allowed her the opportunity to teach some poor children gratuitously.

In 1735 Jones ambiguously referred to two schools in Bonavista. He wrote, "I use utmost endeavour and encouragement for keeping up two schools here, for the instruction of the youth."<sup>240</sup> Two possibilities could explain this reference. One possibility could have been a distinction made between paying students and the poor children who could not afford to pay for their education and had to be taught gratuitously. Although such a distinction is made later in the schools in Bonavista, it is never alluded to as two separate schools. Also, in his correspondence to the S.P.G. and Henry Newman, Jones never makes the distinction between paying and non-paying students. Secondly, Jones could have been referring to a separate boys' and girls' school. While there have been no gender distinctions made prior to this time, he could have been referring to the last level of the charity school curriculum. The first level of schooling in the eighteenth century charity school consisted of the basics of reading, writing and the teaching of the Christian religion according to the Church of England. School teachers imparted this curriculum to poor boys and girls equally. However, arithmetic and vocational instruction were gender specific. Girls were taught vocations such as knitting, needlework, and housewifery and boys were taught arithmetic and vocations such as navigation and husbandry.<sup>241</sup> In 1727 Jones wrote to the Bishop of London that he had intended that winter to teach those that were "capable" writing and arithmetic.<sup>242</sup> Therefore in Bonavista in 1727 there were two schools kept. The first one began in the spring of that year and was attended to by a schoolmistress. The second school was attended by Jones in which he instructed his students the art of writing and arithmetic

during the winter. Thus, in 1735 when Jones refers to two schools, it is possible that the pedagogical activity of 1727 continued and the different levels of the literary curriculum were offered separately.

#### Instructional Time

Recommended hours for the S.P.C.K. schools in England were 7-11 a.m., 1-5 p.m. in the summer and 8-11 a.m., 1-4 p.m. in the winter.<sup>243</sup> School was expected to be in session all year with only three prescribed holidays at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.<sup>244</sup> Although Jones does not suggest any time schedule for the school in Bonavista, several factors may have required adaptations of the schedule to suit local circumstances. Jones spoke of the custom in the community to head northward in the winter. In 1729 he wrote that more than half of the inhabitants would be moving from Bonavista during this time of year.<sup>245</sup> As early as 1681, Captain James Story wrote of the migratory nature of the planters in Bonavista. He wrote that "the planters go furring about the middle of September . . . They return about the 1<sup>st</sup> of May."<sup>246</sup>

This was a custom that was not unique in Bonavista. In the summer, many Newfoundland settlements were based near the coast at the best positions to meet with the fishing fleets from England. However, these areas were often far removed from a supply of firewood. Also, the interior offered better shelter from the winter elements and a better food source than did the areas situated on the coast of the Atlantic. Because Henry Jones did not move from Bonavista in the winter, it is likely that any of the curriculum that

Jones taught during the winter of 1727/8 was imparted to a much smaller population of children than in the summer season. Also, if we assume that Jones was largely responsible for the instruction of the young in 1728, then we must also assume that the time for instruction was sporadic at best. Jones, besides performing his ministerial functions in Bonavista, visited the communities of surrounding areas to preach and administer the sacraments. Considering that this must have been done in the summer when the climate allowed for such mobility, we can assume that the actual time left for instruction must have been minimal.

In 1727 and 1731 when there was a full-time teacher employed in Bonavista, the hours most likely would have been similar to those of other charity schools in the eighteenth century. However, year-round schooling for many of these students would not have been possible given the migratory nature of the inhabitants in Bonavista. When the inhabitants resorted to the woods for the winter, survival and not education would have been their primary concern. Finally, the nature of the fishery would have also interfered with a structured schedule and no doubt would have resulted in sporadic attendance for many children. The curriculum of the charity school was based on a four-year program. Many children would not have completed this program because their parents needed them to work during the fishing season.

## Curriculum and Teaching Methods

Information concerning the curriculum and the methodology used at Jones' school in Bonavista is limited and sporadic. There are only two brief references to the curriculum made by Jones in his correspondence with the S.P.G. and the Bishop of London, and no information is given as to his teaching methodology. The S.P.C.K. Archives and the S.P.G. Journals provide a list of textbooks that both societies sent to Jones in Bonavista. These texts, with a comparative study of S.P.C.K. charity schools in England and S.P.G. charity schools in other North American colonies, permit some conclusions as to his teaching methods and resources.

The central focus of all eighteenth-century charity schools was religious instruction. Jones' motivation to instruct "poor children in reading and knowledge and practice of their duty as [Chris]tians"<sup>247</sup> reiterates this focus. Also, the textbooks sent by the S.P.C.K., such as the horn-book, primer and Dixon's speller, were used throughout S.P.C.K. charity schools to impart reading and writing via religious and moral instruction. In 1740, Jones proudly reported to the S.P.G. that his congregation in Bonavista is "increasing by reason many young people and children are growing up . . ."<sup>248</sup> Because the population growth in Bonavista remained relatively unchanged between the 1720s and the 1740s,<sup>249</sup> due largely to the migration of many Bonavista inhabitants to Fogo and Twillingate, it appears that this statement was intended to refer to the positive effects of educating children. Jones, like his colleagues in England, no doubt felt that educating the

poor children in their duty as Christians would eventually lead to a flourishing Anglican community.

The first reference to the curriculum at Bonavista was made in 1727. Jones wrote that he intended “. . . to teach this winter, all that are capable to learn to write and cast accounts.”<sup>290</sup> It appears that the schoolmistress had taught only reading that year. This is in keeping with the literary curriculum in the S.P.C.K. charity schools, where reading was the basis of the educational process. Once the child learned to read competently, he or she was then permitted, or, in Jones’ words, considered “capable”, to advance to writing and then arithmetic. Although Jones did not distinguish the gender of the students he taught, it is unlikely that girls would have been included among those students who were “capable” of receiving mathematical instruction. Although not without exception, instruction of females in mathematics was rare in any S.P.C.K. or S.P.G. charity school. Reading would allow females to avail themselves of Anglican literature, thus making them good Christians while also enabling them to impart this skill to their children. Poor males, however, especially those that lived near ports or harbours, often found themselves indentured in merchant counting houses or employed in a life at sea. A knowledge of the first four basic principles of arithmetic served as an asset to these vocations. Jones made his second reference to the curriculum in 1731 when he wrote the Bishop of London to inform him that the schoolmistress in Bonavista that year was “careful and writes a good hand.” An emphasis of this qualification suggests that

among the 20 to 30 children being taught that year by the schoolmistress, some were being taught the rudiments of writing.

Also, the textbooks sent by the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. give us some insight into the curriculum. The S.P.G. sent Bibles, Common Prayer Books and Catechisms to Bonavista for use at the school, and the S.P.C.K. sent as well this Christian literature and other similar books, such as Testaments and Psalters. This is a clear indication that the central theme of the curriculum in Bonavista was the Christian religion. Finally, the horn-books, primers and Dixon's Spelling Books sent by the S.P.C.K. indicate that the rudiments of reading and writing were also taught. Although there is no mention in any of Jones' correspondence concerning the methods used in the school at Bonavista, the above list of books sent by the S.P.C.K. suggests a strong emphasis on recitation, repetition, imitation and memorization.<sup>251</sup>

After Jones alluded to two schools in 1735, we hear nothing more about a school or schools during Jones' tenure in Bonavista. There is evidence to suggest, however, that some form of pedagogical activity did continue until Jones' departure for Trinity in 1742. On 5 November 1739, Jones wrote to the S.P.G. that the children in Bonavista were numerous, and because they could not buy Bibles, Testaments and lesser school books there, these texts were greatly needed. On 15 February 1740, the S.P.G. responded by agreeing to send him "one dozen small Bibles, two dozen Common Prayer books and 50 stitched Catechisms for the use of the poor."<sup>252</sup> Jones must have also appealed to the S.P.C.K. that year because on the 29 August 1741, Newman wrote to Jones to inform him

that “24 testaments, 24 psalters, 12 Lewis Catechisms and 100 horn-books”<sup>253</sup> had been sent.

In conclusion, the school or schools established in Bonavista during Jones’ tenure were by no means unique in their curriculum but reflected the practices of their day. What is unique about the first school in Bonavista that was established in 1727 was that it preceded any formal government in Newfoundland by two years. To accredit the S.P.G. with the establishment of this first school, however, would be misleading. Jones, although a recipient of gratuities from this society, was never considered an officially stationed S.P.G. missionary, which would have ensured him an annual salary while at his mission in Bonavista. In a letter to the S.P.G., dated 16 February 1727, Jones attempted to secure from the S.P.G. assurance for him and his successors of an annual salary in Bonavista.<sup>254</sup> At a meeting of the Society held 17 February 1727, the S.P.G. acknowledged his letter, but did not discuss an annual salary for a missionary in Bonavista. Instead, they agreed to send him a gratuity of forty pounds for that year.<sup>255</sup> Also, the schoolmistress or schoolmistresses employed at the school in Bonavista in 1727 and 1731 were never listed among the S.P.G. teachers, nor did they receive any salary from the society. Instead, in 1727 the schoolmistress was paid by subscriptions raised, and in 1731 she was either paid by subscriptions or by the parents of the children she taught. The pedagogical activities in Bonavista during Jones’ tenure can thus be attributed to the initiative and efforts of Henry Jones and the inhabitants of Bonavista.

### Jones Leaves Bonavista for Trinity

In 1741 Robert Kilpatrick, the S.P.G. missionary at Trinity, died, leaving that S.P.G. mission vacant. Jones, aware of this, applied to the S.P.G. to succeed him. Jones was awarded Killpatrick's position in 1742 and left for Trinity. Jones' departure prompted the inhabitants of Bonavista to appeal to the S.P.G. for another missionary. In this petition they also drew attention to the need for educational instruction in Bonavista. This is a clear indication that many of the inhabitants now considered education a priority within their community. They wrote,

At the same time we beg leave to offer to your Lordship's further consideration the sad state of the place in regard to the Education of the Children, whereof there are not less than one hundred and fifty without the means of instruction or learning. Their parents, for the most part incapable, or otherwise by the nature of their calling, wanting the time to afford them any [learning].<sup>256</sup>

The S.P.G. responded on 20 August 1742<sup>257</sup> and refused to erect a new mission. According to the minutes of this S.P.G. meeting, the education of the children was neither considered nor discussed. However, it did decide to leave the request open for further consideration. A month later, on 17 September 1742,<sup>258</sup> the S.P.G. reconsidered its position. The society took into consideration that an allowance for gratuities had been made in previous years to Jones and that it could continue this allowance for a resident missionary in Bonavista. At the same meeting the S.P.G. received a testimonial on behalf of William Peasley from Dublin, Ireland, and agreed to appoint him to its new mission in Bonavista.

### **The Ministry of William Peasley in Bonavista: 1743 - 1744**

William Peasley arrived in Bonavista on 19 June 1743.<sup>259</sup> In his first correspondence to the S.P.G. from there, Peasley lamented the scarcity of books and the great number of children in the area who lacked instruction.<sup>260</sup> He asked the Society to send him Common Prayer Books, primers and Psalters, which the poor people needed to “teach their children to read . . .”<sup>261</sup> This suggests that when Jones left Bonavista, many parents took it upon themselves to teach their own children. In fact, some of these parents may have been former students of Jones in 1727. Peasley also informed the S.P.G. that he set aside “four hours every day to teach as many children (of which there is a great number) to read that time will permit . . .”<sup>262</sup> For this service, however, Peasley pointed out that he received no financial consideration. During an S.P.G. meeting on 20 January 1743, the Society agreed to send him the books he requested plus a gratuity of ten pounds for having taught the poor children to read gratis. The society also agreed that if Peasley continued his educational endeavours in Bonavista, an additional ten pounds would be added to his salary every year.<sup>263</sup> It is important to note that this is the first time that the S.P.G. had agreed to give direct financial support to an educator in Newfoundland.

In Peasley’s first and only letter to the S.P.G. from Bonavista, he complained that the subscriptions of the inhabitants fell short of what his predecessor had received. Because he felt that the people of Bonavista could not ensure him adequate support, he

requested a removal from Bonavista just four months after his arrival.<sup>264</sup> Philip Bearcroft, then the S.P.G. Secretary, wrote to Peasley the following spring to inform him that at the request of Mr. Michael Ballard, a prominent merchant in St. John's, the Society was removing him from Bonavista so he could assume the mission in St. John's. Peasley wasted no time leaving Bonavista and wrote to the S.P.G. Secretary on 6 December 1744, that he received word of his new mission on 5 October 1744, and that he arrived in St. John's on 18 October 1744.<sup>265</sup>

In November 1752, eight years after Peasley had left Bonavista, the inhabitants again petitioned the S.P.G. for a resident missionary. They complained that since Peasley had left, they had neither a minister nor teacher among them.<sup>266</sup> At its meeting on 16 March 1753, the S.P.G. considered this petition and agreed to direct Benjamin Lindsay, then a missionary in Trinity, to visit Bonavista as often as he conveniently could. When the S.P.G. secretary Philip Bearcroft wrote to Lindsay, he promised that the Society would reward him for visiting Bonavista.<sup>267</sup> Lindsay left the Trinity mission in 1760, but there is no recorded evidence to suggest that he ever visited Bonavista.

In 1768, James Balfour, then a missionary in Trinity, reported to the S.P.G. that he had visited Bonavista and performed divine service there.<sup>268</sup> This is the first time that Bonavista was mentioned in the S.P.G. records since Lindsay was directed to visit there in 1753. In 1771 Balfour wrote again about Bonavista. By then he had heard that Bonavista had subscribed for a minister, but felt that with no church or residence, the inhabitants of Bonavista would not be capable of providing for one.<sup>269</sup> Also in this letter

Balfour gave a very unfavourable account of the inhabitants in Bonavista. He stated that they were "notorious for their drinking and swearing" and for keeping "empty promises."<sup>270</sup> The next year, Balfour wrote to the S.P.G. that the people of Bonavista wanted him to visit them again. Before doing so, Balfour wrote to the S.P.G. to receive their permission. The S.P.G. agreed that Balfour could visit other settlements such as Bonavista; however, they warned him not to neglect his own duties in Trinity.<sup>271</sup> It appears that the inability or unwillingness of the inhabitants of Bonavista to provide for a minister in the past and the unfavourable account of Balfour may have played a role in the S.P.G.'s withdrawing active support from Bonavista. For the next twenty years, nothing about Bonavista appears in the S.P.G. records.

#### **George Bemister, Schoolmaster in Bonavista: 1790 - 1807**

In November 1791, John Bland, then the magistrate in Bonavista, wrote to the S.P.G. and requested a small salary for their school teacher George Bemister.<sup>272</sup> With this correspondence Bland enclosed a petition from the Bonavista inhabitants to support his request. The petition stated that there were "upward of three hundred poor children" in need of instruction.<sup>273</sup> Bemister began his school in Bonavista in or near the year 1790.<sup>274</sup> This school began not as a charity school, but as a paying school. The parents were expected to pay for their children's education, but some parents were unable to contribute to the teacher's income. Thus Bemister decided to leave Bonavista because the parents were unable to ensure him adequate financial support.<sup>275</sup> The parents appealed to the

S.P.G. for assistance. At a Society meeting on 17 February 1792, Bemister was added to the list of S.P.G. schoolmasters. This secured him an annual salary of fifteen pounds and enabled him to stay in Bonavista. Throughout Bemister's tenure in Bonavista, the maximum number of students recorded was 47 in 1794.<sup>276</sup> In 1795, however, Bemister recorded as few as 27 students due to a failure in the fishery. Although this number steadily increased from 1797 to 1800 from 34 to 46 students, Bemister continued to cite the war and a poor fishery as external factors that had an adverse effect upon enrollment.

Although Bemister's school began under different circumstances than Henry Jones' did seventy years earlier, the reasons advanced in support of schooling are reminiscent of earlier reasons put forth at Bonavista. In the petition that the inhabitants of Bonavista sent to the S.P.G. in 1791, they recognized, that "to be able to read is among the first blessings, since it furnishes the medium of improving the mind, and learning our duty to God and our neighbour."<sup>277</sup>

The children who attended the school in Bonavista during the 1790s were both paying and non-paying students. Bemister records that on an average one-third to one-half of his students were charity students taught on the society's bounty. The age of the students who attended ranged from ages three to fifteen.<sup>278</sup> This starting age at Bemister's school is quite young, considering that students did not start at the S.P.C.K. schools in England until they were six or seven years old. Why were students schooled in Bonavista during Bemister's tenure at such a young age? In 1795, Bemister recorded that enrollment at his school had decreased to 27 students. He reported that these students

were quite young and were the children of “persons who were engaged in no business” and thus could offer him little financial support.<sup>279</sup> Because of the failure of the fishery and the increased cost of provisions, many inhabitants were too poor to employ servants; therefore, the planters were forced to rely upon the women and their children for labour.<sup>280</sup> If children were taught to read and write as young as three years of age, they could then use them in the fishery as young as six or seven. Because the fishery was such a labour intensive industry, all capable hands, young and old alike, were needed to ensure family survival.

Not much is known about the curriculum at Bemister’s school, except that the rudiments of reading and writing were taught. John Clinch, James Balfour’s successor as missionary in Trinity, visited Bonavista in 1796 and wrote the S.P.G. that Bemister’s students progressed astonishingly well in reading and writing.<sup>281</sup> There was no mention of arithmetic being taught. The fact that Bemister continues to cite a poor fishery may have been a factor in the absence of this part of the curriculum. It is likely that parents took their children from school to work in the fishery long before this part of the curriculum could be broached.

In 1800 Bemister recorded that he had 46 students and over half of them were being taught gratis. He also noted that his friends with children in his school paid him well and that he attended very strictly to his duty.<sup>282</sup> Seven years later, in 1807, he again wrote to the S.P.G. that he had taught the preceding year and collected his salary of fifteen pounds.<sup>283</sup> It is interesting that Bemister wrote this letter twenty-three days after

John Bland, the chief magistrate for Bonavista, wrote the S.P.G. to inform them that the inhabitants had dismissed Bemister for neglect and immoral conduct. No details are given to support these accusations. In 1807 the S.P.G. agreed to strike Bemister's name from its list of schoolmasters.<sup>284</sup>

#### **Edward Mullaby, Schoolmaster in Bonavista: 1809 - 1816**

Three years later in 1810, Edward Mullaby wrote to the S.P.G. at the request of chief magistrate Gerrald Ford of Bonavista and the principal inhabitants to apply for the yearly salary that they assumed was allowed for an S.P.G. schoolmaster in Bonavista.<sup>285</sup> Mullaby reported that he was chosen schoolmaster by the inhabitants of Bonavista on 20 October 1809 and that he taught fifty children, a part of whom were not able to pay. The S.P.G. agreed to pay him for the 1809/10 school year, but it requested that John Clinch, the missionary in Trinity, inquire into Mullaby's character and ability before it could appoint him as its schoolmaster.<sup>286</sup> On 8 July 1812, Clinch wrote to the S.P.G. that reports of Mullaby were favourable and his methods appropriate; however, he was reported to be a follower of the Roman Catholic faith. The first qualification of an S.P.G. schoolmaster was that he must be a member of the Church of England. John Clinch, in keeping with this Anglican allegiance, feared that because of Mullaby's religious persuasion the "Society would have no certainty of the children being taught and educated according to our church." He thus concluded that he could not recommend Mullaby for the position of S.P.G. schoolmaster in Bonavista.<sup>287</sup> Five months later Clinch gave a

further account of Edward Mullaby, this time supporting his appointment. He reported that Mullaby had no Roman Catholic pupils at his school. Mullaby also assured Clinch that he intended to introduce only the tenets of the Established Church to his pupils. Finally he promised that he would comply with every particular set down by the Anglican Church. Attached to Clinch's letter was a memorial from the inhabitants of Bonavista in support of Mullaby as being their school teacher. Based on this recommendation, the Society agreed to appoint Mullaby as their S.P.G. schoolmaster in Bonavista with a salary of fifteen pounds per year in 1812.<sup>288</sup> The fact that the S.P.G. knowingly hired a Roman Catholic to teach in its school is in itself quite remarkable. Ten years later several S.P.G. schoolmasters would lose their jobs in Newfoundland because they were not of the Anglican faith. On 1 January 1814, Clinch wrote to the S.P.G. that he had heard nothing from Mullaby or his supporters, so he assumed that they had reversed themselves and dropped the idea of Mullaby becoming an S.P.G. schoolmaster.<sup>289</sup> It is obvious, however, that Mullaby continued to teach in Bonavista without the Society's support. In 1816 Clinch reported to the S.P.G. that Mullaby vacated his position as schoolmaster in Bonavista without any discernable reasons.<sup>290</sup>

#### **Mrs. Hosier, Schoolmistress in Bonavista: 1812 - 1822.**

To replace Mullaby, Clinch recommended Mrs. Hosier<sup>291</sup>, a widow in Bonavista. He reported that she was fully qualified and that she needed the salary for her large,

dependent family. The Society agreed to appoint her schoolmistress in Bonavista. On 13 August 1822, John Leigh, the Ecclesiastical Commissary of Newfoundland, wrote to the S.P.G. that Mrs. Hosier was a Methodist. He reported that she had kept school during the week; however, she did not conduct a Sunday school. Although Leigh replaced Hosier with Thomas Gaylor in January 1822, he requested that she continue to receive her salary for the 1821-1822 school year because of her advanced age.<sup>292</sup> There is no information given on Mrs. Hosier's school in Bonavista. It is likely, however, that it was similar to that of her predecessor, Bemister, and that it consisted of boys and girls, both paying and nonpaying.

With the appointment of John Leigh as Ecclesiastical Commissary, there was a renewed commitment from the S.P.G. to Bonavista. On 1 June 1822, the S.P.G. agreed that if proper application was made from Bonavista or Greenspond, it would agree to appoint a resident minister. This decision was presumably based on information that a numerous Protestant population had migrated there.<sup>293</sup> Ironically, at the same time, Leigh wrote from Bonavista with an earnest petition to the S.P.G. to establish a mission in Bonavista Bay.<sup>294</sup> In 1822 the S.P.G. appointed Charles Blackman as its missionary in Bonavista, but Leigh had planned to reside in Bonavista throughout the fall and winter of 1822 and 1823 so that he could visit the surrounding out harbours and serve as the resident minister. So, following Leigh's advice, Blackman moved to Ferryland until he could move to Bonavista in the spring of 1823.

In 1822, Leigh reported that there were 480 Protestants in Bonavista and 1000 Protestants in the whole district. He also pointed out that the schoolmaster had provided the only form of religious instruction in Bonavista Bay and that he could not counteract the influence that a resident Catholic priest was having in the area.<sup>295</sup> Besides establishing a mission in Bonavista, Leigh felt that the only way to preserve Protestantism in Bonavista Bay was to appoint catechists and schoolmasters in the surrounding settlements. He, thus, recommended that Joseph Saunders, James R. Sheldon, and William Oak be appointed schoolmasters and catechists in King's Cove, Salvage and Change Island.

In the spring of 1823 Charles Blackman was reassigned to the mission in Ferryland.<sup>296</sup> Leigh confined himself to Bonavista because he felt that under no circumstances should the mission in Bonavista be left vacant. He wrote to the S.P.G. that Bonavista was a good mission and that the people were most eager to have a Protestant minister among them.<sup>297</sup> On 17 August 1823, John Leigh, the Ecclesiastical Commissary of Newfoundland, died and left the Bonavista mission vacant. The S.P.G. appointed George Coster, missionary of Bermuda, to replace Leigh as missionary of Bonavista and Ecclesiastical Commissary of Newfoundland.

### **Conclusion**

Upon his arrival in 1725, Henry Jones, the Anglican minister in Bonavista, undertook the task of teaching the children of his parish to read. In 1727, prior to the

existence of any formal government institutions in Newfoundland, the inhabitants of Bonavista, under the guidance of Jones, established the first known formal school on the island. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this pedagogical activity continued, although sporadically, despite the fact that Bonavista was without a resident clergyman for almost eighty years between 1744 and 1822. Henry Jones (1725-1742) and his successor William Peasley (1743-1744) were the only two Anglican clergymen to reside in Bonavista during the eighteenth century, despite several appeals to the S.P.G. for a minister subsidized by the society. When the S.P.G. did decide to establish Bonavista as one of their missions and send William Peasley as its missionary, the inhabitants of Bonavista were unable to provide the subscriptions they promised. When Philip Bearcroft, the then secretary of the S.P.G., agreed to remove Peasley to another mission, he asserted that if the inhabitants of Bonavista, "design[ed] to petition the Society for another Missionary . . . , they must provide a house and glebe for him, . . . if they hope for success."<sup>298</sup> The fact that they could not procure an S.P.G.-sponsored missionary may well be based on the fact that they were unable to meet this requirement. Both Peasley and James Balfour, the then S.P.G. missionary in Trinity who visited Bonavista, asserted that the inhabitants were unable or unwilling to comply with this expectation.

Despite the lack of ecclesiastical leadership in Bonavista, its inhabitants showed a clear interest in the education of their young. In 1791, they appealed to the S.P.G. to bestow upon their school teacher a salary in order to ensure that he would not leave them.

The S.P.G. agreed and George Bemister continued as schoolmaster in Bonavista until he was inexplicitly dismissed by the inhabitants in 1807. His successors, Edward Mullaby and Mrs. Hosier respectively, continued the school in Bonavista until 1822. At this time, John Leigh, Newfoundland's first Ecclesiastic Commissary, replaced Hosier, who was a known Methodist, with Thomas Gaylor (1823 -1833). It was with the appointment of Leigh that we see a renewed interest by the S.P.G. in Bonavista. Thus, it is clear that the educational endeavours in Bonavista were not a result of a benevolent society across the ocean trying to civilize its fellow believers in North America, but a realization by the inhabitants in Bonavista that educating the youth was ultimately needed to ensure that the children did not remain the "untutor'd savages of the wood."<sup>291</sup>

## CHAPTER 4

### S.P.G.-SPONSORED SCHOOLS IN ST. JOHN'S

From the beginning of the English migratory fishery in Newfoundland, St. John's was an important location. St. John's is situated roughly in the centre of the old English Shore, which spanned from Trepassey in the south to Greenspond in the north. Because of this, the city became the natural focus of communications with the supply ships and sack ships first landing in St. John's, before they ventured to other ports to sell provisions and to seek fish for the markets of Europe.<sup>300</sup> As early as 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, on his voyage to Virginia, stopped in St. John's for provisions and was supplied "with all wants commodiously, as if we had been in a city."<sup>301</sup> During the late seventeenth century, St. John's, with a fort and military garrison, also became England's military center in Newfoundland. This site was chosen no doubt for its secure natural harbour.

The migratory fishery at St. John's Harbour was very active. In the late seventeenth century it was reported that twelve thousand men worked each summer along the waterfront with a total of two hundred boats. Also, the minor harbours surrounding St. John's within a nine mile radius such as Petty Harbour, Quidi Vidi and Torbay

attracted an additional three hundred and eighty men with seventy boats in the summer months.<sup>302</sup> In the winter this population decreased considerably in comparison with the summer population.

Because St. John's was England's military stronghold on the English shore, it became also the focus of many attacks by the French in the eighteenth century. During the winter of 1696-7, St. John's was the object of two French invasions. Reportedly, approximately four hundred and fifty winter settlers became subject to death or deportation.<sup>303</sup> The inhabitants of St. John's proved resilient, however, because the following winter it was reported that five hundred and seventy settlers wintered in St. John's.<sup>304</sup> Another attack occurred in January 1705 and again in January 1709. During both raids, the people were deported and their homes were burnt, yet the population continued to remain steady. In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, which reserved fishing rights for the French from Cape Bonavista on the east coast to Point Rich on the west coast, yet the island itself became the exclusive sovereignty of England.

After 1713, an important economic change occurred in St. John's. Although fishing in St. John's continued, there was a shift in focus towards it becoming a commercial town. According to Naval Captain Percy in 1720, the majority of inhabitants in St. John's had, "left off [the] keeping of boats and servants for fishing. They live by letting out their stages and keeping public houses."<sup>305</sup>

In 1740, the fortification of St. John's was decreed just in time for another Anglo-French war that broke out in 1742. In June 1762, French war ships seized Bay

Bulls, Trinity Harbour, Carbonear Island and St. John's. All surrendered without resistance. Three months later, the English Captain Amherst reclaimed Quidi Vidi and St. John's for the English. In 1763, the Treaty of Paris ended this conflict and reconfirmed England's sovereignty over the island and renewed French fishing rights that were already established in 1713. St. John's remained a transient port and was reliant upon the migratory fishery and trade. Although the winter inhabitants of St. John's were numerous in comparison to other areas of Newfoundland, it was still very low in proportion to its summer population. According to Grant Head, the year-round population of St. John's constituted only twenty to twenty-five percent of its total summer population throughout the eighteenth century until after the American Revolution. By the end of the eighteenth century, seventy percent of the total summer population in St. John's were year-round inhabitants.<sup>306</sup> Comparing these percentages to those of Bonavista and Conception Bays, where the year-round population outnumbered those involved in the migratory fishery throughout the eighteenth century, it becomes quite clear why these areas could boast social institutions such as schools earlier than St. John's. It appears that the farther away a community was from the transient nature of the migratory fishery, the more apt its inhabitants were to make Newfoundland their home, and the natural progression of social institutions ensued.

Prior to the American Revolution, the wintering population of St. John's ranged from 800 to 1200 inhabitants. The male population made up fifty to seventy percent of this number, largely due to the fact that there were many single Irishmen<sup>307</sup> employed as

servants in the fishery. During the American Revolution the year-round population of St. John's increased from approximately 1200 to 1800 inhabitants.<sup>308</sup> The migratory fishery, on the other hand, experienced a decrease due to raids by American privateers and a shortage of men. Most capable Englishmen for the migratory fishery were forced into military service by the press gangs. Because of the decrease in total trading activities, provisions to the island were also extremely scarce. In St. John's, however, a military group, the Newfoundland volunteers, gave some duties and provisions to the unemployed. This resulted in outport families migrating to St. John's and seeking shelter from the American privateers or to gain employment with the military and thus acquire provisions. The shortage in provisions during the American Revolution also resulted in an increased activity in agriculture in the St. John's district. In 1700 it was reported that approximately seventeen hundred acres were cultivated, whereas in the 1780s this figure had just risen to over six thousand acres.<sup>309</sup> As in most societies, increased agricultural activity no doubt resulted in a more settled and permanent population.

By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, social institutions such as schools began to receive the attention that in the past was sporadic and inconsistent at best. By the 1820s, St. John's would not only surpass other communities in Newfoundland in its educational endeavours, it had also become the place of study for Newfoundland S.P.G. school teachers, so that they would become more efficient in the contemporary methods of schooling.

### **John Jackson, S.P.C. Missionary: 1701-1705**

In 1699 the inhabitants of St. John's subscribed to the Bishop of London for a resident minister. They promised to provide a sufficient livelihood for an appropriate clergyman for three years and to rebuild their church that had been destroyed by the French.<sup>310</sup> The Bishop of London chose John Jackson to serve as minister to the residents of St. John's, and on 27 March 1701, Charles Hedges, then the Secretary of State, on behalf of William III, also appointed him chaplain at the fort in St. John's.<sup>311</sup> Jackson, who had been a naval chaplain in St. John's in 1696/7, returned during the autumn of 1701 with his wife and eight children to Newfoundland in order to assume both positions.<sup>312</sup>

The S.P.C.K.'s interest in the spiritual welfare of Newfoundland dated back to Thomas Bray's assessment of the island during his visit to Maryland in 1699. Based upon an account of the state of Newfoundland provided by the Master of the Ship that Bray travelled on during his North American voyage, Bray lamented the spiritual state of Newfoundland to his fellow S.P.C.K. members and other fellow Englishmen.<sup>313</sup> Therefore, in 1701, when Jackson was appointed to Newfoundland, the S.P.C.K. provided him with books to distribute among the inhabitants of St. John's.<sup>314</sup> In turn the S.P.C.K. ordered that Jackson become a correspondent for Newfoundland.<sup>315</sup> This support by the S.P.C.K. in England was the first of its kind towards any Newfoundland community. In 1703, Jackson's three year private subscription of fifty pounds per annum from the inhabitants of St. John's had ended. In order for Jackson to remain in St. John's

he needed direct financial support. This type of support was beyond the scope of the S.P.C.K. Therefore it urged the newly formed S.P.G., whose constitution included the financial support of missionaries overseas, for assistance. It responded by sending Jackson thirty pounds for his immediate relief and adopting him as its missionary with a commitment for an annual salary of fifty pounds.<sup>316</sup> In the spring of 1705, however, this support ended abruptly when the Bishop of London had Jackson recalled to England because of controversy surrounding his mission.<sup>317</sup>

From the beginning of his tenure in St. John's, Jackson experienced problems with the authorities at the fort in St. John's. In 1701, a letter was brought before the Lords of Trade that Jackson had written. This letter spoke of the "Barbarous treatment" Jackson had received from Captain Powell and Lieutenant Samuel Francis, who were sent to command the fort at St. John's.<sup>318</sup> In September 1703, Lieutenant Thomas Lloyd assumed command of the fort, yet the situation, according to Jackson, did not improve.<sup>319</sup> Jackson explained that Lloyd's command was wrought with ill behaviour and contempt for religion.<sup>320</sup> He was accused of forcing the colonists to fortify St. John's, not allowing soldiers to buy their provisions from anyone else but him at inflated prices, selling garrison supplies to the colonists, and hiring the soldiers out to work in the fishery for his own personal profit.<sup>321</sup> On the other hand, Jackson's ministry was not without criticism so it is difficult to form a historically valid judgement amidst the charges and counter-charges. He was accused of intoxication,<sup>322</sup> coarse and crude behaviour, sowing discord among the inhabitants, and encouraging the soldiers at the fort to mutiny.<sup>323</sup>

Based on negative reports from Lloyd and two naval commodores in Newfoundland, Captain Timothy Bridges and Captain Michael Richards, the Board of Trade requested that the Bishop of London recall Jackson. The board contended that much of the problem in St. John's was a direct result of Jackson's bad behaviour.<sup>324</sup> In November 1705, Jackson and his family set sail for England. During the crossing they were shipwrecked. All survived, however, most of their possessions were lost. When Jackson arrived in London, the Board of Trade appears to have changed its position regarding Jackson. They issued a certificate in Jackson's favour and represented him to the Bishop of London for charity.<sup>325</sup> Although he was not reinstated to his mission in St. John's, he continued to receive financial assistance from the S.P.G.. The Society also helped to ensure him a job in the civil service.<sup>326</sup>

In 1704 Lieutenant Lloyd found temporary restitution with his superiors. The Board of Trade could not find any proof to support the allegations made against Lloyd. He was thus commissioned to return to Newfoundland with a new company of soldiers.<sup>327</sup> It wasn't long before the old allegations resurfaced<sup>328</sup> and Lloyd's behaviour towards his soldiers and his second in command, Lieutenant John Moody,<sup>329</sup> was condemned by the Board of Trade in 1706. His military conduct, however, was deemed satisfactory and his tenure in St. John's continued until 1709 when the French attacked and took control of St. John's and the fort. This easy conquest for the French was viewed as a direct result of Lloyd's neglect at his post. Thomas Lloyd died in France in 1710.<sup>330</sup>

### **Jacob Rice, Anglican Missionary in St. John's: 1705-1712**

Upon Jackson's recall, Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, recommended that Jacob Rice be sent to Newfoundland to replace Jackson. The Society requested that Rice attend the next meeting of the S.P.G. and supply it with testimonials that were required by the rules of the society.<sup>331</sup> On 15 June 1705, the S.P.G., although pleased with Rice's performance on the Reading of the Common Prayer, felt that it could not recommend him as its missionary because he did not produce the proper testimonials.<sup>332</sup> Rice went to Newfoundland anyway under the personal patronage of the Bishop of London without any financial consideration from the S.P.G. In fact, throughout Rice's tenure in St. John's, from 1705 - 1712, he never did receive any financial support from the S.P.G., despite several appeals. Although Rice felt that the S.P.G.'s lack of support for his ministry was because the society's secretary disliked him,<sup>333</sup> the society attributed it to the fact that Rice failed to provide it with the proper testimonials required.<sup>334</sup>

In his thesis, "The Reverend Jacob Rice: Anglican Ministry and Preaching in Early Eighteenth Century Newfoundland," Geoff Peddle asserts that the more plausible explanation for Rice's inability to secure a salary from the S.P.G. was a result of the personal bias that the S.P.G. secretary had against him. The S.P.G. stated that Rice did not receive any consideration because he failed to produce the proper testimonials. Peddle rejects this explanation based on the quality of Rice's sermons together with his eagerness to maintain good relations with the governing authorities.<sup>335</sup> Although it is plausible that a personal bias could have contributed to Rice's lack of support, the

problem with establishing a mission at St. John's at this time appears to be much more complicated. It must be taken into consideration that the next three subsequent ministers in St. John's also failed to secure an annual salary from the S.P.G.. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the controversy surrounding Jackson's ministry caused the S.P.G. to shy away from involvement at St. John's, it undoubtedly had an affect. In 1706 the S.P.G. instructed its missionaries to "take special care to give no offence to the civil government by intermeddling in Affairs not relating to their own Calling and Function."<sup>336</sup> Also, the St. John's inhabitants were unwilling to fulfill their obligations and provide proper support to Jackson. After Jackson's recall to England, the Commodore of the Newfoundland convoy in 1706 was instructed by the Lord Commissioners of Trades and Plantations to retrieve payment for Jackson that was due him for his last year's service in Newfoundland.<sup>337</sup> The inhabitants refused to pay Jackson in accordance to the subscription they signed in 1702.<sup>338</sup> This refusal to comply with a subscription was no doubt taken into consideration by the S.P.G. As we have seen in chapter three of this thesis, when the Bonavista inhabitants failed to uphold their subscription in 1743, the S.P.G. responded by removing the then missionary William Peasley and reassigned him to St. John's. The S.P.G. was a corporate society by Royal Charter and reliant upon government for assistance. Because British policy discouraged settlement in Newfoundland, the S.P.G. would not have viewed establishing a mission in St. John's a priority especially since this place had the largest percentage of migratory activity in Newfoundland. The S.P.G. was reliant upon government officials in the overseas

colonies to assess the need for establishing missions in certain areas. Because of the transient nature of St. John's and its lack of year-round government institutions, there appears to have been no effort to look after the spiritual welfare of the year-round inhabitants. During the summer, the naval convoys not only brought to Newfoundland its governing authorities, they also brought a chaplain to provide spiritual guidance and religious services in St. John's. Many governing officials no doubt saw this as adequately fulfilling the needs of a temporary fishing station in North America.

Although Jacob Rice's ministry in St. John's was a difficult one because of attacks by the French and the unwillingness or the inability of the inhabitants to contribute to his support, his relationship with the authorities in St. John's was stable. In 1711, Rice wrote to the S.P.G. Secretary that in St. John's there was "constant preaching twice every Sunday to a full congregation," and that the Commodore, Captain George Crowe, was very instrumental in encouraging religion and repairing the church that had been defaced by the French.<sup>339</sup> Also, in 1712, the court convening in St. John's, attended by various naval commanders, ruled that Rice was a "good and worthy clergyman and that any representation to suggest otherwise was false."<sup>340</sup> Another testimony written on behalf of Rice to the S.P.G. by merchants trading in Newfoundland affirm that Rice was "suitable to the intent of his mission by a regular and sober life, a careful and diligent discharge of his ministerial office, . . ."<sup>341</sup>

### **The Educational Endeavours of Jacob Rice in St. John's**

There is evidence to suggest that Rice engaged in pedagogical work during his tenure in St. John's over a decade before Henry Jones even arrived in Bonavista. However, before asserting that Jacob Rice, and not Henry Jones at Bonavista in 1727, was responsible for establishing the first school in Newfoundland, it is important to determine to what extent Rice was involved in educational endeavours. The merchants trading at St. John's wrote to the S.P.G. on behalf of Jacob Rice that he had settled a school for "educating Youths, and publickly on Sunday catechizing them."<sup>342</sup> Also, in 1711, Rice requested Books of Common Prayer and Bibles for the children of his congregation, yet he did not clarify for what end. Although this certainly is not enough evidence to assert that a formal school existed in St. John's prior to the one in Bonavista in 1727, neither can we dismiss that one may have existed. This runs contrary to the allegation of James Healey, who relied upon Frederick Rowe<sup>343</sup> and asserts that ". . . Jacob Rice, made no effort to establish anything along educational lines while . . . in St. John's."<sup>344</sup> Although the above evidence is not enough to confirm the existence of a formal school during Rice's tenure in St. John's, especially given the fact that Rice himself fails to mention any efforts concerning education, we cannot ignore the assertions of Rice's contemporaries quoted above.

The most plausible explanation for the above reference to a school is that Rice held catechism classes in St. John's to prepare the children for confirmation into the church. This would have given the children at least some form of introduction into the

rudiments of reading and religious instruction. Although this cannot be compared to a formal schooling, with the focus on the three R's, it must be remembered that throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries this form of pedagogy would be the only one available to many children in rural Newfoundland. S.P.G. missionaries were told that one of their many functions was to encourage the setting up of schools for the teaching of the children and to attend to proper religious instruction of those persons under their care by encouraging their catechizing.<sup>345</sup> The merchants, writing to the S.P.G., to solicit funds for the continuation of Rice's services in St. John's, no doubt highlighted the fact that he was already attempting to follow the rules of the Society. Rice, who was silent about such endeavours, no doubt saw the catechizing of the children in his parish as a part of his ministerial duties. As we have already seen in chapter four, there is evidence to suggest that Henry Jones offered a similar service in 1725 in Bonavista prior to his establishment of a formal school.

#### **The Religious State of St. John's: 1715-1744**

In 1713, Rice was appointed chaplain to the newly acquired English fort in Placentia, Newfoundland.<sup>346</sup> He was succeeded in St. John's by Charles Davis, who served as garrison chaplain from 1715 to 1719. Although he, too, appealed to the Bishop of London to procure a salary from the S.P.G., it was never secured. Davis claimed that he was the only clergyman in America "destitute of an allowance from the Society."<sup>347</sup>

Upon Davis' departure in 1719, Thomas Philips succeeded him. He experienced financial trouble as well and received no support from the S.P.G.<sup>348</sup>

In 1729, the inhabitants of St. John's once again appealed to the Bishop of London for a resident minister. They promised a subscription of forty-five pounds per annum plus one quintal of merchantable fish per boat.<sup>349</sup> In the fall of 1730, John Fordyce arrived in St. John's.<sup>350</sup> According to Fordyce, the subscription was actually only thirty-nine pounds and it was reduced to approximately twenty-two pounds because some subscribers had died while others had returned to England.<sup>351</sup> Fordyce complained that the fish he was given by the Boat keepers was not marketable,<sup>352</sup> and in 1734 he appealed to the S.P.G. for support. Although the society gave him a gratuity to help with his travel expenses to London in 1735, it refused to allow a salary for a minister in St. John's. Fordyce consequently requested his removal to a mission in South Carolina,<sup>353</sup> to which the Society agreed. Fordyce was sent to Prince Frederick, South Carolina, as an S.P.G. missionary.

For the next nine years, between 1735 and 1744, the inhabitants of St. John's were without a resident minister. It is interesting to note that at this point in history, the S.P.G. had established a mission in Trinity. Also, although it had not officially established a mission in Bonavista, it did send an annual gratuity of forty pounds to Bonavista's minister Henry Jones, and had done so since 1725. The fact that these areas had a higher percentage of year-round inhabitants at this time no doubt contributed to their desire and ability to contribute toward a resident clergyman. Although St. John's

had a larger population than these areas, it was more transient in nature. Its summer population far exceeded its winter population; therefore, support for a resident minister was harder to procure. The only ecclesiastical guidance for the inhabitants of St. John's during this time came from the naval chaplains who travelled there in the summer. Since the beginning of the Newfoundland fishery chaplains were coming to the island aboard the naval convoys. In the 1660s a proposal was made by the Lord of Trade for the navy to provide spiritual guidance to the fishermen in Newfoundland by sending a chaplain on a convoy ship each spring. The King confirmed this request in 1669.<sup>354</sup> In 1742, Thomas Walbank, chaplain on the *Sutherland Man of War*, wrote to the Bishop of Chester about the state of Newfoundland, especially St. John's. According to Walbank, St. John's had a population of about two hundred families and was in great need of a resident Anglican minister. He reported that while he was in St. John's, he preached twice every Sunday to a large congregation in a church built by the inhabitants in 1720.<sup>355</sup>

#### **William Peasley, S.P.G. Missionary in St. John's: 1744-1751**

In 1744, William Peasley, the S.P.G. missionary in Bonavista, was transferred to St. John's. From the outset, Peasley was dissatisfied with the financial support he received from his mission in Bonavista. Within the first year he had requested a removal.<sup>356</sup> At the same time, the inhabitants of St. John's were requesting an S.P.G. missionary and agreed to comply with the society's resolutions to provide a house and glebe.<sup>357</sup> Based upon these factors and a personal bond of eighty pounds from a leading

merchant in St. John's, Michael Ballard<sup>358</sup>, Peasley was transferred to St. John's in October 1744. This was the first time since Jackson's recall in 1705 that St. John's was listed as an S.P.G. mission.

### **The First S.P.G.-Sponsored School in St. John's**

Upon his arrival in St. John's, Peasley recognized the need for a Protestant schoolmaster. He explained to the S.P.G. that numerous children in St. John's were being taught by a Roman Catholic.<sup>359</sup> Since 1729, Governor Henry Osbourne had been instructed that in the area of religious liberty, he was to "... permit a Liberty of conscience to all persons, except Papists, so they could be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, ..." <sup>360</sup> This instruction would remain unchanged in Newfoundland for the next fifty years.<sup>361</sup> Education of the three R's and religious instruction were so intertwined in the eighteenth century that a Roman Catholic-sponsored educational institution in Newfoundland would have been a direct violation of these instructions. There are two possibilities that can explain how a "papist" could teach school during this time in St. John's. First, it must be considered that in Newfoundland during the 1740s good candidates for the position of schoolmaster would not have been plentiful. Therefore it is not improbable that a person with a Roman Catholic background could have been chosen to teach school with strict instruction to stick to the three R's and the Anglican catechism. As we saw in the previous chapter, the S.P.G. and the then missionary in Trinity, John Clinch, after some consideration, had agreed to employ

Edward Mullaby, a known Catholic, as the S.P.G.-sponsored school teacher in Bonavista. Secondly, the “papist” teacher to whom Peasley referred could have been an Irish Catholic who, following the traditions of his homeland, ran a so-called “Hedge School” outside to circumvent penal laws.<sup>362</sup> Hedge schools were popular in Ireland during the early eighteenth century, therefore, it is plausible that such practices could have come to Newfoundland with the Irish immigrants.

The school Peasley referred to in 1744 was in existence prior to his arrival, and no doubt it was established as a paying school. Peasley feared that the students would be “imbibe[d] [with] corruptions of the Popish religion” from the “papist” teacher, thus he wrote to the S.P.G. for assistance.<sup>363</sup> The S.P.G. shared Peasley’s concern and agreed to contribute towards an Anglican school teacher in order to “prevent any ill consequences” that could occur from having a Roman Catholic teacher.<sup>364</sup> Peasley’s appeal for the support of an Anglican school teacher was approved by the Society the following spring in 1745. The society agreed to allow ten pounds per annum for Peasley or another appropriate person who assumed the role of school teacher.<sup>365</sup> Peasley, however, did not receive word of this resolution until two-and-a-half years later in 1747.<sup>366</sup> Upon receipt of the society’s decision, Peasley immediately accepted the position of S.P.G. school teacher in St. John’s. He states that he undertook that task “immediately upon receipt of your letter.”<sup>367</sup> Also in this letter to the S.P.G., Peasley explained that upon his arrival in St. John’s he had assumed supervision of the school, which he felt was a part of his duty.<sup>368</sup> He does not mention the dismissal of the Roman Catholic school teacher or the

employment of a new Anglican teacher during the time he acted as supervisor for the school. Thus, it is possible that the Roman Catholic school teacher continued as a teacher in this school under the watchful eye of Peasley, at least until 1747.

The only other reference to this school is found in Peasley's correspondence with the S.P.G. the following year, in 1748. Peasley reported that his school was in a "flourishing condition."<sup>369</sup> What he exactly meant by this is unclear. Peasley furnished no attendance records, nor did he give any indication as to whether any of his students were paying for their instruction or whether they were receiving their instruction upon the Society's bounty. All we do know for certain is that Peasley taught both Anglican and Roman Catholic children at this school. Upon accepting the position of schoolmaster, Peasley reported that there were many Roman Catholic families in St. John's and that he intended to "give their children (some of whom I have already receiv'd) all possible encouragement to attend . . ., hoping that it will meet with the Society's approbation"<sup>370</sup> Peasley did not indicate any schedule or range of ages taught at his school. We can assume, however, that if Peasley undertook sole responsibility for schooling the youth at St. John's in 1747, instructional time was limited. Besides his ministerial duties at St. John's, Peasley also travelled to Petty Harbour to officiate. He also acted as the chaplain of the garrison at Fort William. The curriculum at Peasley's school appears to have been standard for its day. His request for Bibles, New Testaments, and Psalters<sup>371</sup> indicates that religious instruction in the Anglican faith was predominant. But, the primers and

hornbooks<sup>372</sup> requested by Peasley indicate that the rudiments of reading, writing and basic arithmetic were also taught.

Throughout the rest of his ministry in St. John's, Peasley remains silent regarding educational endeavours. It appears that the rest of his ministry was spent in personal conflict with William Keen, a prominent merchant and justice of the peace<sup>373</sup> in St. John's, and Michael Ballard, the man responsible for his initial transfer to St. John's. The reason for this conflict is unclear, although Peasley speculated that it revolved around his sermons on vice, which had offended both Keen and Ballard.<sup>374</sup> In later correspondence with the S.P.G., Peasley also discussed a dispute over the missionary's house rent, which may also have contributed to their disagreement.<sup>375</sup> Despite these disagreements, up until 1749, the Lieutenant Governor, officers of the garrison and other principal inhabitants continued to certify that Peasley was an "able and faithful minister," who lived a "sober and regular" life.<sup>376</sup> By 1749 Peasley complained that Keen and Ballard were making life quite difficult for him, and he requested an immediate removal. He felt that it was impossible to live in Newfoundland without the favour of these two influential men.<sup>377</sup> The S.P.G. transferred Peasley to a milder climate. He left St. John's in March 1751 and headed for his new mission at St. Helen's Parish in South Carolina.<sup>378</sup>

#### **Edward Langman, S.P.G. Missionary: 1751-1783**

In the summer of 1751, another Anglican minister, Edward Langman, took residence in St. John's. Langman, ordained on 21 September 1740,<sup>379</sup> was appointed to

Newfoundland on 20 December 1751. Certificates had been received from the chief inhabitants of St. John's, officers of the garrison in St. John's, and the inhabitants of Petty Harbour, testifying that Langman had officiated regularly there and requesting that the Society appoint him missionary in St. John's. Langman received a salary of fifty pounds per annum<sup>380</sup> and would spend the next thirty-two years as missionary in St. John's. His tenure ended in January 1784, when the Society dismissed him for incompetence as a result of complaints from the principal traders and merchants in St. John's.<sup>381</sup> Langman defended himself by pointing out that the gout had afflicted both his feet and one hand and thus had prevented him from performing his duties.<sup>382</sup> On 13 July 1784 Langman died in St. John's.<sup>383</sup>

Despite Langman's sad demise, his value to the Anglican church in St. John's cannot be underestimated. He brought stability to a mission that had been wrought with controversy and discontent. Langman was appointed Justice of the Peace in 1754, a new church was constructed under his direction in 1763, and he served as an itinerant minister, devoting much of his summers to visiting the many scattered and remote out harbours in Newfoundland and preaching the Anglican faith while distributing religious literature supplied by the S.P.G.

There is no doubt that Langman had suffered much in Newfoundland. In 1762 the French had occupied St. John's and seriously injured the vitality of his congregation by deporting many Anglicans. Also that same year, Langman's wife and child died during childbirth, and he suffered from a severe illness. In 1765 some inhabitants had

brought complaint against him before the S.P.G.<sup>384</sup> He was later cleared of these charges with the help of the governor, the officers of the garrison and other inhabitants. In June 1768, a fire destroyed his home and he lost everything he had. Finally, Langman had trouble collecting his subscriptions from the inhabitants, and he never received the house and glebe he had been promised.

Throughout Langman's extensive correspondence with the S.P.G., no formal school in St. John's was ever discussed. Arthur Barnes contends that the school started by Peasley in 1744 continued to operate under the management of Langman; however, he does not cite any primary sources to support this claim.<sup>385</sup> The only indication that Langman participated in any educational endeavours were his requests and distribution of religious literature and educational texts such as primers and spellers. During the summer of 1760 Langman had visited various Newfoundland out harbours, such as Renew's, Ferryland and Fermuse, and distributed Bibles, pamphlets, Psalters, Catechisms and some primers to the poor families and children. He felt that these books, as well as spelling books would prove to be very useful for the poor children.<sup>386</sup> Although it cannot be equated with formal schooling, the distribution of literature in Newfoundland was a contribution to education that cannot be overlooked. Literary material in the eighteenth century was a rare commodity, and in many isolated communities of Newfoundland even more so. While many of these texts may have been of little use to the "poor child" with illiterate and work-driven parents, there is no doubt that a few may have received some form of education thanks to the existence of these texts in their homes.

Langman reported to the S.P.G. in 1763 that he had catechized the children in St. John's every year during the Lent season on Wednesdays and Fridays.<sup>387</sup> Although much of this instruction relied upon recitation and memorization so that the children could publicly recite prayers and repeat the catechism, the rudiments of reading were no doubt introduced. It is most likely that the more affluent inhabitants of St. John's had their children educated by private tutors in Newfoundland or placed them in private schools in England. In 1774, Langman, also, had sent his only daughter to England to live with her uncle and attend school there.<sup>388</sup>

#### **Walter Price, S.P.G. Missionary: 1784-1790**

Upon Langman's dismissal in 1784, he was immediately replaced by another S.P.G.-sponsored missionary, Walter Price. Price was appointed to the S.P.G. mission in St. John's on 16 January 1784, based on the recommendations of the same traders and merchants of Dartmouth who had requested the dismissal of Langman.<sup>389</sup> Upon his arrival, Price reported to the S.P.G. that the mission in St. John's was in a ruinous state. His longtime predecessor had obviously neglected his mission for some time. It had been approximately ten months since any religious services were performed in St. John's, and people were being married without banns or licenses. Price also reported that there were in the graveyard in St. John's unburied corpses that had been dug up by Langman's own servant.<sup>390</sup> Finally, Price reported that religious toleration extended to both the Dissenters

and the Roman Catholics, left him at a disadvantage<sup>391</sup>, and thus made his task of reviving his mission a difficult one.

Unlike his predecessors, Price faced a different world of religious toleration and liberties in St. John's. In 1784, when Price assumed his post in St. John's, the governor at the time, John Campbell, had made public and thus a matter of policy in Newfoundland instructions issued in 1779, but suppressed by the previous governor. His order declared that all inhabitants of Newfoundland had the explicit right to "full liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of all such modes of religious worship . . ." Although Protestant dissenters were awarded such freedoms *de jure* as early as 1729, it did not always appear so in practice. This decree merely reconfirmed their rights to practice openly their religious convictions without punishment from a governor who found such practices less than favourable. On the other hand, this order of 1784 was a monumental turning point for Roman Catholics in Newfoundland. Their right to practice their religion freely was now ensured with the removal of the "except papist" clause.<sup>392</sup> In keeping with this new instruction, Governor Campbell had given the Roman Catholics in St. John's permission to build a Catholic chapel and to invite a priest to officiate there.<sup>393</sup>

Walter Price spent the beginning of his tenure in Newfoundland attempting to come to terms with this progress in religious liberties. He accused the Roman Catholics of taking advantage of Langman's age and illness by promoting their religion at a time when there was no opposition to such actions.<sup>394</sup> He also reported that in 1784 there were three Roman Catholic priests in Newfoundland, one of whom had settled in St. John's.<sup>395</sup>

The priest in St. John's was James O'Donel, who served as the Vicar Apostolic in Newfoundland for the Roman Catholic Church. Without restrictions, these priests were able to promote their religion and disperse their abundant church literature throughout Newfoundland communities. Price saw this as an enormous threat because "lower orders of people [were] everywhere credulous, and easily imposed upon in matters of religion . . . too natural to suppose many will be seduced into the communion of [the Roman Catholic] church."<sup>396</sup> Because of this, Price assured the S.P.G. that he would try to "prevent [the] ill consequences of such indulgences by the most gentle and effectual means in his power."<sup>397</sup> Although he did not explain to the S.P.G. how he planned to achieve this goal, it became evident when Price found himself at the centre of a religious dispute in St. John's. In April 1785, a service at the Congregationalist church was interrupted when a group of men, women and children began throwing stones at the chapel. No one was injured, but during the inquiry it was suggested that the perpetrators were retaliating against the Congregational leader, Reverend John Jones, who was rumoured to have preached against Roman Catholics and their church. Jones publically denied these allegations, which had apparently been started by Price. If Price had in fact sowed the seeds of discord among these two religious groups, it was to no avail. The result was a public display of toleration between the two religious leaders, the Vicar Apostolic, James O'Donel and the Congregationalist leader, John Jones.<sup>398</sup>

### **Walter Price's Educational Endeavours**

Although Price did not initiate any formal schooling until 1788, there were already schools in St. John's. At the beginning of his mission in 1784, Price reported that in June of that year the Roman Catholic "apostolic vicar", James O'Donel, had arrived in St. John's and had brought with him a schoolmaster. He also reported that there were at the time "Sunday Popish Schools" in existence.<sup>399</sup> Three years later, in 1787, Price included in his statistics for that year a record of six schools in St. John's. Five of these schools were taught by "papist" teachers, and the other one was taught by a Protestant dissenter.<sup>400</sup> This Protestant school teacher was under the auspices of the newly formed Congregationalist Church in St. John's, under the management of John Jones. According to an advertisement printed in England during the winter of 1787, based upon reports sent from the Congregationalists in St. John's, the only teachers in St. John's that year were Roman Catholics. Therefore, Jones undertook the task of instructing the children in the Bible and Catechism. Although he did not have a proper school house, he did have thirty students.<sup>401</sup> It appears that these schools were paying schools. The principal school teacher at one of these schools had informed Price that he had received only three pounds that autumn for the sixty children he had taught that summer.<sup>402</sup>

By 1787 Price was reporting a marked improvement at his mission. He had increased his communicants and had enjoyed the support of the new colonial administrator, Governor Elliott, and many of the principal inhabitants and merchants. With his mission on better footing, Price reported to the S.P.G. that he intended to open a

charity school the following spring. He felt that he could now do this because of the "convenient situation of the parsonage house."<sup>403</sup> In April 1789, Price opened his new school. Although he does not give the exact number of students, he stated that due to the large numbers in attendance he had to hire an assistant school teacher, whom he paid five pounds for half a year's service. Price did not recommend him to the S.P.G. for support because he felt that this assistant teacher was not capable of fulfilling the position. The assistant teacher's son had drowned that year and this had affected his ability to teach effectively.<sup>404</sup> Although Price did not mention anything else about his school while he was stationed in St. John's, it appears that it did continue. He wrote to the S.P.G. from his new mission at Nashwalk, New Brunswick, in January 1791, to recommend that a Mr. Collins of St. John's be appointed the S.P.G. school teacher there. Collins had been the school teacher in St. John's for the past two years.<sup>405</sup> This would have meant that Collins had succeeded the previous teacher who was in mourning over his son's drowning.

Although Price is silent concerning the children who attended his school and the curriculum taught, we can assume that it was similar to other S.P.G.-administered charity schools. At a meeting in February 1788, the Society responded to a recommendation for a schoolmaster in Digby, Nova Scotia, that

the sole purpose of the Society's Schools is, that the poorer sort of children may be benefited from them, by being instructed in the principles of religion, and in Writing and Arithmetic only as far as may be necessary for their low occupation in life.<sup>406</sup>

In keeping with this outlook, Price started his school with the intention of providing an education to the poor free of charge.<sup>407</sup> There is also no doubt that Price taught at his school the tenets of the Anglican faith, which were not available in the other schools he mentioned.

### **A Changed Island**

The last decade of the eighteenth century marked a notable change to the island of Newfoundland and especially the town of St. John's. What once had been considered a mere fishing station for England had, despite official policy, clearly become a colony in its own right. By the end of the American Revolution in 1785, Newfoundland had seen a decrease in the migratory fishery and an increase in year-round inhabitants engaged in the shore fishery. During the American Revolution St. John's rose in importance not only as the best location for protection against American privateers, but also as a central trading place for the out harbours on the island. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Governor Erasmus Gower noted that, "having served on the Newfoundland station eighteen years ago, I was, on my arrival this year, forcibly struck with the change that had taken place at St. John's . . . ." He observed that merchant stores and wharves for trade had replaced the fishing stages and flakes.<sup>408</sup> In 1791, Chief Justice Reeves reported to the authorities in England that Newfoundland was no longer a location for the migratory fishery, but a place that was populated all year round with a class system of residents ranging from merchants, boat keepers and servants. Two years later he again reported to

the authorities in England that Newfoundland had been “peopled behind your Back.”<sup>409</sup> These changes were only a prelude to what was to become most evident during the Napoleonic Wars from 1793 to 1815.

Although St. John’s was considered the largest port in Newfoundland with the largest population, it was very transient in nature throughout the eighteenth century. In the last decade this had changed dramatically. At this time at least three-quarters of its population were year-round residents, with a considerable increase in females and children.<sup>410</sup> By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the increased trading activity in St. John’s resulted in great prosperity for the mercantile class. However, the lower classes, who were forever indebted to the merchants, were not to reap the benefits, so that poverty continued. An increased population required social institutions such as churches and schools, and the increase in the poorer classes saw the need for philanthropic organizations. Thus, the merchants of St. John’s found themselves in the same position that upper-middle class Londoners had been in a century earlier. Their wealth and prestige was reliant upon an orderly and obedient lower class of people.

#### **John Harries, S.P.G. Missionary in St. John's: 1791-1810**

After Price’s departure from Newfoundland in October 1790, John Harries, the S.P.G. missionary at Placentia, was appointed to the St. John’s mission. Upon his arrival there in 1791, Harries found the people receptive but the church building in poor condition. Because of this, Harries reported that many of his parishioners opted to attend

winter services at the Methodist Meeting House or the Roman Catholic Cathedral.<sup>411</sup>

Thomas Skinner of the Royal Engineers wrote to the S.P.G. on the condition of the Church of England in St. John's. He stated that, "the very last time I went to church, the rain poured down so fast upon the cushion of Mr. Harries' pulpit whilst he was preaching as to make him very wet, and take off the attention of the Congregation entirely."<sup>412</sup>

While waiting for construction, Harries informed the S.P.G. that he conducted Divine Service and administered the sacrament to his parishioners and Governor Waldegrave at the Congregationalist Meeting House, which had been so generously offered to them by the Reverend John Jones. This gesture by Jones was praised by Harries as an act of "Christian friendship" from a "very exemplary, pious, old man." There is no doubt that Harries' predecessor, Walter Price, would not have shared in this opinion. The first years of Harries' tenure in St. John's were preoccupied with rebuilding the church and attending to ecclesiastical matters in Harbour Grace after their S.P.G. missionary, James Balfour, departed. In 1798, construction on the new church began and Harries' focus shifted towards the plight of the poor among his parishioners and the education of the youth.

### **The First Grammar School in Newfoundland**

In 1798 several of the principal inhabitants of St. John's devised a plan to establish a grammar school for children of both genders. It was their desire to provide an education for their children that was superior to what was at the time being offered in

Newfoundland. They agreed to provide annual salaries of two hundred and seventy-three pounds for a principal, who was to be an Anglican minister, a female teacher and a male teaching assistant. In 1799, Lewis Amadeus Anspach was chosen as principal and arrived in St. John's on 13 October 1799.<sup>413</sup> This school experienced some difficulty when some of the subscribers with only a few children felt that their contribution should be somewhat less than the more prolific parents. Anspach, who because of this dispute was not receiving the salary he was promised, took the matter before the courts and won his lawsuit.<sup>414</sup> Anspach went on to honour his three-year contract at the Grammar school, which ended in 1802. It also ended Newfoundland's first attempt at a middle to upper-class school. In 1801, the Chief Justice of Newfoundland, Richard Routh, appealed to the S.P.G. in order to ensure Anspach an annual salary of fifty pounds so that he could continue teaching in St. John's.<sup>415</sup> The Society refused to comply with this request, no doubt because the S.P.G. had already appointed Lionel Chancey as their school teacher upon Harries' recommendation.

#### **Lionel Chancey, S.P.G. Schoolmaster in St. John's, 1799-1810**

In October 1799 Harries recommended Lionel Chancey to the Society as its school teacher in St. John's. According to Harries, Chancey was well-qualified and capable of providing religious instruction to the poor children. The Society agreed to this recommendation and appointed Chancey with an annual salary of fifteen pounds.<sup>416</sup> Chancey had in fact started his school six months prior to his S.P.G. appointment.

According to a letter written by the St. John's Congregationalists to Samuel Greatheed announcing Jones death, Jones gave up his school in April 1799 and since that time it was under the direction of Lionel Chancey. Chancey, himself, wrote to the S.P.G. to inform them that he began his school on 10 April 1799.<sup>417</sup> Although Chancey was named co-executor in Jones' will and performed services for Jones in the Meeting House,<sup>418</sup> it appears that he remained a member of the Church of England. In 1801 he informed the S.P.G. that he had subscribed to the Church of England ten guineas for a family pew.<sup>419</sup> He also informed the S.P.G. a year later that he hoped his teaching would "advance scriptural knowledge - love of virtue and respectful regard for the established religion."<sup>420</sup>

There were fifty children in attendance at Chancey's school. His wife assisted with the smaller children, whom he did not charge. The rest of his students were expected to pay, although they could not afford to pay him very much.<sup>421</sup> Even though Chancey was prepared to build a schoolhouse at his own expense, he could not have a proper school house because of government restrictions on the erection of any building that was not directly related to the fishery. Chancey complained to the S.P.G. about this policy, and it agreed to discuss the matter with Governor Pole.<sup>422</sup> Meanwhile plans were being made in St. John's to renovate the pews in the newly-built Anglican church to make room for a larger congregation. Chancey approached the Church committee to have one of the galleries set aside for his school. In 1801 Mr. Eppes, a member of the Church Committee, proposed to make room for the boys at Chancey's school in some spare seats

behind the Singing Gallery.<sup>423</sup> Chancey must, however, have received permission from the governor to erect his own structure, because he proceeded to build an extension on his own house in 1802 that would serve as a schoolroom. It was spacious enough for sixty students and opened before Christmas 1802.<sup>424</sup> He also built another room above this one for a girl's school, which was under the care of his wife.<sup>425</sup>

The curriculum at Chancey's school was typical of other S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. schools. Its central focus was religious instruction in the Anglican faith. Chancey felt that the care and attention he gave his scholars would "advance scriptural knowledge, love of virtue and a respectful regard for the established religion."<sup>426</sup> In fact, it appears that the only significant change in the curriculum at this school from that of earlier S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland were the textbooks used. Up to this point, in all Anglican charity schools in England and its colonies, the Bible was the main instructional tool, with Dixon's Speller and Lewis' Catechism serving as supplemental texts.

Publications by Sarah Trimmer, a philanthropic housewife in the late eighteenth century, replaced these supplemental texts and became the texts of choice. Mrs. Trimmer felt that the art of reciting Scriptures in the charity schools was ineffective and merely stored into the child's memory words and sentences. This method did not ensure that the child received an understanding of its moral meaning. As a result, Trimmer introduced into the charity schools literature that used pictures for visual learning. She thought such pictures would especially prove useful for the younger children. She covered the Old and New Testaments by having prints engraved of different biblical events. Each of these

pictures were accompanied by a written description of the event. She also employed the method of question and answer to expound morality. Unlike her predecessor, John Lewis, however, she used the style of familiar conversation.<sup>427</sup> Harries requested that these texts, referred to as *Mrs. Trimmer's Abridgements*, be sent to St. John's and be used in Chancey's school.<sup>428</sup>

The number of students that attended Chancey's school ranged from forty to fifty of both genders. Five to ten of these students were taught on the Society's bounty. Those recommended as charity students were usually orphans, children of widows or children of indigent parents. Although Chancey is not specific about the amount he charged the other students, he did point out that he charged lower than was customary in Newfoundland in order to accommodate the children of middle-class families.<sup>429</sup> In 1801 Chancey reported that he taught on the Society's bounty one boy who had lost his fisherman father in a violent gale of wind, two girls whose father was a clerk, but had died during a voyage to the West Indies, and two boys of indigent parents.<sup>430</sup> Although there is no evidence of any correspondence between Chancey and the S.P.G. between 1805 and 1810, nor does Harries mention anything about Chancey's school or the children's progress, it appears that his school continued to exist. In November 1810 Chancey resigned his position as the S.P.G. school teacher in St. John's. He had received the appointment of Clerk of Peace and coroner for the district by Governor Holloway. These offices intruded on his school duties, and because he could not find an assistant to keep his school, he resigned his teaching position.<sup>431</sup>

### **The St. John's Schools of Industry**

Chancey's school, however, was not the only school that offered an education to the poor children in St. John's at this time. Since 1799 there was a plan underway, initiated by Governor William Waldegrave and established by Governor Gambier in 1803, for both male and female charity schools under the auspices of the newly formed Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor at St. John's. These schools began with Sunday instruction and in 1804, under the direction of Governor Gower, developed into day schools known as the St. John's School of Industry.<sup>432</sup> This educational initiative was for Protestant and Roman Catholic poor males and females. A school building was erected that could hold approximately four hundred students, and by 1804 there were 150 in attendance.<sup>433</sup> The schools were financed based upon the subscriptions of the inhabitants in St. John's and eventually received government support. In 1806, when Governor Gower appealed to Secretary of State William Windham for financial assistance for these schools, he did so with a firm belief that these schools contributed greatly to the welfare and good government of Newfoundland and aided in the prevention of increased Roman Catholic schools.<sup>434</sup>

These schools offered their students an education in the rudiments of reading as well as an appropriate form of domestic industry. Besides religion and morality, boys

were instructed in the art of spinning twine and making fishing nets<sup>435</sup>, while the girls were instructed in plain sewing as well as carding, spinning and knitting.<sup>436</sup> In 1811 it was reported that there were fifty girls and seventy boys in daily attendance. Since the beginning of the schools in 1804 there had been 461 females and 341 males taught.<sup>437</sup> In 1834, these schools, which became known as the St. John's Charity Schools in 1822, were united under the Newfoundland and British North American School Society, which was established in 1823. The Schools of Industry had received much support from the S.P.G. missionaries in St. John's. John Harries was a member of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, and he requested books from the S.P.G. in aid of the school,<sup>438</sup> as did his successor, David Rowland, also a member of the Society.<sup>439</sup> He also preached charity sermons in order to raise funds for the school's benefit.<sup>440</sup>

#### **David Rowland, S.P.G. Missionary: 1810-1817**

The same year that Chancey resigned his teaching position as S.P.G. schoolmaster in 1810, John Harries died at his mission, leaving behind a wife and seven daughters. A committee in St. John's wrote to the S.P.G. to request a new missionary.<sup>441</sup> The Society complied by appointing David Rowland, formerly a curate in Wales. He arrived in St. John's in the summer of 1810.<sup>442</sup> From the beginning of his mission, his focus was upon philanthropic work. His immediate concern was to accommodate the poor in the overcrowded church in St. John's.<sup>443</sup> He also became an active member of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor and preached two sermons for their

benefit, raising approximately 120 pounds in total.<sup>444</sup> His benevolent attitude can be best represented, however, through a brief comparison with his replacement, Thomas Grantham. In 1816, when a fire broke out in St. John's, Rowland's reaction was to preach and collect approximately 90 pounds for the sufferers.<sup>445</sup> On the other hand, when two more fires broke out in 1817, Grantham mentions no charitable efforts. Instead he lamented his lack of income, which he suspected would only become worse because of the devastation brought on by the fires.<sup>446</sup>

Although Rowland did mention in his correspondence with the S.P.G. the financial difficulties he faced due to lack of subscriptions and the withdrawal of government emolument, it was his ill health that prompted his removal seven years after his appointment. Rowland went to England in 1817 and was replaced temporarily by Thomas Grantham, former missionary in Burin.<sup>447</sup> This arrangement was intended to be temporary until Rowland could return to his mission the following Spring. In March 1818, the S.P.G. received and accepted Rowland's resignation due to health reasons.<sup>448</sup> Although Grantham felt that Newfoundland missionaries were at a disadvantage financially, he expressed his desire to remain in St. John's. Since the Society had already promised the mission to Frederick Carrington, missionary in Harbour Grace at that time, Grantham was transferred to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.<sup>449</sup>

### **Paul Phillips: S.P.G. Schoolmaster, 1810**

Upon his arrival, Rowland recommended Paul Phillips as the new S.P.G. school teacher to replace Chancey. According to Rowland, Phillips was a well-qualified member of the Church of England and approved of by the parents. Within a few short months, however, this school came to an abrupt end when Phillips closed it due to ill health and "other circumstances." Although Phillips operated his school for less than a half a year, Rowland permitted him to draw half a year's salary because of the expenses he had incurred buying fixtures and furniture for his school.<sup>450</sup> Although the S.P.G. was once again without an S.P.G.-sponsored school in St. John's, poor children were still able to avail themselves of an education at the St. John's School of Industry.

### **Thomas Marshall: S.P.G. Schoolmaster, 1812-1822**

In October 1811, Rowland requested that Thomas Marshall, the Superintendent of the School of Industry, be "remunerated with a gratuity" from the S.P.G. for his past services at that school.<sup>451</sup> Marshall, who had been brought to Newfoundland from England at the expense of the St. John's Society, had been schoolmaster at the Boys School of Industry since October 1810.<sup>452</sup> Rowland's recommendation was in direct response to a request given by the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor. The number of boys had increased considerably, and this required the greater portion of Marshall's time. Because of his good conduct and hard work, the local Society implored its members to endeavour to make his situation as "eligible and comfortable as

possible.<sup>453</sup> Rowland responded by preaching a sermon for the benefit of the School of Industry, for which he collected forty-seven pounds.<sup>454</sup> He also requested financial assistance from the S.P.G. for Marshall's past services. However, in February 1812 the S.P.G. appointed Marshall its school master in St. John's with an annual salary of fifteen pounds.<sup>455</sup>

On 20 July 1813, Marshall resigned his position at the School of Industry and opened a "seminary for the education of the children of respectable parents."<sup>456</sup> According to Rowland, Marshall did this at the request of some principal inhabitants whose children were under his care.<sup>457</sup> Based upon this statement, it appears that not only poor children availed themselves of the Schools of Industry, but the children of more affluent parents as well. This was no doubt necessitated by the fact that a more liberal education for the children of the middle and upper-middle class was at this point not offered in Newfoundland. Marshall reported that when he began his seminary 27 pupils were enrolled and all were of the Anglican faith. Although this was a paying school for both boys and girls, he proposed to teach four children gratuitously, two of which would be recommended by Rowland.<sup>458</sup> The Society agreed with this and Marshall continued to receive his salary from the Society until 1822.

In 1814 there were 66 students reported to be enrolled at Marshall's school, and all were Anglicans except for two or three Dissenters. Out of this 66, he taught three boys gratis with room for one more student to be taught on the Society's bounty. Rowland visited the school on occasion and catechized the children. According to

Marshall, Rowland was pleased with the students, who in his judgement were improving both morally and scholastically.<sup>459</sup> Rowland confirms that he, as well as the public, were satisfied with Marshall's conduct.<sup>460</sup>

By 1816 Marshall began to report a steady decline in his enrolment. He attributed this decline to the arrival of two more teachers from England: one a dissenting minister, and the other, a young woman of the Established Church. According to Marshall, both were successful with their private schools, despite their short time on the island.<sup>461</sup> There were, however, other external factors that could have contributed to Marshall's declining enrollment. Although the population at St. John's had increased after the Napoleonic Wars, wages had dropped by half. Also, by 1817 the shore fishery and the spring sealing fishery had experienced failure.<sup>462</sup> This would have resulted in some parents being unable to spare their children from the fishery nor would many of them be able to pay for their children's education. Another factor that contributed to Marshall's declining enrollment were the three devastating fires of 1816 and 1817. On 12 February 1816, a fire broke out in St. John's and consumed approximately one hundred and thirty houses.<sup>463</sup> On 7 November 1817, another fire occurred in St. John's destroying both store houses and homes, leaving approximately one thousand people homeless and in great distress.<sup>464</sup> On 24 November 1817, a third fire flared up in St. John's, with no less than half the damage of the one just two weeks prior.<sup>465</sup> There is no doubt that such external factors played a role in declining attendance at Marshall's school. Such calamities, coupled with a depressed fishery, no doubt pushed education low on the list of

priorities for many inhabitants who were trying to rebuild their homes and survive in a depressed economy. By 1821, Marshall reported that he had 35 students in attendance that year.<sup>466</sup>

Although the overall numbers at Marshall's school declined, there was an increase in the number of non-Anglican students who were enrolled. In 1820, Marshall reported that approximately one-third of his students were Roman Catholic and Dissenters. This is compared to the practically all-Anglican school he taught only six years prior. The number of students taught gratis at Marshall's school appears to have been limited. In 1814 he reported that three boys were taught gratis;<sup>467</sup> however, he did not mention having taught any more charity students until September 1822, when he reported that the last student he taught gratis was Ann Jefferys, who had not attended school since June of that year.<sup>468</sup> Frederick Carrington, Rowland's successor at the S.P.G. mission in St. John's, informed the Society that Marshall had in fact considered his annual salary from the S.P.G. as a gratuity for his former services rather than compensation for instructing the poor.<sup>469</sup> In 1822, Marshall resigned his position as S.P.G. schoolmaster in St. John's. His resignation was a result of a new policy adopted by the S.P.G. that required all schoolmasters and catechists in Newfoundland to open a Sunday School and teach at least three poor children gratuitously. According to Carrington, Marshall did not want to do this because after teaching all week, he wished to devote himself on this day "to his church and the immediate care of his family."<sup>470</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Throughout the eighteenth century, the involvement of the S.P.G. in the town of St. John's was limited. Between 1705 and 1744, it refused to sponsor a mission in St. John's despite appeals from local residents and ministers stationed there. During this time, however, the S.P.G. did establish missions in less populated settlements such as Trinity and Bonavista. There are several reasons that explain the S.P.G.'s reluctance to establish a mission in St. John's. First, its initial missionary in St. John's, John Jackson, was recalled because of a controversy with the local authorities. As a corporate society by Royal Charter and reliant upon the government for assistance, it is doubtful that the S.P.G. would defy civil authority and become involved in a controversy between religion and state. In fact, the S.P.G. responded to this incident by instructing its missionaries to avoid controversy with civil governments and to stay out of civil affairs. Secondly, the S.P.G. was reliant upon government officials in the overseas colonies to assess the need for establishing missions. Because British policy discouraged permanent settlement in Newfoundland, it is doubtful whether any government official in St. John's would have encouraged the development of such an institution that dictated long-term settlement. Finally, the lack of civil authority and laws regulating the winter inhabitants made the situation of a resident clergyman difficult at best.

With the appointment of the S.P.G. missionary William Peasley at St. John's in 1744, a permanent S.P.G. mission was finally established. This was done only after the inhabitants promised to provide a house and glebe for their minister and Michael Ballard,

a leading merchant in St. John's, offered a personal bond of eighty pounds. Although British policy still maintained that Newfoundland should remain virtually unsettled, the threat of a French presence on the island necessitated the existence of some year-round inhabitants to ensure British rights to the best fishing harbours. Despite its willingness to support resident ministers in St. John's, the S.P.G. did not advocate an active approach to social institutions such as schools. In 1744 it did agree to contribute to an Anglican school teacher, but only because the missionary William Peasley feared that the children in St. John's would be indoctrinated in the Roman Catholic faith by a "papist" teacher who had opened a school there. There is no evidence to suggest that Peasley's successor Edward Langman continued this school or advocated any other formal schooling in St. John's. Nor does it appear that the S.P.G. encouraged Langman to engage in any pedagogical endeavours, despite the fact that in 1706 the Society encouraged its missionaries in other American colonies to establish schools for the teaching of children.

The American Revolution and the Napoleonic wars in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted in an increased year-round population engaged in the shore fishery in Newfoundland and a decrease in the migratory fishery. A population with a distinct class system had emerged with merchants, boat keepers and servants. Although the British parliament was reluctant to overthrow ancient colonial policies established in Newfoundland that limited the island as a mere fishing station for Britain, the inhabitants began to push for reform. S.P.G. missionaries such as John Harries and David Rowland, along with the colonial administrators and principal

inhabitants of St. John's, attempted to deal with the social problems in their town. One problem they addressed was the education of the youth. This resulted in the formation of local societies as well as the appeals to the S.P.G. to help support pedagogical endeavours in St. John's.

Finally, the success of the Roman Catholic clergy that came as a result of the policy of religious toleration in 1784 to all inhabitants in Newfoundland highlighted the administrative problems the Church of England was experiencing on the island. Its missionaries were few in proportion to an increasing population. The Roman Catholic church in Newfoundland, with its resident ecclesiastical leader, was visibly better organized. The Methodists were also gaining ground in Newfoundland because of their focus on congregational leadership and lay participation, which served well the more remote areas of the island. By the early 1820s, the S.P.G., upon the persistent urging of John Leigh, the S.P.G. missionary at Twillingate and Harbour Grace, took deliberate steps to remedy the administrative problems of the Church of England in Newfoundland. As a result, the Society began to support policies that would organize and develop its schools on the island, such as the setting up of Sunday schools and the beginning of teacher training in Newfoundland.

## CHAPTER 5

### S.P.G.-SPONSORED SCHOOLS AT CONCEPTION BAY

Located on the northeast coast of the Avalon Peninsula, Conception Bay runs from Cape St. Francis on the eastern shore to Bay de Verde on the western shore. The name Conception Bay is believed to have originated from the Portuguese “Baia de Conceicao” or “Baia de Comceica,” given in honor of the Christian Feast of Conception, which is commemorated on 8 December.<sup>471</sup> Settlements along the western shores of Conception Bay were first started by fishermen from the Channel Islands.<sup>472</sup> In 1610, on the southwestern shore of this 500 square mile bay, John Guy on behalf of the “Bristol and London Company for the plantation of Newfoundland” founded Cupids, Newfoundland’s first formal plantation.<sup>473</sup> Its aim to be self-sufficient and produce a profit for the Bristol and London proprietors, however, was not realized. By 1620-1, Captain John Mason, governor of Cupids, who had succeeded Guy in 1615, returned to England, and thus ended the first colonial administration in Newfoundland.<sup>474</sup>

Although the colony itself failed to fulfill its economic objectives, a small group of settlers did remain. By the end of the seventeenth century, there were over a dozen fishing rooms along the shores of Conception Bay, with summer populations ranging

from twenty to three hundred.<sup>475</sup> Harbour Grace and Carbonear, nearly adjacent halfway along the western shore, were two of the main settlements and considered the best harbours of the bay. In the mid-seventeenth century, Carbonear had a total population of nearly 300 people and Harbour Grace had nearly 200.<sup>476</sup> By the early nineteenth century, however, Harbour Grace's population surpassed that of Carbonear's for a short period of time. The S.P.G. missionary to Carbonear, John Burt, recorded in 1826 that Harbour Grace had a general population of 2,878, whereas Carbonear had only two thousand inhabitants.<sup>477</sup> Also at this time, with the influx of Irish settlers, Conception Bay was the most populous district in Newfoundland and an economic rival to St. John's.<sup>478</sup>

### **Carbonear**

Carbonear is first mentioned in connection with pirate raids in 1614. The census of 1675 reported that Carbonear had a permanent population of nearly sixty adults, children and servants.<sup>479</sup> In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Carbonear was the subject of several French attacks. As a result of these attacks, the entire community was burned in 1697 and again in 1705.<sup>480</sup> The settlers were able to resist attack by resorting to Carbonear Island, which was fortified by the inhabitants in 1679.<sup>481</sup> In 1762, however, the French were successful in capturing Carbonear Island and occupying it for a short period until it was recaptured by the British. In 1729, the settlement of Carbonear was listed as one of the six districts that were established as a result of the appointment of civil magistrates in Newfoundland.<sup>482</sup> By 1753, Carbonear and the settlement of

Mosquito Cove, now Bristol's Hope, were reported to have a wintering population of more than six hundred.<sup>483</sup>

Although the first church in Conception Bay was built in Harbour Grace, the people of Carbonear contributed to its erection.<sup>484</sup> Also, when they procured their first resident minister, Laurence Coughlan, to officiate in their church, the inhabitants of Carbonear contributed to his support.<sup>485</sup> In 1768, Carbonear settlers built a chapel in their own community,<sup>486</sup> in which both Coughlan and James Balfour, Coughlan's successor, officiated. Balfour repeatedly reported to the S.P.G. that the majority of the inhabitants at Carbonear were Methodists and "Sectarians," and by 1778, Balfour found the doors of the Carbonear chapel closed to Anglican services in favour of Methodist ones.<sup>487</sup> In 1780, Governor Edwards ordered that the chapel be opened for services of the Church of England only;<sup>488</sup> however, by 1786, Balfour was again required to withdraw from the church because of conflict with the Methodists.<sup>489</sup> Although Governor John Campbell was absent from Newfoundland at the time, his surrogate, Henry Nicholas, upheld Governor Edwards' order allowing only an Anglican minister to preach in the chapel. Upon Governor Campbell's return, however, he overruled Nicholas' decision and declared that the Carbonear chapel was private property and the inhabitants were within their rights to refuse Balfour entrance.<sup>490</sup>

The first mention of a public school at Carbonear was in 1781, when Balfour reported that there was a winter school being kept there.<sup>491</sup> In 1790, the inhabitants of Carbonear had applied to the S.P.G. for an annual stipend to employ William Chauncey

as their schoolmaster. They explained that they were able to supply a house and schoolroom for Chauncey but needed the S.P.G. to supply the salary.<sup>492</sup> Balfour reported that he did not approve of this recommendation,<sup>493</sup> and the S.P.G. deferred their decision on Chauncey until an inquiry could be made. The S.P.G. records do not indicate anything further about Chauncey or his school in Carbonear. Carbonear continued under the ecclesiastical administration of the minister residing in Harbour Grace until 1821, when John Burt was appointed to the newly formed mission in Carbonear.<sup>494</sup> A year later, however, the S.P.G. reunited the Carbonear and Harbour Grace mission, and Burt moved to Harbour Grace, where a parsonage house was available.<sup>495</sup>

### **Harbour Grace**

Five miles south of Carbonear, on the western shore of Conception Bay, lies the community of Harbour Grace. The name is believed to have been derived from the Havre de Grace, the name used for LeHavre, the seaport town of Paris at the mouth of the river Seine.<sup>496</sup> Settled, most likely, in the mid-sixteenth century, Harbour Grace became a thriving fishing community.<sup>497</sup> By the early seventeenth century, reports of Harbour Grace revolved around its notorious resident Peter Easton, an English pirate. In 1612 John Guy, the governor at Cupids, mentions the pirates' fort at Havre de Grace. Captain John Mason, Guy's successor, reported that he carried on a prosperous fishing business in Cupids and Harbour Grace. In 1618, the offshoot colony of Bristol's Hope, which was the property of some Bristol merchants, was established with its headquarters in Harbour

Grace.<sup>498</sup> Although the colony was discontinued when its governor Robert Hayman, a poet, resigned his post and returned to England, Harbour Grace continued as a settlement. In 1675, it was recorded that Harbour Grace had an English population of thirty-six.<sup>499</sup> By 1677, the summer population is estimated to have fluctuated between 330 and 550 people.<sup>500</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Harbour Grace, like Carbonear, suffered several French attacks. In 1697, and again in 1705, the inhabitants of Harbour Grace joined their neighbours at Carbonear Island, where they resisted, but lost their homes and properties.<sup>501</sup> By 1715, Harbour Grace was a well-established fishing community with a population second only in Conception Bay to Carbonear. Its economy was diversified with ship building, and merchant establishments played a large part. By 1750, many important English firms were building businesses there, and supply ships used its harbour as the main port in Conception Bay.<sup>502</sup> In 1764, the first church in Conception Bay was built in Harbour Grace, which became home to the first resident minister for that area. By 1768, the inhabitants had also built the first known English schoolhouse in Newfoundland.

### **Laurence Coughlan: The First Resident S.P.G. Missionary in Conception Bay, 1766-1773**

In November 1764, Edward Langman, the S.P.G. missionary in St. John's, wrote to the Society that the people of Harbour Grace and Carbonear were building a new church, and that they had begun to raise subscriptions for the support of a resident minister.<sup>503</sup> A year later, in November 1765, George Davis, a Carbonear merchant residing in London during the winter, was given authority by the inhabitants of Harbour Grace and Carbonear to procure them a resident "Protestant minister" to officiate at their newly constructed church. They promised to provide their minister with an annual salary of one hundred pounds.<sup>504</sup> By April 1766, Davis, with the help of a Congregationalist banker with Carbonear connections, had settled upon Laurence Coughlan. He and George Welsh, the Cornhill banker, went to the Earl of Dartmouth, president of the Board of Trade, and urged him to use his influence with the Bishop of London and to have Coughlan ordained in the Anglican ministry in order that he could serve in Newfoundland.<sup>505</sup>

Laurence Coughlan, formerly a Roman Catholic, was converted to Methodism in the early 1750s at Drummernave, today's Drumsna, in Ireland. In 1755 Coughlan was recruited as a Methodist itinerant preacher in Ireland and was transferred to England two years later. By 1760 Coughlan returned to Ireland on a missionary tour of that country and worked at Waterford, a port through which a great number of Irish travelled to Newfoundland. By 1763, Coughlan's enthusiasm and zeal had earned him flattering

recognition from John Wesley, who asserted at a time when internal dissent threatened the Methodist movement that he had "scarce one helper but Laurence Coughlan."<sup>506</sup> By 1764, however, Wesley had turned his back on Coughlan. Because many Methodist lay-preachers were refused ordination by Anglican bishops, several of them, Coughlan included, received ordination from the Greek Bishop Erasmus. A public scandal ensued and Wesley distanced himself from those preachers that were ordained by a non-Anglican. Wesley wrote in 1765 that Coughlan, who had once served him well, was not deserving of ordination because of his lack of education.<sup>507</sup>

After his exile from the Wesleyan fold, Coughlan began preaching independently in Bermondsey, Surrey. It was here that he was approached by Davis and Welsh, who persuaded him to emigrate to Newfoundland in order to serve as resident minister to the people of Harbour Grace and Carbonear. On 26 April 1766 Coughlan received deacons' orders from the Bishop of Lincoln, and a day later he was ordained an Anglican priest by the Bishop of Chester.<sup>508</sup> A few days later, Coughlan is believed to have set sail from Poole for Newfoundland with his wife Anne and his daughter Betsy and arrived in Harbour Grace that summer.<sup>509</sup>

By December 1766 Coughlan was back in England and appeared before the S.P.G. with a petition from his parishioners to have him appointed their missionary with an annual stipend from the S.P.G.<sup>510</sup> According to the inhabitants, they were unable to support Coughlan as they had originally intended because of the poor fishery they were experiencing. The Society agreed to appoint Coughlan as its missionary with an annual

salary of fifty pounds.<sup>511</sup> Armed with the S.P.G.'s assurance of an annual stipend, Coughlan arrived back in Harbour Grace on 5 September 1767.<sup>512</sup>

Although Coughlan reported numerical success within his congregation, his practice of Methodism caused much trouble with the mercantile class in Harbour Grace and Carbonear. In 1771 Coughlan was accused of improper behaviour, both as a minister of the Anglican faith as well as a magistrate of Harbour Grace. These accusations were brought before the surrogate court in Harbour Grace, which was presided over by one of Governor Byron's naval officers, William Parker. Among several charges, Coughlan was accused of denying the sacrament to any person who did not attend the "nocturnal meetings" that were being held by some of Coughlan's followers. Several merchants, led by Coughlan's main accuser Hugh Roberts, felt that they were all "Sufferers in many respects through the said Laurence Coughlan . . ."<sup>513</sup> Also, his commission as Justice of the Peace served to cause him further conflict with many of his mercantile parishioners. They accused Coughlan of being an unfit magistrate because he was allegedly uneducated and ignorant of the law. Although William Parker did not convict Coughlan of any crime, the controversy caused Governor Byron to revoke Coughlan's license as Justice of the Peace.<sup>514</sup> In 1772, Coughlan again reported ill treatment by some of his parishioners, especially one who openly insulted him during a church service, which prevented him from continuing. That same year, Governor Shuldham told the S.P.G. that Coughlan had twice refused to baptize a child in the parish because he had a problem with the ethical qualifications of one of the sponsors. Shuldham requested Coughlan's immediate

removal from Harbour Grace. The S.P.G. decided to grant Coughlan leave so that he could return to England to answer the charges against him. In 1773, Coughlan returned to England and appeared before the Society on 17 December 1773, at which time he resigned his mission.<sup>515</sup>

### **School Teachers in Harbour Grace, 1767-1776**

Coughlan's initial census of Conception Bay in 1767 recorded a population of 5,621. Also in Harbour Grace he noted that there were ninety children who were able to go to school but who had no schoolmaster.<sup>516</sup> Thus, one of the first tasks he undertook at his new mission in 1767 was to hire a schoolmaster, John Genner, to teach the poor children to read and write. Coughlan then appealed to the S.P.G. to appoint Genner its schoolmaster and award him an annual stipend.<sup>517</sup> The S.P.G. agreed to provide Genner with a gratuity of ten pounds for services rendered, but would not appoint him its schoolmaster until it had received more information concerning Genner and the nature of the school.<sup>518</sup> Genner resigned his position as schoolmaster before Coughlan was able to respond to this request. Several months later, on 17 February 1768, Arthur Thomey, a local merchant, succeeded Genner as school teacher in Harbour Grace.<sup>519</sup> Thomey was a native of Ireland and a former Roman Catholic. He had emigrated to Harbour Grace in the latter 1760s, where he was likely converted to Methodism by Laurence Coughlan. One of the most prominent of the Conception Bay Methodists, Thomey, along with

fellow converts, Thomas Pottle and John Stretton, took a leadership role in organizing the Conception Bay Methodists after Coughlan's departure in 1773.<sup>520</sup>

Although it appears that the inhabitants took an interest in Thomey's educational endeavours and built him a "commodious" schoolhouse,<sup>521</sup> a commitment for an annual stipend from the S.P.G. was still not forthcoming. Thomey relinquished his position in the winter of 1770 because the salary he received from the inhabitants was not sufficient.<sup>522</sup> Coughlan, determined not to give up his plan of an S.P.G.-sponsored school in Harbour Grace, appointed John Griggs in the fall of 1770 and recommended him to the S.P.G. for an annual salary.<sup>523</sup> The S.P.G. agreed to this recommendation in 1772, and Griggs continued to teach in Harbour Grace until he was dismissed for neglecting his school in 1776.<sup>524</sup>

Although Coughlan had attempted to establish a school in Harbour Grace since his arrival in 1767, the S.P.G. was unwilling to commit itself. There are two reasons that could explain this reluctance to support a school in Harbour Grace. First, the S.P.G. was a corporate society that relied on the British government for support. To establish a school in Harbour Grace would have been in direct conflict with the "non-settlement" policy of Newfoundland. Although one could argue that resident clergy were also contrary to the "non-settlement" policy, even Governor Palliser, who strongly opposed settlement, saw the importance of a clerical presence to pacify the masses. Secondly, Coughlan's recommendations do not appear in line with the Rules of the Society regarding the recommendations of schoolmasters. When Coughlan employed Genner he

only informed the S.P.G. that he was a “proper person” for the appointment.<sup>525</sup> The S.P.G. requested more specific information, so that when Coughlan recommended Thomey, he gave a more detailed account of the nature of the school.<sup>526</sup> He was, however, still quite vague on Thomey’s qualifications. Finally, when Coughlan recommended Griggs for an S.P.G. appointment, he did so with the Rules of the Society in mind. He chose a schoolmaster who was acceptable to the merchants of Harbour Grace<sup>527</sup> and then sought approval of his appointment from Governor Byron. Approval from the governor, despite the “non-settlement” policy, would ensure the S.P.G.’s commitment. The governor attested to Griggs’ ability and behaviour and assured the Society that Griggs had taken the “accustomed oaths.”<sup>528</sup> Based upon these reasons, Griggs was appointed the S.P.G. schoolmaster in Harbour Grace with an annual salary of ten pounds.<sup>529</sup>

After Coughlan’s resignation in 1773, the school in Harbour Grace, under Griggs, continued to operate. James Balfour, the missionary in Trinity, confirmed that Griggs attended his school during this time,<sup>530</sup> and in 1775 Griggs wrote to the S.P.G. to assure it of his “constant endeavours.”<sup>531</sup> By the summer of 1776, however, the Society dismissed Griggs from its service, based upon a letter from James Balfour, Coughlan’s successor in Harbour Grace. He alleged that Griggs was neglecting his duties at the school.<sup>532</sup> Griggs does not appear to have defended himself of this charge. Thus, the school in Harbour Grace closed for approximately a year and a half until the employment of Edward Freeman in January 1778.<sup>533</sup>

The Anglican school initiated by Coughlan was not the only school in Harbour Grace in the late eighteenth century. In the fall of 1772, Griggs reported that he tried to increase the number of scholars at his school, but found little success. Besides the fact that the school house was in disrepair and unfit for instruction, there was another teacher in Harbour Grace. Griggs referred to this teacher as a "papist" who was teaching many of the Roman Catholic children.<sup>534</sup> Because Griggs felt powerless to stop this Roman Catholic teacher, he sought the S.P.G. to ask for gubernatorial intervention in suppressing this school. Like the school in St. John's in 1744 that William Peasley reported being taught by a Roman Catholic, this school may have been a Hedge School. It no doubt was an illegal institution, considering the fact that Griggs felt that once the authorities knew of the school they would suppress its activities.

#### **Nature of the School in Harbour Grace, 1767-1776**

In September 1767, Coughlan recorded that there were ninety children in the harbour that were able to go to school.<sup>535</sup> Three years later, he wrote to the S.P.G. that there were "upward of eighty children fit to be taught."<sup>536</sup> Although there is no record as to the number of children that attended Genner's school the first year the school began in Harbour Grace, both Thomey and Griggs recorded an attendance of approximately forty students<sup>537</sup> during their years of teaching. Thus, approximately half of the children in Harbour Grace attended the Anglican school at this time. Both boys and girls were taught

at the school in Harbour Grace, and Coughlan's statistics for the winter of 1768 were thirty boys and twelve girls in attendance at Thomey's school.<sup>538</sup>

Although the school was intended for year-round instruction, regular attendance was interrupted in the summer months because of the fishery. Coughlan noted that Thomey had taught forty-two children in 1768. In the summer, however, some were attending irregularly because they were "under necessity of assisting their parents in curing fish."<sup>539</sup> This was reflective of an economic change that had occurred in the Newfoundland fishery during the second half of the eighteenth century. An increase in the shore fishery meant an increase in a family-run operation. Because many planters could not afford to employ servants, they relied upon their wives and children to cure their catch.<sup>540</sup> This was a labour-intensive operation that required countless hours of tedious work. The priority of the fishery over education would continue to exist in some Newfoundland communities well into the twentieth century. The S.P.C.K. charity schools in England faced a similar problem with irregular attendance. Country schools were almost vacant in the summer months and especially at harvest time when children were needed to work in the fields to supplement the family's income. Teachers in towns, such as London, also experienced irregular attendance because of indifferent parents and the lure of the streets.<sup>541</sup>

Although attendance in the summer was sporadic, the actual time allotted for instruction was longer in the summer than in the winter. This no doubt was reflective of weather conditions and daylight time. In 1768, Coughlan reported that Thomey kept

school eleven hours per day in the summer, starting at 6: 00 a.m. and ending at 6: 00 p.m., with a lunch break between 12 noon and 1: 00 p.m.. In the winter, Thomey conducted school for seven hours, starting at 8: 30 a.m. and ending at 3: 30 p.m., with no allotted time for lunch. <sup>542</sup> Although Thomey's school appears excessively long in the summer to modern day standards, it was not unique. Cornelius Fox, schoolmaster in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, reported to the S.P.G. in 1790 that he conducted school in the summer from 7: 00 a.m. to 6: 00 p.m.. <sup>543</sup> James Healey in his thesis, "An Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland, 1703 - 1850," credits Coughlan with "the sheer zeal he was known to bring to every task," for the long school day kept by Thomey. <sup>544</sup> This conclusion has little merit considering the fact that Griggs, Thomey's successor who was also under Coughlan's supervision, kept school only nine hours a day in the summer, starting at 7:00 A.M. and ending at 5:00 P.M. with one hour allotted for lunch. In the winter Griggs taught for only seven hours per day beginning at 8: 00 a.m. and ending at 4: 00 p.m., with a one-hour lunch break. <sup>545</sup> Griggs' allotted time schedule for his school was more in keeping with the schedules kept in the S.P.C.K. charity schools in England during this time. Recommended hours for S.P.C.K. charity schools were from Monday to Friday, 7:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with a two-hour lunch break in the summer, and from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with a two-hour lunch break in the winter months. Thus the students in the S.P.C.K. schools attended school for eight hours in the summer and six hours in the winter. <sup>546</sup>

Thomey's eleven-hour school day in the summer certainly appears to have been his own choice. Considering that Thomey was also a merchant in Harbour Grace, this time schedule may have been chosen to coincide with his day's work. If we consider the possibility that Thomey may not have been present at his school throughout the whole day, the long school day would make sense. The rather early start in the day would have allowed Thomey time to assign the day's work before his own workday began. We then can picture Thomey coming in and out of the school throughout the day, checking the students' progress, correcting and assigning more work, yet working at the same time at his own mercantile business.

Before the advent of charity schools in England during the eighteenth century, the teaching of the poor had traditionally been viewed as a "by-industry" to be carried on in conjunction with another job.<sup>547</sup> Contrary to this, the S.P.C.K. advocated full-time instructors for its schools.<sup>548</sup> The S.P.G. followed the example of the S.P.C.K. and required that its school teachers "... give constant attendance at proper School-hours."<sup>549</sup> Although this was ideally required, it was not always the case in Newfoundland. As we have seen in chapter four of this thesis, William Peasley served as both minister and school teacher at St. John's in 1747.<sup>550</sup> His ministerial role no doubt would have given constant interruption to his school day. Lionel Chancey, the S.P.G.-appointed school teacher at St. John's in 1799, was also appointed Justice of the Peace and coroner for the district. He admitted that this frequently called him away from his school. Because he could not find an assistant to help with the children, he resigned his position.<sup>551</sup> Finally,

John Hoskins, the schoolmaster in Port de Grave, admitted that in order to supplement his income he fished during the summer season and taught school during the winter.<sup>552</sup>

Although the school in Harbour Grace began in 1767, it cannot be considered an S.P.G.-sponsored institution until 1770, when Griggs was appointed by the Society. Genner did receive a ten pound gratuity for his teaching efforts in 1767;<sup>553</sup> however, the S.P.G. was reluctant to offer him or his school any long-term support. Thus the school in Harbour Grace, like many schools during this time, began as a paying school initiated by their clergyman. Parents paid the schoolmaster to have their children taught the rudiments of reading, writing and basic arithmetic. Although the amount charged for each child was not specified, it appears that it was not a substantial amount. In 1769 Thomey resigned his teaching position after one year because the salary he received from the inhabitants was not sufficient to continue his endeavours.<sup>554</sup> The next year, when Coughlan recommended Griggs for an annual salary, he explained that most of the people in Harbour Grace were financially unable to have their children formally educated. Those who did send their children could afford only a small fee. For that reason Coughlan found it difficult to find a capable teacher to teach for such a small stipend.<sup>555</sup>

When Griggs was awarded an annual salary from the S.P.G. in 1772, which was retroactive from 1770, it appears to have been given without any conditions. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, salaries that were given to Newfoundland teachers by the S.P.G. were given with the condition that they would teach a specific number of children free of charge. As we shall see later in this chapter, William Lampen, the S.P.G.

schoolmaster in 1785, regularly sent a record of how many children he taught on the Society's bounty. At no time, however, does Griggs report to the S.P.G. that any children were taught free of charge. It appears that Griggs's salary from the S.P.G. was used as a supplement to his salary received from the parents in Harbour Grace.

### **Curriculum**

From 1767 to 1773, specific references about the curriculum taught at the school in Harbour Grace show that it was standard for its day. According to Coughlan, the main aim of the school was to keep "the children of the poor . . . from growing up in Grossest ignorance and impiety."<sup>556</sup> The basic literary curriculum of reading, writing, and arithmetic appears to have been taught with an eye on religious instruction and the catechization of the students. In 1767, John Genner was employed in order to teach the poor children of Harbour Grace to "read and write."<sup>557</sup> Also in 1771, Griggs informed the S.P.G. that he had approximately forty scholars year-round for reading, writing and arithmetic.<sup>558</sup> These are the only specific references to the curriculum taught in Harbour Grace during this time, except for the mention in 1768 of Thomey's students learning to sing.<sup>559</sup>

Although singing as a school subject found its way into several S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. charity schools during the eighteenth century, there was some debate over its value. When S.P.C.K. charity school children were taught to sing and participated in the church services in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were mixed

reviews. Some clergy reported the “uncommon delight” of children and adults in learning church music. However, there were also some complaints that “fine singing” undermined social discipline and fostered vanity. Thus, the S.P.C.K. disapproved of “solo singing” and would support singing in the charity schools only in “full chorus.”<sup>560</sup> In 1724, Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, took it one step further and rejected all fine singing as fostering vanity. He denounced all singing in charity schools, because it reflected a more “polite education.”<sup>561</sup> Thus, singing was not a recognized subject in the S.P.C.K. schools in England, because it conflicted with class expectations.

At the S.P.G. charity schools in New York throughout the eighteenth century, the singing of the psalms was a part of the curriculum. As early as 1719, the mayor of New York, Caleb Heathcote, listed “the singing of Psalms” as a part of the curriculum taught by the schoolmaster William Huddleston.<sup>562</sup> Also, in 1768, the same year that Thomey was teaching the children of Harbour Grace to sing, Joseph Hildreth, the S.P.G. schoolmaster in New York, was teaching his students psalmody. Hildreth reported that his students could “join with great decency in singing the psalms in church and always entertained the congregation on the Grand Festivals and at Charity Sermons with a hymn suitable to the occasion which has given great satisfaction.”<sup>563</sup> Psalmody became an integral part of the S.P.G. school in New York. In 1778 when the new school teacher Amos Bull was chosen to replace Hildreth, the rector, Charles Inglis, the future bishop of Nova Scotia who was also in charge of Newfoundland, informed the S.P.G. that Bull was

qualified for the position because he was a good English scholar, wrote a good hand, and was well skilled in church music.<sup>564</sup>

Singing as a school subject does not appear to have continued in Harbour Grace after Thomey's resignation in 1769. Nor does it appear as a school subject in any other S.P.G.-sponsored school in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century. One reason that Thomey chose to have his students taught the art of singing in his school could have no doubt been a reflection of his Methodist beliefs or Roman Catholic background. Singing of hymns was a very integral part of the Methodist faith, because it emphasized the "feeling part" of Christianity and had a tradition in Pietism in general. Coughlan, who would have served as the overseer of this school, would certainly have been pleased by Thomey's musical endeavours, because it corresponded to the Methodist singing culture. Later, upon his return to England, Coughlan also compiled a songbook for the Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.<sup>565</sup>

### **The School Building in Harbour Grace**

The first known schoolhouse to be built in Newfoundland by English inhabitants was in Harbour Grace. There is evidence available, however, that suggests that this school, built by the residents of Harbour Grace in 1768, was not the first one built on the island. In 1759, Edward Langman, the then S.P.G. missionary in St. John's, wrote to the S.P.G. that he had visited Placentia and had "preached in the schoolhouse [there] before 60 or 70 persons."<sup>566</sup> Considering the fact that Placentia was the center of French

settlement in Newfoundland until 1714, and that their government encouraged settlement and its institutions, it is most likely that this schoolhouse was a remnant of French occupation.

The schoolhouse in Harbour Grace was opened on 17 February 1768, and, according to Coughlan, it was a commodious school house.<sup>567</sup> Four years later in 1772, however, Griggs, Thomey's successor, asserted that this schoolhouse was no longer fit for teaching in. According to Griggs, the people were unable to build a better one, so he kept school, "much to [his] deterrent" in his own house. This he planned to continue until other suitable arrangements could be made.<sup>568</sup> As late as 1784, however, the schoolhouse was still in need of repair. According to James Balfour, Coughlan's ecclesiastical successor in Harbour Grace, George Fullilove, the newly appointed schoolmaster in 1783, would soon relinquish his position, because the people refused to repair his schoolhouse and thus made it impossible for him to stay.<sup>569</sup> Although he called the inhabitants "churlish" because the school remained unrepaired,<sup>570</sup> in 1779 Balfour himself talked of the hardships encountered in Conception Bay that were forcing many inhabitants to emigrate.<sup>571</sup> Between 1775 and 1783, American privateers plundered and captured Newfoundland and English fishing vessels and market-bound ships. This had a devastating effect on the migratory and resident fisheries, which were cut in half when compared with the days prior to the British-American hostilities. Also, supply ships had greatly decreased, and as a result the food supply became scarce and prices soared.<sup>572</sup> In 1779, Balfour reported that "not one in ten vessels hath arrived this year by means of

privateers.<sup>573</sup> By 1779-80, he reported to the S.P.G. about a raging famine that was causing women and children to want for food. In 1780, he wrote that out of the forty-two corpses he had buried that year, nine had died of "mere hunger."<sup>574</sup> Because of the American Revolution and the scarcity of food, the population at Conception Bay decreased. Many of the inhabitants migrated to St. John's in search of protection, work and food. Amidst these circumstances, it is understandable that repairs to the schoolhouse were not high on the inhabitants' list of priorities.

Thus, the schoolhouse in Harbour Grace, built in 1768, would remain in disrepair until after the appointment of William Lampen in 1785. Balfour informs the Society in 1787 that although there was great distress in the harbour and a failure of crops the previous two years, the inhabitants managed to keep the church, church yard, and schoolhouse repaired.<sup>575</sup> By 1788, a new chimney was built, a new floor was laid, and the rest of the school building was repaired.<sup>576</sup>

#### **James Balfour: Missionary in Harbour Grace and Carbonear, 1775-1791**

On 26 July 1774, James Balfour, the S.P.G. missionary at Trinity, requested that the S.P.G. remove him to the vacant mission in Harbour Grace. There he believed that his emoluments would be greater because the population was more numerous than at Trinity. He assured the S.P.G. that he could live in peace and trust with the parishioners in Harbour Grace.<sup>577</sup> Although Balfour had his share of problems with some merchants at Trinity, he assured the S.P.G. that for the past year his relations with the people at Trinity

had been harmonious and that his constant labours had not been in vain.<sup>578</sup> The S.P.G. agreed that Balfour, because of his long and loyal service with the S.P.G., could assume the mission in Harbour Grace.<sup>579</sup> On 6 October 1775, after Balfour had closed his mission in Trinity, he arrived in Harbour Grace<sup>580</sup> as successor to Coughlan.

Balfour initially recorded a "kind reception,"<sup>581</sup> however, the success of the Methodist movement at Conception Bay was repeatedly noted by Balfour and would be a source of concern throughout his stay. In his letters to the S.P.G., Balfour reported that the Methodists and "Sectarians" were numerous in the Bay. He concluded that although the people of property remained loyal to the Church of England, the lower classes were fond of holding "private conventicles two or three times a week."<sup>582</sup> He wrote that these people were trying to get their former missionary, Coughlan, to recommend to them a Methodist or Presbyterian preacher. Balfour hoped that within time he could put an end to Methodism in the area and entice the inhabitants back to the Church of England.<sup>583</sup> In 1785, ten years after he had assumed the mission in Harbour Grace, he thought that in Harbour Grace and Bay Roberts the majority of the people were Anglicans, whereas Carbonear and the north shore of Conception Bay consisted mainly of Dissenters and Methodists. The rest, he estimated, were Roman Catholics.<sup>584</sup>

One of the greatest sources of contention between Balfour and the Methodists was over the ownership of the Carbonear chapel, which was built in 1768. Upon his arrival in 1775, the people of Carbonear initially refused to allow Balfour to perform divine service in their chapel. They asserted that the chapel was their property and not

that of the Church of England and requested that a Methodist or Presbyterian preacher be sent to them. Balfour explained that because this request could never be met, they should agree to allow him to officiate there.<sup>585</sup> Three years later, on New Year's Day 1778, Balfour went to Carbonear only to find himself locked out of the chapel. He sent for the keys, and when they were not forthcoming, he reported that he restrained the people with him from doing any harm to the church and then withdrew.<sup>586</sup> Balfour sought redress from the governor of Newfoundland and, by December 1779, reported that the church at Carbonear was once again open to him by decree of Governor Edwards.<sup>587</sup> By January 1785, however, he once again experienced trouble with the Methodists in Carbonear. While officiating there on 16 January 1785, Clement Noel pointed to John Stretton, who mounted the pulpit behind Balfour. In order to avoid a riot as a result of this confrontation, Balfour left the church. He considered this affront not only an insult to him but also to the whole Church of England and once again sought redress from the governor of Newfoundland.<sup>588</sup> Although Governor Campbell was absent from Newfoundland at this time, his representative, Henry Nichol, upheld Governor Edward's decision and threatened to imprison the Methodists if they again entered the chapel unauthorized. Governor Campbell, the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, however, overturned Nichol's decision upon his return. He declared that the chapel at Carbonear was considered private property and ordered the people of Carbonear to shut the doors against Balfour if he came to the church again without their consent.<sup>589</sup> Campbell's

decision was no doubt made in light of the religious liberty decree that he made public in 1784.<sup>590</sup>

**Edward Freeman: Schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, 1778-9.**

In 1778, approximately a year and a half after Griggs was dismissed from the Society's service as schoolmaster, James Balfour and the inhabitants of Harbour Grace employed Edward Freeman to teach school.<sup>591</sup> Like his predecessors, Freeman experienced difficulty receiving payment for his services. Because of the ill success of the fishery, many of the inhabitants were unable to pay him. This prompted petitions from Freeman and the inhabitants of Harbour Grace to the S.P.G., urging it to contribute to his support so that he could continue teaching the poor children in Harbour Grace.<sup>592</sup> The S.P.G. agreed on 19 February 1779 to appoint Freeman its schoolmaster in Harbour Grace.<sup>593</sup> Although word was sent that Freeman's appointment was approved, it appears that it was not received in Newfoundland. This is not surprising, considering that this was during the American Revolution and many vessels into Newfoundland were hampered by American Privateers.<sup>594</sup> By 7 December 1779, Freeman had still not received word of his appointment and repeated his petition to the S.P.G. He took the liberty of drawing on the Society for his salary of ten pounds for the previous year, although he had not yet heard from the S.P.G.<sup>595</sup> About this time, in December 1779, Freeman resigned his position as schoolmaster, presumably because he had not received

word of his appointment by the S.P.G., and because the people in Harbour Grace were unable to contribute adequately to his support.

Little is known about the curriculum taught at Freeman's school. The school began as a paying school. There were forty children in attendance in 1778,<sup>596</sup> the same number that had been recorded by Thomey and Griggs during the previous ten years. Although neither Freeman nor Balfour are specific about the gender of the students taught, we can assume that the "children of the poor" refers to both boys and girls. The school in Harbour Grace had previously taught both boys and girls and would continue to do so well into the nineteenth century. There is no evidence to suggest that this practice changed during Freeman's tenure. The class of children taught appear to have been mainly poor children. The poorest of the poor would have been the children of servants. It is unlikely that the parents of these children would have been able to pay a schoolmaster much, if anything at all, to teach their children. The other children would have been drawn from the boat keeper class,<sup>597</sup> who would have been able to pay for their children's education if the right circumstances prevailed, considering that their economic situation relied on unstable weather, the cod stocks and the prices set by the mercantile class. It is unlikely, however, that the children of the more well-to-do or mercantile class attended Freeman's school. These children were either sent to England to board with relatives and receive a "proper" education or were privately tutored at home.

**James Balfour: Missionary and Schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, 1779-83.**

After Edward Freeman's resignation, Balfour himself assumed the role of schoolmaster in 1779. His school, like those before him, was a paying school. It appears that he did not teach any poor children gratis. A year after he had assumed this role, he offered to teach some poor children free of charge if the Society would compensate him for his troubles,<sup>598</sup> to which the Society did not agree. Although Balfour did not specify how much money he charged per child, in 1781 he reported to the S.P.G. that the average payment per child was "... but a crown per Quarter,"<sup>599</sup> in other words, if a child attended school all year, it would cost his parents one pound annually. Although Balfour indicated that this price was quite low, the average wage earner, who received only fifteen to twenty-four pounds per season,<sup>600</sup> would have no doubt found educating several children relatively expensive, especially with the high cost of food and fuel.

When the S.P.G. learned that Balfour had assumed the role of schoolmaster, it asserted that such a twofold position was contrary to the Rules of the Society. It therefore recommended that Balfour find another schoolmaster to replace Freeman.<sup>601</sup> The S.P.G.'s decision on Balfour's position as schoolmaster, however, appears contrary to the one it had made thirty-five years earlier when it encouraged William Peasley, the S.P.G. missionary in St. John's, to undertake the role of schoolmaster for an extra ten pounds per annum. It must be remembered, however, that Peasley's appointment as schoolmaster occurred in the 1740s, a time when teachers were rare in Newfoundland and the fear of "popery" abounded.

Although in 1781 Balfour acknowledged the S.P.G.'s request to procure another schoolmaster, he reported that he had little hope of finding a suitable person because the salary of a schoolmaster was so small and of little encouragement in "such a consumptive Country." Thus, Balfour reported that he would continue to teach so that the children, especially his own, could receive an education.<sup>602</sup> Two years later, in November 1783, Balfour reported to the S.P.G. that he would soon be recommending a schoolmaster for Harbour Grace to comply with the Rules of the Society.<sup>603</sup> A month later, Balfour announced that he had resigned his post as schoolmaster at Harbour Grace in favour of George Fullilove, an Englishman, who Balfour felt was well-qualified for the position.<sup>604</sup> Balfour explained to the S.P.G. that the duties of his mission frequently called him away from home, and because of this he could not continue at the school and give the scholars the constant attention they needed.<sup>605</sup> This reasoning seems quite self-serving, considering the fact that the Society had requested that he give up the position three years earlier.

George Fullilove began teaching in the fall of 1783. He had taught nearly forty scholars to the satisfaction of their parents.<sup>606</sup> Balfour, too, seemed quite satisfied and noted to the S.P.G. that Fullilove had behaved very well.<sup>607</sup> Despite the positive reviews for his school, Balfour informed the S.P.G. that Fullilove was dissatisfied with his position and was likely to resign soon. Balfour explained that the people of Harbour Grace were so "churlish" that they would not repair his schoolhouse, thus making it impossible for him to stay in it.<sup>608</sup> This appears to have been the very first school house

built in the 1770s. In order to bring consistency to the school, which Balfour deemed as a “charitable institution”, he proposed that any schoolmaster hired in the future would have to agree to continue in that position for at least three years.<sup>609</sup> By 1785, Balfour had procured the services of William Lampen to succeed Fullilove as the new schoolmaster in Harbour Grace.<sup>610</sup>

### **William Lampen: Schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, 1785 - 1821**

Possibly the best source of information pertaining to the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century can be found in the letters of William Lampen to the S.P.G. His letters offer today’s historian an insight into the routine and curriculum of these schools that would otherwise be unknown. Lampen was appointed schoolmaster in Harbour Grace by Balfour and the principal inhabitants in 1785. At this time, he agreed to teach in Harbour Grace for a minimum of three years.<sup>611</sup> Lampen would actually continue there for approximately thirty-six years until his death in 1821.<sup>612</sup> Lampen’s appointment brought a stability to the school that Balfour had desired. However, the praises sung by Balfour on Lampen’s behalf would soon wane in 1791 when a conflict arose between the two men. This ultimately resulted in the removal of Balfour from his mission in Harbour Grace and the dismissal of Lampen from the Society’s list of schoolmasters in 1792.<sup>613</sup> Lampen continued to operate his paying schools in Harbour Grace and in 1796 he was reinstated as the S.P.G. schoolmaster, making him once again eligible for an annual salary.<sup>614</sup>

Lampen's school in Harbour Grace began as a paying school in 1785. His appointment came from Balfour and the principal inhabitants. Balfour reported to the S.P.G. that the Dartmouth native was "an excellent teacher" and therefore worthy of the ten-pound draft that Lampen had drawn.<sup>615</sup> For this salary from the S.P.G., Lampen taught eight charity children alongside the approximately sixty-seven students taught for pay. By the time his three-year obligation had ended in the fall of 1787, Lampen requested additional financial assistance from the S.P.G.<sup>616</sup> He felt that without an increase in his S.P.G. stipend, he would not be able to continue his school in Harbour Grace. Although he reportedly had taught approximately seventy-five students in the previous two years and sixty-one in 1787, he explained that not all of these students were in attendance for the full twelve months. Instead, the average number of students he had at one time was fifty. Therefore, he estimated that his annual salary was scarcely more than thirty pounds.<sup>617</sup> Based on this information, the Society agreed to pay Lampen an extra five pounds per annum if he would teach more children gratis.<sup>618</sup> Pupils eligible for such charity would have been children of the servant class, orphans, children of widows, or children of the poor Boat keepers who had a number of children and could not pay to have them all schooled. For example, in 1798 Lampen reported that among the eight charity children taught, one was the daughter of a poor man with eight children and one was a fatherless child under the care of an aged grandfather.<sup>619</sup>

Although this practice of teaching charity students alongside paying students was discouraged by the S.P.C.K., it was common in both S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. schools

throughout the eighteenth century. In theory, the S.P.C.K. felt that the paying students would receive preferential treatment from their teachers if placed with charity students. Despite this, many S.P.C.K. teachers in rural England were forced to admit paying students into their charity schools in order to supplement the low income they received.<sup>620</sup> In Newfoundland and other North American colonies, this practice was also common in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, only it appears to have been somewhat reversed. The school teachers were hired to teach paying students in the community, but they would teach some students on the society's bounty, in other words, they would teach some children gratis in order to have their salaries supplemented by the S.P.G. George Bemister, the S.P.G. schoolmaster in Bonavista, had his salary paid by the parents supplemented by the S.P.G. in order that he could remain at Bonavista and continue teaching there.<sup>621</sup> Also in St. John's, Lionel Chancey, who had opened his school 10 April 1799, was experiencing difficulty receiving adequate payment for his services.<sup>622</sup> Six months later, John Harries recommended him for a salary from the S.P.G. and assured the Society that "he would religiously instruct the poor."<sup>623</sup>

Lampen's school was in operation all year round except for time off during specific holidays. It was common for all S.P.C.K. schools in England and S.P.G. schools in North America to observe three holiday breaks: Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide.<sup>624</sup> Although Lampen only mentioned the Christmas break,<sup>625</sup> it is very likely that he observed the other two holidays as well. Also, Lampen does not record any time schedule for his school. He does, however, note that teaching was his only source of employment.

<sup>626</sup> It is therefore safe to assume that instruction was full-time and followed the usual pattern of six to eight hour days. It is doubtful that Lampen followed Thomey's example and taught an eleven-hour day, especially considering the fact that during the winter he taught an evening school for young adults, the only one of its kind in Newfoundland at this time.

The number of scholars he taught varied considerably throughout Lampen's thirty-six-year teaching career. In the first three years, Lampen recorded that he taught between sixty-one<sup>627</sup> and seventy-nine students<sup>628</sup> per year. This number steadily declined until 1791, the year Lampen was dismissed from the Society's service, when he recorded only forty-six students, seven of whom were on the Society's bounty.<sup>629</sup> After his reinstatement by the Society in 1796, Lampen's enrollment again rose to the substantial number of seventy-six.<sup>630</sup> These large numbers of students, however, were not in attendance for the full twelve months. Out of the seventy-five students he taught in 1786, only fifty students were in attendance year-round. He explained that because of the nature and trade of the country, "parents could not afford to keep them twelve months round. Six months out of the twelve they are Employ'd on the fishery . . ."<sup>631</sup>

Another factor that interfered with year-round instruction was the weather. In the fall of 1789 Lampen reported that he expected to lose some of his charity students that winter because they could not sustain the "severity of the weather."<sup>632</sup> Although many of the S.P.C.K. schools provided proper clothing so that the charity children could attend school in the winter, it did not appear to have been a part of the S.P.G.'s charitable efforts

in Newfoundland. Thus, those charity students who could not afford to dress warmly in the winter were often forced to stay at home. Finally, the Newfoundland tradition of resorting to the woods in the winter for food, shelter, and work<sup>633</sup> would have interfered with a year-round school. The poor class of people that would have attended Lampen's school were the very ones who would have resorted to the woods for the winter. In November 1791, Balfour refers to this migratory tradition by noting that a number of people in the community went to "winter works in the woods."<sup>634</sup>

By 1801, Lampen began reporting to the S.P.G. the number of year-round scholars separate from those who only attended half a year. The majority of his students appear to have been taught between April or May to October. These students, however, would be quite young, considering the fact that Lampen reported to the S.P.G. that the greatest obstacle to the children's learning was the fact that after they reach ten or twelve years of age, they are taken from the school and sent to the fishery.<sup>635</sup> Lampen also noted that when the economy had declined, children younger than ten to twelve years old were taken to work in the fishery as well.<sup>636</sup>

The curriculum taught at Lampen's school was comparable to that taught in the S.P.C.K. schools in England<sup>637</sup> and other S.P.G. schools in North America<sup>638</sup>. Lampen offered his students a basic education consisting of religious instruction, reading, writing and cyphering or arithmetic. Not all these subjects, however, were available to both girls and boys equally, nor was the full literary curriculum offered to all classes of children equally. Charity boys were taught as far as the level of writing and were discharged after

Lampen was satisfied that they had mastered this art. Charity girls, on the other hand, were rarely taught past the art of reading. As we shall see, however, there were exceptions to these rules.

The curriculum at the school that was available to all students included reading and religious instruction. Religious instruction throughout Lampen's tenure was the main focus of his teaching, especially for the charity students. It was with religious instruction that Lampen hoped to reform the manners of the poor. He felt that without education and care paid to their behaviour, the poor children had -- in his judgement -- become "excessively rude."<sup>639</sup> This line of thinking was certainly in keeping with many of his contemporaries. The S.P.C.K. stated in its subscription to the charity schools that "the growth of Vice and Debauchery is greatly owing to the gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion . . ."<sup>640</sup> Thus, upon admission, the S.P.C.K. charity children in England were taught to say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. They were taught this by frequent repetition from the mouth of the master.<sup>641</sup> Lampen, too, reported that one of his initial tasks was to teach the Lord's Prayer. In 1797, he wrote that when his charity students had first come to him, only one could say the Lord's Prayer, yet by the end of the year all of them had mastered it.<sup>642</sup> Beside the repetition of prayers, Lampen placed much emphasis on the catechizing of students. In 1786, one year after his first year in Harbour Grace, Lampen reported that 28 of the 79 scholars he had in attendance were publicly catechized by Balfour.<sup>643</sup> Throughout his tenure, Lampen repeatedly reported that he catechized his students, and he emphasized that the charity children were catechized

twice every week.<sup>644</sup> Students were expected to learn the whole catechism by heart in order that they could display their knowledge before their minister and congregation. Expounding of the church catechism was taught with Lewis' Catechism<sup>645</sup> in order that the students could understand the church catechism after he or she had learned to say it distinctly and plainly.<sup>646</sup> Religious instruction was not complete for any student without morning and evening prayers. Lampen reported to the S.P.G. that he went to prayer before morning school and after evening school, not only with charity students, but with the whole school in general.<sup>647</sup>

The literary curriculum, which consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic, was taught consecutively. This meant that one level could not be broached until the previous level had been mastered. Reading was the first level of the literary curriculum. It was available to all students, because it was through the art of reading that one could avail of Christian literature and learn one's Christian duty. Reading began with the spelling of words. For this, Lampen used the Spelling book. In the beginning Lampen had used *Jenning's Speller*,<sup>648</sup> however, by the end of the eighteenth century this text was replaced with the well-known *Dixon's Speller*.<sup>649</sup> Henry Dixon of St. Andrew's, Holborn, was a charity school teacher of considerable attainments. He wrote the *English Instructor*, commonly referred to as *Dixon's Speller*.<sup>650</sup> It was formed on the plan of the Church catechism and went through 21 editions until Dixon's death in 1761.<sup>651</sup> From the spelling book, students were taught to spell and read, beginning with monosyllables and advancing eventually to whole phrases. Once students could spell and read out of the

speller, they were advanced to the Psalter, the New Testament and finally the whole Bible.<sup>652</sup> This systematic way of teaching the students to read was in keeping with the recommendations of the S.P.C.K. for their charity schools in England,<sup>653</sup> and generally the practice followed by other S.P.G. schoolmasters during the eighteenth century.<sup>654</sup> Although Lampen does not offer any insight into his methodology, we can assume that he, like his contemporaries, used the method of repetition until a certain level had been mastered and then students advanced to the next level.

Once the art of reading had been mastered, some students were advanced to writing. This level of learning does not appear to have been common for charity girls. In 1791, Lampen reported to the S.P.G. that he had a charity girl learning to write. According to Lampen, Jenner felt that the girl was worthy enough to attain this level of learning because she was able to progress in so short a time.<sup>655</sup> Its noteworthiness leads one to believe that it was in fact uncommon for a charity girl to attain this level. The level of writing also appears to have been the final level for the charity boys. Lampen asserted in 1801 that he had two charity boys learning to write: one would soon be discharged, while the other would be kept a little while longer so as not to do him an injustice.<sup>656</sup> The next year, in October 1802, Lampen reported that he had discharged two boys on the Society's bounty whom he had "taught to read, write and instructed in their Christian Duty."<sup>657</sup> The methodology Lampen used to teach his scholars to write is not specified. It was common in charity schools at this time, however, to have students begin writing out of the spelling book and then advance to writing phrases and verses out of the

Psalter and Testament.<sup>658</sup> Repetition would have been the key methodology used at this level, by having the student repetitively write the alphabet, words, phrases, and then verses.

Cyphering or arithmetic was the next level of education. This subject appears to have been limited to paying boys, with the exception of one charity girl whom Lampen taught in 1791. As stated above, Lampen reported to the S.P.G. that he had taught one of the charity girls to write. He felt that she had made such progress, that immediately after the Christmas break he intended to teach her cyphering. He explained that he had taught her for only two years, and she had already mastered the art of reading and writing, yet she was still only nine and half years old.<sup>659</sup> Unfortunately we hear nothing more of this young charity student. In the spring of 1792, Lampen was dismissed from the Society's service. Without the Society's bounty, it is doubtful whether this charity girl was able to continue her schooling. The subject of cyphering that was commonly taught in the charity schools was confined to the first four rules of arithmetic: adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing. This was all that was needed for the ordinary management of accounts.<sup>660</sup> The methodology was repetition, and advancement from the first rule to the fourth occurred when the student had mastered each level successfully.

The final stage of learning at Lampen's school was vocational. This, however, also appears to have been for paying boys only. Their vocational instruction began when Lampen taught them to "read and write letters, receipts and shipping papers."<sup>661</sup> This would have been considered part of their vocational learning and a help to them when

they became employed in a counting house or other aspects of the fishery. He then had several boys indentured for apprenticeships in counting houses around the harbour.<sup>662</sup>

In January 1788, Lampen established the first and reportedly the only evening school in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century. It was established so that the youth, already employed in the fishery during the day, could have the benefit of instruction at night.<sup>663</sup> This school was kept in the evening for three months in the winter: January, February and March. The first year it opened in 1788, Lampen reported that there were nine students in attendance.<sup>664</sup> Lampen's evening school continued and grew. By 1801, he recorded that during the winter nights, he taught thirty-two young men at his evening school. Lampen repeatedly referred to his evening students as "young men" or "boys" except for one occasion. In 1797 Lampen reported that he had taught "11 young men and 2 women to read, write and cypher during winter evenings."<sup>665</sup> According to Lampen, his evening school persisted because the youth employed in the fishery found it of great advantage to attend school during the winter nights.<sup>666</sup> Because parents usually removed their children from school between the ages of ten and twelve, an evening school was in fact the only chance many of the youth had to receive a literary education beyond that age.<sup>667</sup>

Lampen's evening school was a paying school, although the exact charge per student is not specified. At this school the youth of Harbour Grace were taught reading, writing and cyphering. Lampen explained his methodology in 1797. He taught his night students

from the monosyllables, and so on till they were able to read out of a Psalter. They came again last winter and retaining what they had before learned, he carried them to the Testament, in which they read very well and before they left school made considerable progress in writing. Four more he taught to spell, two he taught to write and four others to cypher, one of which went as far as discompt.<sup>668</sup>

It appears that Lampen's methodology at his evening school was similar to that which he employed during the day.

### **The School House at Harbour Grace**

As shown earlier in this chapter, the first known school house in Newfoundland was built in Harbour Grace in 1768. At the beginning of Lampen's tenure, he began teaching in this building. Although it had been declared unfit by previous schoolmasters, the inhabitants of Harbour Grace continued to keep this building up during the first half of Lampen's tenure. Thirty-seven years after it was first built, Lewis Amadeus Anspach, the S.P.G. missionary in Harbour Grace (1803-1812), reported in 1805 that a new school house was being built in Harbour Grace.<sup>669</sup> According to Anspach, Lampen had complained to him regarding the unhealthy and unsafe condition of the old schoolhouse. Anspach took this complaint to the inhabitants, who were quick to respond and raised a subscription of 65 pounds for the building of the new school. By 18 December 1805 the old school had been torn down and the frame for the new one finished.<sup>670</sup> Not only had the inhabitants generously subscribed to the new school, but also nearly all the timber needed had been donated by different people in the community.<sup>671</sup> Despite this support, Anspach estimated that approximately twenty-five pounds more were needed in order to

complete the school. He solicited the S.P.G. for this amount, and it agreed to contribute.<sup>672</sup> This marked the first time the S.P.G. ever aided in the building of a school house in Newfoundland. On 22 October 1806 Anspach informed the S.P.G. that the new school house was completely finished. He described it as

a very handsome and convenient room for that purpose, 32 feet long and 20 feet wide with three windows on each side, the whole expense amounts to 102 pounds.<sup>673</sup>

### **The Succession of S.P.G. Missionaries in Harbour Grace: 1775-1812**

Lampen began teaching and served under the ecclesiastical administration of James Balfour for approximately six years. For the first five years Balfour spoke well of Lampen, referring to him as an "excellent teacher" and certifying that he was "diligent and attentive" in his school.<sup>674</sup> By 1791, however, things had soured considerably between the two. In November 1791, Lampen, fearing that Balfour would encourage the S.P.G. to withhold his salary, complained to the S.P.G. that Balfour was often drunk and disorderly.<sup>675</sup> This complaint was supported by some of the inhabitants of Harbour Grace.<sup>676</sup> They also complained that Balfour had performed divine service only five or six times that past year. They asserted that Balfour was so drunk during Christmas Day service, that the vestry, of which Lampen was a member, convened and decided to write the S.P.G. regarding Balfour's inappropriate conduct. Balfour, fearing that such a letter would discontinue his salary, begged to write himself and ask for a removal. A letter dated 27 December 1790 was indeed sent to the S.P.G., in which Balfour requested his

removal.<sup>677</sup> However, Balfour also had his supporters, and counter-letters were sent in favour of Balfour.<sup>678</sup> John Harries, the S.P.G. missionary in St. John's at the time, investigated and informed the S.P.G. that Balfour had received ill treatment by the people of Harbour Grace, especially the Methodists, and that Lampen appeared to have been the blameable head of any party formed against Balfour.<sup>679</sup> In 1792 the S.P.G. decided to discontinue Balfour in Harbour Grace, but in consideration of his age and long service, he was awarded a pension of seventy pounds per annum. The S.P.G. also dismissed Lampen because it felt that his behaviour and treatment of Balfour was highly reprehensible.<sup>680</sup> Although Balfour stayed in Harbour Grace until 1794, he did not continue his ministerial duties. John Harries, the missionary in St. John's, visited Harbour Grace in 1793 and reported that Balfour was too old and unable to perform the duties of the mission.<sup>681</sup> At this point, the S.P.G. decided to appoint George Jenner as new missionary to Harbour Grace.<sup>682</sup> Balfour was informed of this appointment in the fall of 1794 and therefore left Harbour Grace.<sup>683</sup> Meanwhile, Lampen and his supporters continued to solicit the S.P.G. for support for Lampen's school. The inhabitants feared that Lampen would leave without the S.P.G. salary and, therefore, the only school left in the area would be a Roman Catholic school. They petitioned John Harries on Lampen's behalf.<sup>684</sup> In January 1793 Harries reported that the people of Harbour Grace were "extremely distressed" that the Society had withheld Lampen's annual salary, which rendered him incapable of keeping school.<sup>685</sup> In the fall of 1795, the new Harbour Grace missionary, George Jenner, wrote to the S.P.G. on Lampen's behalf in order to have him reinstated as the S.P.G.

schoolmaster in Harbour Grace.<sup>686</sup> Jenner explained that since his arrival, Lampen had acted with great propriety, and had been attentive to the children under his care. He described him as a sober, honest and industrious man. Jenner also asserted that no matter how blameable Lampen was in the conflict with Balfour, he taught school better than any other person Jenner knew.<sup>687</sup> Based upon this recommendation, the S.P.G. agreed to reinstate Lampen as its schoolmaster in Harbour Grace.<sup>688</sup>

In 1794 George Charles Jenner, nephew of Dr. Edward Jenner, the discoverer of the cow pox vaccination against small pox in 1796,<sup>689</sup> was ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of London.<sup>690</sup> Jenner had been in Newfoundland prior to his appointment in Harbour Grace. He was apprenticed as a surgeon under the S.P.G. missionary and physician in Trinity, John Clinch.<sup>691</sup> Upon his arrival in Harbour Grace, Jenner found that the conditions were not exactly as the inhabitants of Harbour Grace had promised to the S.P.G. According to Jenner, the parsonage was not habitable, and the people were unable to provide him with the sixty-pound subscription per annum they had initially promised.<sup>692</sup> Throughout his tenure in Harbour Grace, Jenner repeatedly complained of the low income and the opposition he received from the growing Methodist populace in the area. His relationship with the S.P.G. schoolmaster William Lampen, however, was very amiable. He repeatedly wrote to the S.P.G. in support of Lampen and his school.<sup>693</sup>

During the fall of 1798, Jenner, with leave from the S.P.G. and the approval of Governor Admiral Waldegrave, left Harbour Grace to return to England for personal

reasons. His family had been afflicted with the loss of Jenner's father, brother, sister, an uncle and a niece. When he left Harbour Grace, the survival of another brother was also very doubtful.<sup>694</sup> On 3 May 1799 George Jenner resigned his mission in Harbour Grace.<sup>695</sup>

Once again the inhabitants of Harbour Grace and surrounding areas were without a resident clergyman of the Anglican faith. John Harries, the S.P.G. missionary in St. John's, visited there after Jenner left and, in 1800, spent six months in Harbour Grace administering to the inhabitants. He pointed out that although he felt that Jenner was not treated well by the people and the majority of the inhabitants were Methodist, the area was in great need of a minister of the Anglican faith.<sup>696</sup> When Harries was at his mission in St. John's, Lampen, under the direction of Jenner, performed ecclesiastical duties such as baptising the children and performing funerals.<sup>697</sup> The S.P.G., however, was not pleased to hear of a layman performing such rites. It consulted with Harries and encouraged him to attend to Harbour Grace as frequently as possible in order to stop Lampen from baptising because he was not ordained.<sup>698</sup> Lampen, who certainly did not want to offend the Society, apologized for his actions. He explained that he would never have performed such tasks had he not been formally instructed to do so by his former minister, Jenner. Finally, he qualified his actions by explaining that he had only meddled in ecclesiastical affairs in order to stop the encroachment of Methodism.<sup>699</sup>

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Harbour Grace were soliciting the S.P.G. to send them another missionary. John Dingle, the S.P.G. missionary in Bay Bulls and Ferryland,

and Lewis Amadeus Anspach, schoolmaster of the Grammar School in St. John's, both requested an appointment as Harbour Grace's new missionary.<sup>700</sup> Although Dingle had some of the inhabitants of Harbour Grace write to the S.P.G. to support his appointment there, the S.P.G. decided to appoint Anspach instead because he was a "much fitter person" for that mission.<sup>701</sup> Anspach was born in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1770 and raised in the Reformed Church. In 1795, he was ordained in the Church of England.<sup>702</sup> Anspach received word of his appointment in October 1802;<sup>703</sup> however, he did not move to Harbour Grace until the following spring, on 30 May 1803. He was detained in St. John's until November and afterward the weather and family matters prevented him from travelling until the spring.<sup>704</sup>

Throughout his tenure in Harbour Grace, Anspach, like his predecessors, experienced much difficulty receiving the subscriptions he was promised, a situation he felt attributed to the growth of Methodism. In order to battle Methodism and "Enthusiasm", Anspach focussed his energies upon eliminating "ignorance," which he felt contributed greatly to the rise of Methodism. Throughout his tenure he supported Lampen and his educational endeavours. He also encouraged the setting up of Sunday schools in Harbour Grace and throughout Conception Bay, and gave catechical and Lenten lectures biweekly. It was under Anspach's direction that a new school house was built and the parsonage house repaired. In 1812 Anspach resigned his mission in order to assume a ministerial position in London, something he felt was better for his family.<sup>705</sup>

### **The Contribution of Lewis Amadeus Anspach to Education in Conception Bay**

During the ten years that Lewis Amadeus Anspach worked as a missionary in Conception Bay, he contributed greatly to the area. Besides his ministerial duties, Anspach also served as Justice of the Peace. During his time as magistrate he wrote two reviews<sup>706</sup> regarding the law and the fishery trade in Newfoundland.<sup>707</sup> Anspach's most famous literary contribution resulting from his ministry at Conception Bay, however, was the first general history of the island titled *The History of the Island of Newfoundland*,<sup>708</sup> which was even translated into German. Anspach's contribution to education in Conception Bay is also very noteworthy. Throughout his tenure, he built schools in Harbour Grace, Bay Roberts and Brigus.<sup>709</sup> He was also instrumental in bringing the Sunday School movement to Newfoundland.

Upon his arrival in 1803, Anspach set out to establish a Sunday school and conduct catechetical lectures in Harbour Grace. This, he felt, would "materially contribute to the advancement of religion."<sup>710</sup> The Sunday school movement itself, which began in England during the latter years of the eighteenth century, was a revival of the earlier day charity school movement that had led to the establishment of the S.P.C.K. The motivation behind the Sunday school movement was an effort to supplement the inadequate number of day schools for the children of the poor.

The most significant difference between Sunday schools and day schools was the amount of instructional time proposed. One of the most common complaints against the day charity school movement at the beginning of the eighteenth century was that full-time

schooling throughout the week diverted cheap labour from the fields, the mines and domestic industry.<sup>711</sup> Children from the ages of six to twelve were forced to work, but were spared from their toil one day a week - the Sabbath. This holy day saw these restless, work-driven children roaming the streets and freely reeking havoc on the citizens in their communities.<sup>712</sup> Thus the Sunday school offered two solutions: it did not interfere with child labour during the week and it cleared the streets of unruly children on Sunday. As a result, Sunday schools were welcomed by the middle-class in both rural and urban centres.

In 1803, Anspach echoed the sentiment of his contemporaries in England. He believed that Sunday schools were needed in Conception Bay, more so than in any other place in the world. He explained that there were over 3,000 children in Conception Bay and that most of them were “accustom from birth to cursing and swearing, a total disregard of their parents, an absolute neglect of the Lord’s Day and vice of every kind.”<sup>713</sup> On 14 July 1803, a meeting of the merchants in Harbour Grace was held. At this meeting Anspach put forth his plan to establish Sunday Schools throughout Conception Bay. His goal was to establish Sunday schools in the most populous settlements in the area, which would teach children reading and the church catechism. He also proposed to appoint in every harbour Sunday school masters, who would also serve every Sunday as catechists and read the prayers and sermons provided by Anspach. Both the merchants of Harbour Grace and the governor of Newfoundland approved of

Anspach's plan.<sup>714</sup> In March 1804, the S.P.G. convened and agreed to support it after the Society was provided with more information as to its progress in Harbour Grace.<sup>715</sup>

A Sunday School was first opened in Harbour Grace on 30 October 1803 with approximately twenty-three children in attendance.<sup>716</sup> The Sunday school was open to both boys and girls. Anspach noted that the majority of children who attended were between the ages of twelve to fifteen.<sup>717</sup> The curriculum was restricted to reading and learning the catechism. This was all that was needed to help the children become good Christian members of their community. William Lampen attended to the Sunday school in Harbour Grace in addition to his day and winter evening schools.<sup>718</sup> Initially, Anspach raised a subscription to pay Lampen for his role as Sunday school teacher. By 1807, however, Anspach was experiencing difficulty raising funds. He found that there were those who could pay but were not willing to bear the expense of schooling. This upset the people who had to pay for the children of the parents who could pay but would not. Finally, Anspach reported that there were people in the community who did not want to contribute because they wished to keep the majority of the people in ignorance. This was because it was known in the harbour that those planters who could read were in a much better position than those who could not.<sup>719</sup> From this, it is evident that education had become a means for social and economic betterment, contrary to its initial aims. It is also evident that the merchants of Harbour Grace, not unlike the many in the mercantile class in England during the beginning of the charity school movement, opposed education of

the poor simply because it upset the economic order of things and created competition for those in the superior classes.<sup>720</sup>

Despite the obstacles he faced, Anspach felt that the institution was so “productive of much good” that he appealed to the S.P.G. for assistance. He reported that it was because of the Sunday schools that, “many children who knew not a letter can now read decently and say their catechism . . .”<sup>721</sup> In his appeal to the S.P.G., Anspach also put forth three reasons why it was important to continue a Sunday school in Harbour Grace. First, he asserted that it gave really poor children the opportunity to learn their catechism and reading. Secondly, it gave children whose parents were capable but not willing to pay for their education an opportunity to learn so they would not be raised in total ignorance. Finally, from May to October many children were unavailable since they were sent to the bay fishery “as soon as they can handle a line,” and thus were only home on Sundays. It would be of great advantage to these children, he argued, if they found a school open for their reception.<sup>722</sup> Based upon this appeal, the S.P.G. agreed to send Lampen an extra five pounds per year in order that he continue with the Sunday school.<sup>723</sup>

Although Anspach can be considered the pioneer of the Sunday School Movement in Newfoundland, it would be John Leigh, the Ecclesiastical Commissary in Newfoundland in 1821, who was instrumental in developing it into an integral part of the S.P.G.’s educational contribution to Newfoundland in the early 1800s. Although his plan for Sunday Schools was basically the same as Anspach’s, it was under Leigh’s

recommendation that the S.P.G. adopted a policy that would encourage the opening of more Sunday Schools in Newfoundland.

#### **Frederick H. Carrington, S.P.G. Missionary in Harbour Grace: 1813 - 1818**

After Anspach's resignation from Harbour Grace in 1812,<sup>724</sup> Lampen read the sermon and conducted prayers in response to the request of the church warden until a new missionary could be appointed.<sup>725</sup> On 12 November 1813, the Society agreed to compensate Lampen until Anspach's replacement, Frederick H. Carrington, arrived.<sup>726</sup> Carrington and his wife arrived in Harbour Grace on 5 June 1813.<sup>727</sup> The new priest spoke well of the Harbour Grace inhabitants and its schoolmaster, William Lampen.<sup>728</sup>

The first several years, Carrington was very busy overseeing the expansion of the church. The renovation efforts were hampered in 1816 when the Harbour Grace church was totally destroyed by fire.<sup>729</sup> This same year, Carrington requested a removal to the St. John's mission in the event that the then missionary, David Rowland, resigned his position. Carrington felt that the St. John's mission was more eligible because he did not need to cross the water to visit the various outposts in that mission.<sup>730</sup> In 1818, David Rowland resigned his mission and the S.P.G. appointed Carrington its new missionary in St. John's.<sup>731</sup>

#### **Other Schools at Conception Bay**

The S.P.G.-sponsored school in Harbour Grace was not the only school operating in Conception Bay in the latter half of the eighteenth century, nor in Harbour

Grace for that matter. In 1772, John Griggs complained to the S.P.G. that a Roman Catholic teacher was teaching many of the Roman Catholic children in Harbour Grace. He requested the Society to inform the governor about this, whom he felt would be pleased to put an end to this school.<sup>732</sup> Although this actual school is not mentioned again, in 1792/3 a Roman Catholic school was reportedly operating in Harbour Grace. It closed in 1797, at which time Lampen undertook the task of teaching the Roman Catholic children at his school.<sup>733</sup> In 1805 another Roman Catholic school was opened in Harbour Grace and Lampen lost many of the Roman Catholic children he was teaching.<sup>734</sup> By 1819 the remainder of the Roman Catholic children were removed from Lampen's school by order of the Roman Catholic priest.<sup>735</sup>

#### Port de Grave

At Port de Grave, a community which lies north of Harbour Grace with an estimated population in 1802 of 1000 inhabitants,<sup>736</sup> a school was operating as early as 1781. According to Balfour there were at this time two winter schools kept in Conception Bay: one at Carbonear and one at Port de Grave. Although Balfour provided no details on these schools or their teachers, he does point out that these communities did not have "near as many children" as did Harbour Grace.<sup>737</sup> In 1790, John Tucker began a school in Port de Grave.<sup>738</sup> Although Tucker was awarded a gratuity of ten pounds from the S.P.G. for his teaching services in 1798 and 1799, it was not until the recommendation of Rear Admiral Pole in 1800 that Tucker was appointed the S.P.G.

schoolmaster with an annual salary of ten pounds.<sup>739</sup> In 1802 Anspach commended Tucker for his work at Port de Grave. Not only did he maintain the school in that community, but he also read prayers every Sunday in the Church of England.<sup>740</sup>

By 1803, however, Anspach had received several complaints about Tucker. Apparently he was marrying openly in Port de Grave and pretending that he was in fact authorized to do so. Anspach spoke to him concerning this matter. By 1804, however, it was obvious that Tucker had ignored his warnings and continued to perform marriage ceremonies. In 1805 Tucker promised Anspach that he would no longer perform marriage ceremonies.<sup>741</sup> It appears, however, that this promise was not upheld. In 1819 Frederick Carrington complained to the S.P.G. that Tucker continued to read the marriage service in defiance of the Act of Parliament to all who applied.<sup>742</sup> As a result of this, the Society threatened to end Tucker's salary if this continued. By 1820 the Society discontinued Tucker's salary because he continued to perform marriage services.<sup>743</sup>

In 1820 George Haye applied to John Leigh, the then S.P.G. missionary in Harbour Grace, to replace Tucker as the new S.P.G. schoolmaster for Port de Grave. Although Leigh noted in his letter to the S.P.G. that Haye's recommendation came from "excellent people," he felt he could not recommend him without further inquiry into his ability and character.<sup>744</sup> Upon further investigation, Leigh reported to the S.P.G. that he could not recommend Haye, without even specifying any reason for this judgement.<sup>745</sup>

Carbonear

A school in Carbonear is first discussed in 1781 when Balfour informed the S.P.G. that there was a winter school maintained there. Balfour offers no details on the school teacher or the nature of this school. Nine years later in 1790 Balfour again mentions a school operating in Carbonear. The inhabitants of Carbonear recommended to the S.P.G. that William Chauncey be appointed schoolmaster. They proposed that if the S.P.G. would provide Chauncey with an annual salary, they would provide him with a house and schoolroom.<sup>746</sup> Balfour, too, wrote the S.P.G. regarding William Chauncey. He asserted that although he found Chauncey capable enough to teach children, Chauncey refused to give Balfour a "specimen of his performance."<sup>747</sup> Instead, he went behind Balfour's back and encouraged the inhabitants to write to the S.P.G. for assistance on his behalf. Although Balfour admitted that an S.P.G.-sponsored school was much needed in Carbonear, he felt that it needed to be established under proper regulations. Based on this information the S.P.G. deferred any decision on sponsoring an S.P.G. school in Carbonear.<sup>748</sup>

Nothing more is mentioned about a school in Carbonear until 1817, when Vice Admiral Pickmore, Governor of Newfoundland, recommended that Thomas Pierce Conner be appointed the S.P.G. schoolmaster in Carbonear. The Society agreed to this recommendation and awarded Conner an annual salary of 15 pounds for his role as schoolmaster.<sup>749</sup> According to Pickmore, Conner had been operating a school in Carbonear and had applied himself with great diligence and attention to the instruction of the children.<sup>750</sup> Both the surrogate in Carbonear and Frederick Carrington, the missionary

in Harbour Grace at the time, felt that Conners was of good character and supported Pickmore's recommendation.<sup>751</sup>

In 1819, Carbonear, which had always been considered a part of the S.P.G. mission in Harbour Grace, applied for their own missionary. By December of the same year, the S.P.G. assigned John Burt to the newly formed mission at Carbonear.<sup>752</sup> Shortly after Burt's arrival in 1820 the S.P.G. schoolmaster, T. Pierce Conner, died. John Leigh, the S.P.G. missionary in Harbour Grace, wrote to the S.P.G. that both he and Burt preferred that the S.P.G. send over a teacher from England trained in the Bell and Lancaster system<sup>753</sup> to replace Conner in Carbonear. However, if this was not possible, they both agreed to recommend William Loader.<sup>754</sup> Loader was noted as being a member of the Church of England, a qualification that Conners lacked. The Society agreed to the appointment of William Loader.<sup>755</sup> In Carbonear there was also a Sunday School that Burt had established shortly after his arrival. Because there was no schoolroom in Carbonear, Burt kept the Sunday School at his own home. In June 1821 Burt reported that there were 18 boys and 12 girls attending his Sunday School.<sup>756</sup> The newly formed Carbonear mission was, however, experiencing difficulty. The parsonage house that had been promised had not been built and the inhabitants were experiencing difficulty raising subscriptions for the mission because of a poor fishery.<sup>757</sup> In 1822 Burt moved to Harbour Grace to live in the parsonage house during Leigh's absence.<sup>758</sup> Several months later, the S.P.G. reunited the Harbour Grace and Carbonear missions and appointed Burt its missionary.<sup>759</sup>

## Bay Roberts

In 1810, Anspach reported that a man named George Williams opened a school in Bay Roberts. He taught 42 children, 36 of whom were able to repeat the church catechism very well.<sup>760</sup> In 1812 the S.P.G. appointed Williams its schoolmaster at Bay Roberts.<sup>761</sup> By 1812 Williams is reported to have been operating two schools at Bay Roberts: a day school and a Sunday school.<sup>762</sup> In 1820, however, John Leigh questioned Williams' loyalty to the Church of England. Williams' wife had died and at her own request was buried by a Methodist preacher. In fact, because of this Leigh informed the S.P.G. that he feared that S.P.G. funds were too often being paid to people in Newfoundland who were anything but Anglican.<sup>763</sup> Williams continued to teach at Bay Roberts until he was suspended by Charles Blackman, the missionary at that time for the District of Port de Grave, for "disreputable conduct." According to Blackman, Williams had gotten a young girl in the community pregnant and thus had lost the confidence of the people. He noted, however, that if Williams married the young girl, Blackman would consider recommending him for future employment with the S.P.G. in another community "at a distance."<sup>764</sup> In 1834 he did recommend that Williams' services as Catechist and Reader in the church be renewed by the Society.<sup>765</sup> George Williams also appealed to the S.P.G. for his renewal. He explained that he was currently a teacher in the public school in Bay Roberts and wished to be awarded a salary for his role as Catechist and Reader in the church.<sup>766</sup> The Society did not respond to this request.

## Grates Cove

Grates Cove is the most northerly community on the Avalon Peninsula. It lies approximately 40 miles north of Harbour Grace. In this community a man named John Hoskins resided since 1790.<sup>767</sup> Although it is not stated, Hoskins may have been the son of the schoolmaster at Old Perlican who introduced Methodism there. In 1781, a John Hoskins wrote to John Wesley regarding his arrival in Trinity in 1774 with his sixteen year old son.<sup>768</sup> The minister in Trinity, James Balfour, advised Hoskins that he could keep school in Old Perlican. This John Hoskins was fifty-five years old upon his arrival in 1774.<sup>769</sup> It is possible that Hoskins' son in 1790, then thirty-two years old, moved to Grates Cove to fish and set up school. For 25 years Hoskins fished during the summer season and kept school during the winter months. Because there was no Anglican minister near Grates Cove, Hoskins also acted as the substitute minister. He read prayers and sermons twice every Sunday, baptized children and churched women in a manner that he felt was agreeable to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Finally, as most of the people in the community were illiterate, Hoskins wrote for them and took care of their accounts.<sup>770</sup> In 1815, Hoskins, because of his age, planned to leave Grates Cove; however, the people did not want him to go and promised to provide for him if he remained among them. As a result of a poor fishery, the people were unable to fulfill their promise to Hoskins.<sup>771</sup> In order to have Hoskins remain in Grates Cove, William Butt, a merchant in Poole, forwarded Hoskins' letter to the S.P.G. to see if it would agree

to help him.<sup>772</sup> There appears to have been no response from the S.P.G. In 1823, the inhabitants of Grates Cove appealed to Carrington, the S.P.G. missionary in St. John's, to recommend John Hoskins to the S.P.G. for an annual salary.<sup>773</sup> Carrington did recommend him and explained to the S.P.G. that Hoskins needed financial assistance in order to continue with his duties at the church and school in Grates Cove.<sup>774</sup> At an S.P.G. meeting on 20 February 1824 the S.P.G. appointed Hoskins schoolmaster at Grates Cove with the usual salary for that occupation to commence 1 January 1824 on the condition that Hoskins conform to the instructions of the Society's missionaries.<sup>775</sup>

#### **John Leigh, S.P.G. Missionary in Harbour Grace: 1819-1820**

Upon Frederick Carrington's removal to the St. John's mission, John Leigh, the S.P.G. missionary at Twillingate, requested a transfer to the mission in Harbour Grace. He explained that his situation at Twillingate was not as he had been promised.<sup>776</sup> The Society agreed to this request and Leigh transferred to Harbour Grace in September 1819.<sup>777</sup>

By January 1820, Leigh began to suggest to the S.P.G. the merits of organizing the Church of England in Newfoundland and appointing an overseer on the island. In fact, the structural make-up of Anglicanism, with its emphasis on the dispensing of the sacraments by authorized personnel, dictated the necessity for a local administrator.<sup>778</sup> Leigh reported that in Conception Bay there were three Catholic priests and four Methodist missionaries as compared to one Anglican minister. Because of their own lack

of numbers, Leigh felt that the appointment of an Ecclesiastical superior would give much weight to Anglicanism on the island.<sup>779</sup> Because of Newfoundland's retarded colonial development, the Church of England in Newfoundland was never defined as the "established church." Therefore, Newfoundland Anglicans did not have the rights and privileges enjoyed by Anglicans in other North American colonies. In August 1820, Leigh wrote again to the S.P.G. requesting that an Episcopal visitation every 3 or 4 years to confirm would be beneficial to the Church of England in Newfoundland. At this point there had never been an Episcopal visit to Newfoundland, yet the Roman Catholic church had a bishop who resided on the island and had done so for a number of years. This, he felt, gave the Catholic Church more authority in the eyes of the people. Leigh suggested that the clergyman at St. John's should be appointed Rural Dean in order that the Anglican ministers in Newfoundland could organize themselves. At present he felt that they were merely "labourers without any head or director."<sup>780</sup>

By November 1820, the S.P.G. decided to appoint Leigh its travelling missionary for the southern parts of Newfoundland with a salary of three hundred pounds per annum. It was also decided that the S.P.G. would recommend to the Bishop of Nova Scotia that John Leigh be appointed the Ecclesiastical Superior in Newfoundland.<sup>781</sup> Up to this point, each Anglican clergyman worked independently in Newfoundland, and the Anglican schools within their parishes operated virtually as community schools subsidized by the S.P.G. so that the poorer children could also receive an education. After the appointment of John Leigh as Ecclesiastical Commissary, the Church of

England in Newfoundland finally began to organize itself, both ecclesiastically and educationally.

### **Conclusion**

Conception Bay, with its main harbours in Carbonear and Harbour Grace, was throughout the eighteenth century the most populous district in Newfoundland with year-round inhabitants. In 1764 the inhabitants of Harbour Grace and Carbonear began building a church. In the summer of 1766 Lawrence Coughlan arrived in Harbour Grace to serve as their resident minister. He was appointed the S.P.G. missionary to Conception Bay that fall, bringing the total of S.P.G.-sponsored Anglican ministers on the island to three.

One of Coughlan's initial tasks was the establishment of a school in Harbour Grace. In 1767 Coughlan appointed John Genner to be the schoolmaster in Harbour Grace; however, the S.P.G. were reluctant to offer any long term support. Arthur Thomey succeeded Genner in 1768; however, he too could not secure support from the S.P.G. When Coughlan selected John Griggs as schoolmaster to replace Thomey in 1770, he did so with the S.P.G. Rules and Orders in mind and thus was able to secure the S.P.G. appointment as its schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, a position he maintained until his dismissal in 1776.

It appears that from 1767 to 1776 the school in Harbour Grace had an annual attendance of approximately forty students, both boys and girls. This attendance,

however, was interrupted in the summer because of the children's involvement in the fishery. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the majority of planters, unable to afford the high wages for servants, used their own families to catch and process the fish. This use of child labour in the fishery interfered with educational efforts in Harbour Grace, as well as the rest of Newfoundland, well into the nineteenth century. Despite sporadic attendance in the summer, the instructional time allotted was longer in the summer than in the winter. The standard time allotted was eight to nine hours in the summer and six to seven hours in the winter. The reduction of time in the winter was a result of the climate and daylight time. Another factor in Harbour Grace that interfered with year-round instruction was the tradition of many of the poorer inhabitants to resort to the woods for the winter for food and shelter.

The curriculum that was offered at the S.P.G.-sponsored school in Harbour Grace resembled the curriculum offered in the S.P.C.K. charity schools in England and other S.P.G. schools in the colonies. Reading, writing and arithmetic were taught, with the principal focus on religious instruction and the Anglican catechism. Arthur Thomey appears to have offered singing as a part of his curriculum, a charity school subject that did not always find favour with church officials in England. Such a subject was not uncommon, and in some places in America the singing of the psalms in the charity schools was not only accepted but an integral part of the curriculum offered. There is no evidence to suggest that any of the following teachers in Harbour Grace offered singing as a part of the curriculum.

In 1768 the first school house built by English inhabitants was opened in Harbour Grace. This building underwent renovations in 1788 and was finally replaced in 1806 with a new school house under the supervision of Lewis Amadeus Anspach. The S.P.G. contributed to the erection of this new structure, marking the first time such a contribution was made in Newfoundland.

After Coughlan's resignation from the S.P.G. mission in Harbour Grace in 1773, James Balfour, the S.P.G. missionary at Trinity, was transferred to the vacant mission in 1775. Although Griggs reportedly continued to operate his school in the absence of a resident clergyman, he was dismissed by the S.P.G., based on reports from the recently arrived Balfour that Griggs was neglecting his duties as schoolmaster. Balfour, like his predecessor in Harbour Grace, found it difficult to procure a qualified schoolmaster. The remuneration for such a position appears to have been one of the main reasons for this. Balfour did appoint Edward Freeman in 1778; however, he also found the salary too inadequate to continue. Because Balfour could not find a suitable school teacher, he undertook the task himself. He ran a paying school for approximately four years despite the S.P.G.'s disapproval. Balfour defended his position by explaining that he continued his educational endeavours mainly to ensure that his own children received a proper education.

The school in Harbour Grace was an unstable institution since its establishment in 1767, because of the difficulty encountered to procure a proper qualified teacher. This changed with the appointment of William Lampen in 1785. Initially contracted for three

years, Lampen continued to teach in Harbour Grace for approximately thirty-six years. Although he too found the salary earned inadequate, Lampen was able to sustain a living in Harbour Grace by teaching a large number of day students, establishing a winter evening school, and eventually teaching a Sunday School. Despite Lampen's controversy with Balfour, which cost him his S.P.G. stipend between 1792 and 1796, all other missionaries agreed that the Dartmouth native was an effective educator. In fact George Jenner insisted that Lampen taught school better than anyone else he had known. Lampen's correspondence with the S.P.G. during his thirty-six year teaching career in Harbour Grace is invaluable as a source for understanding the nature, curriculum and methodologies employed in the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

It is also through this correspondence that a picture emerges as to the type of education that was offered to the charity boys and girls as opposed to the paying students in these S.P.G.-sponsored community schools. Although the information on this topic is scant at best, it is noted that the charity students received an education in reading and writing with a focus upon religious instruction in the Anglican faith. The exception to this was a nine-and-a-half-year-old charity girl whom Lampen taught reading and writing and proposed to teach cyphering. His reasoning for doing so was not founded upon practical reasons but merely due to the proficiency the young girl showed in learning. Unfortunately the S.P.G. ceased its funding of Lampen's school at this time because of the controversy surrounding him and Balfour. Thus it is unlikely that this young charity

student was able to continue her studies. This incident is significant because we begin to see the desire for education surpass not only gender expectations but also social limits as well, contrary to the original aims of the charity school movement itself.

Another important figure in the promotion of pedagogical activities in Conception Bay was Lewis Amadeus Anspach, former supervisor and teacher at the St. John's Grammar School (1799 - 1802), who was appointed S.P.G. missionary to Harbour Grace in 1802. Anspach's most significant contribution to the education of the poor in Newfoundland was the promotion and establishment of Sunday schools in Conception Bay. According to Anspach, the establishment of Sunday Schools, which became a popular movement in England at the end of the eighteenth century, was needed in Conception Bay more so than any other place in the world. Child labour in the fishery was cited as the major reason for an ignorant and unruly youth population in Conception Bay. Because children were economically forced to engage in the fishery at a very young age, they were not afforded the opportunity to avail of any day instruction offered in their communities. Thus, these children could be best served by offering them instruction when they were not working and could avail of it: on Sundays.

Initially in 1803, Anspach's motivation behind establishing Sunday schools in Conception Bay was to reform the manners of the youth and help them become good Christians and obedient servants. As a result of this, the Harbour Grace inhabitants contributed financially to the establishment of a Sunday School in their community. By 1807, however, this support waned considerably and Anspach was forced to appeal to the

S.P.G. for financial support in order to ensure the continuance of this institution. Among several reasons given for the lack of support towards this institution was the fact that those in Harbour Grace who could support it were interested in keeping the majority of people in ignorance. This was because it was felt that the few planters who could read were in much better circumstances than those who could not. This reference to economic or social betterment as a result of education is important in evaluating the effect of the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland. It is also important because we see an opposition to education that is reminiscent of the opposition that faced the charity school movement in England during the beginning of the eighteenth century. Despite the implications towards social mobility, the S.P.G. agreed to send Lampen an extra five pounds per annum in order to ensure the continuance of the Sunday School in Harbour Grace.

Although Anspach was instrumental in establishing Sunday Schools in Conception Bay, it would be John Leigh, the S.P.G. missionary to Harbour Grace who eventually became Newfoundland's first Anglican Ecclesiastical Commissary, who would ensure the continuance of Sunday instruction with his insistence that the establishment of such an institution be mandatory for all S.P.G. school teachers. As we shall see in the following chapter of this thesis, the S.P.G.-sponsored Sunday Schools would be evaluated by Archdeacon George Coster in 1827 as the S.P.G.'s best contribution to education in rural Newfoundland.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE BEGINNING OF LOCAL AUTHORITY AND REFORM

The end of the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815) brought much economic and social change to Newfoundland. There was an increase in the settled population and a decrease in the seasonal migratory fishery, which inevitably made the non-settlement policies of England towards Newfoundland obsolete. King William's Act of 1699 and Palliser's Act of 1775 discouraged settlement and emphasized that Newfoundland was not a colony but a nursery for seamen and a temporary fishing station. By 1805, however, year-round residence outnumbered visitors four to one, and by the end of the Napoleonic wars, the resident population continued to increase and outnumbered those in the migratory fishery five to one.<sup>782</sup> Although the resident population did not increase drastically in numbers in the eighteenth century, its increase in ratio to the summer migratory population was a result of a decline in the migratory activity on the island. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the resident population also increased in size at a rate of 1,000 to 5,000 people per year.<sup>783</sup> This increase in the year-round population plus an increase in the cost of food and supplies during the war years led to the development of a more diversified economy and a new type of merchant, who

assumed residency in Newfoundland. This educated middle-class began to push for political reform, which resulted in Newfoundland being awarded colonial status in 1824. The increase in population and the religious tolerance enjoyed by Roman Catholics and Dissenters since the declaration of religious liberties by Governor John Campbell in 1784 also signalled a need for reform within the Church of England in Newfoundland. As Newfoundland could no longer be governed politically from a distance, neither could the Anglican church. In order for the Church of England to survive in Newfoundland during the nineteenth century, it needed visible resident leadership and more clergy to cater to the increased population.

#### **Population Increase, Economic and Political Development**

There were two major factors that contributed to the increased population in Newfoundland during the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century: the Napoleonic wars and Irish immigration. Throughout most of the eighteenth century the migratory fishery dominated in the major centres of Newfoundland, especially St. John's and the south coast. The exception to this was during wartime, when the sedentary fishery was preferred to the dangers of crossing the Atlantic. Due to the length of the Napoleonic wars, the migratory fishery had all but vanished. By the end of the eighteenth century, every nine out of ten people working in the Newfoundland fishery during the summer were year-round residents.<sup>784</sup> Settlement in Newfoundland was preferred, because one was able to elude the press gangs of England,

which would have forced the men into the Royal Navy. One also could avoid the risks of crossing the Atlantic during wartime. Because of the increase in the winter population, there was a concentrated effort to explore the resources of the island in order to offset the high cost of imported food and supplies. As a result, a full scale seal fishery emerged. A seal fishery had been practised in Newfoundland as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century; however, this fishery was mainly carried out by northern inhabitants during the winter months.<sup>785</sup> But in the early nineteenth century many small schooners were leaving Conception Bay and St. John's to travel northward in the spring to meet the seals. Since the spring seal fishery resulted in the need for schooners to make the voyage north, ship building became another by-industry in Newfoundland. This industry was largest in Conception and Trinity Bays, where resident populations were high and timber resources were near.<sup>786</sup>

The second factor that contributed to an increase in Newfoundland's population was the influx of Irish immigrants between 1811 and 1820.<sup>787</sup> The population pressure in Ireland, a depressed economy, and political unrest encouraged many poor Irish to immigrate to Newfoundland to obtain employment. At the end of the 1815 fishing season, the Newfoundland Chief Justice, Caesar Colclough, reported that nearly 7,000 people, almost all Irish, had come to Newfoundland that season and that at least half were expected to remain.<sup>788</sup> When the war ended that same year, Newfoundland entered into a fifteen-year period of intense depression.<sup>789</sup> Everyone in Newfoundland felt its effects; however, the unemployed, poverty-stricken Irish immigrants suffered much more. The

depressed economy was intensified during the winters of 1816 and 1817, when fires devastated St. John's, leaving many homeless and starving. By the spring of 1817, 3,000 out of approximately 10,000 St. John's residents were receiving relief.<sup>790</sup> Due to the lack of winter employment, cheapness of rum, and the absence of any winter administration, idleness and debauchery reigned on the island. The social problems were so acute that after 1817 the admiral governors remained in residence in Newfoundland year-round in hopes of achieving some lawful order.<sup>791</sup>

The increase in the winter population and the decrease in the migratory fishery also resulted in a new type of merchant who settled in Newfoundland year-round. With the increase in the wages of fishers and the threat of piracy during the war years, the merchants shifted focus from transporting labour and supplies and a direct involvement in the bank fishery to supplying the planters and bye-boat keepers with supplies and buying their fish for market. Unlike their predecessors, these merchants did not keep their main residence in England, but established permanent homes and the headquarters of their operations in Newfoundland, especially St. John's. These middle-class merchants, much like their counterparts in England, began to concern themselves with social and political issues and demanded a greater control of their surroundings, which would also accord them the social status of the ruling class.<sup>792</sup> The social misery in St. John's during the early nineteenth century resulted in the birth of humanitarian concerns and the forming of benevolent societies. The administration of the island or the lack of it became a major focus of the merchants, doctors and lawyers who now made Newfoundland their home.

Men such as William Carson, Patrick Morris and John Kent began to push for reform. They were not alone. The Anglican missionaries of Newfoundland, who had throughout the eighteenth century complained of the social, economic and political situation on the island, began to ask for improvements within their own institution.

### **The Church of England in Newfoundland at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century**

The increased population made it impossible for just a few scattered missionaries throughout the island to propagate the Anglican faith effectively. The Church of England in Newfoundland, unlike the Church in many other British colonies, was not granted official status as the “established church” and therefore saw itself in fear of extinction in the face of an increased Irish Catholic population and newly issued religious liberties. In 1784 Governor Campbell issued the proclamation of religious tolerance in Newfoundland. As a result, the Roman Catholic Church began to officially send priests and teachers to serve the increased Roman Catholic population swelled by Irish immigration. The presence of a Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic and eventually Bishop strengthened the legitimacy of the Roman Catholic church. They were able to offer to the residents of Newfoundland something that the episcopally neglected Anglicans did not have: active episcopal supervision and the ability to dispense sacramental graces through authorized personnel.<sup>793</sup> Many Newfoundland Anglicans who lived in isolated areas of Newfoundland void of any Anglican authority were often forced to go to a Roman Catholic priest to be married or have their children baptized. When this

wasn't even available they were forced to rely upon their friends and neighbours to perform these religious rites with absolutely no ecclesiastical authority. Another threat felt by the Anglicans in Newfoundland was from the Methodists and Congregationalists, whose administration resided with the local congregation.<sup>794</sup> The Church of England, on the other hand, had structural and pastoral needs that required resident episcopal authority in Newfoundland. The Anglicans in Newfoundland had come under the diocese of the Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1789. This episcopate extended from Detroit in the West to St. John's in the East.<sup>795</sup> The first bishop appointed, Charles Inglis, displayed little interest in Newfoundland. He was reluctant to delegate religious authority by appointing an ecclesiastical commissary, which could have compensated somewhat for his deficient administration in Newfoundland.<sup>796</sup> By the second decade of the nineteenth century, local clergy began to insist on some sort of administrative reform in the Church of England for the island. In 1821, John Leigh was appointed Ecclesiastical Commissary for Newfoundland by Bishop Robert Stanser, Charles Inglis' successor.<sup>797</sup> This appointment of a priest from Twillingate, however, would prove ill-suited for Newfoundland's geographical layout, and although Leigh's appointment was a step in the right direction, organizational and pastoral problems in Newfoundland would not be adequately addressed until the establishment of a separate bishopric in 1839 for Newfoundland and Bermuda.<sup>798</sup>

### **The Appointment of an Ecclesiastical Commissary in Newfoundland**

As early as 1805, Lewis Amadeus Anspach reported to the S.P.G. the need for local authority within the Church of England in Newfoundland. He explained that although the five S.P.G. missionaries and five S.P.G. school teachers were inadequate to serve the population, a local clergyman "invested with the powers similar to those of a Suffragan Bishop" would "increase the consequences of the Established church and secure it to a greater degree."<sup>799</sup> However, such an appointment would not become a reality until John Leigh's insistence on ecclesiastical reform in 1820. John Leigh began his appointment as the S.P.G. missionary to Twillingate in 1816. He then transferred to Harbour Grace in 1819 in the hopes of attaining better financial security. During the winter of 1820, Leigh suggested to the S.P.G. that the appointment of an ecclesiastical superior would legitimize the Church of England in Newfoundland for all, especially its enemies.<sup>800</sup> That summer Leigh again insisted upon the need for an active episcopal administration. He suggests that an episcopal visit every 3 to 4 years would be beneficial and that the clergyman in St. John's should be appointed also Rural Dean to hold meetings with colleges and to correspond with the Bishop.<sup>801</sup> He explained how difficult it was for the Anglican clergy in Newfoundland. They felt as though they were "labourers without any head or direction."<sup>802</sup> Leigh, like his political contemporaries, felt that local authority would allow them to deal with many matters immediately without having to wait for a decision to reach them from London. Leigh's insistence on local organization for the Church of England in Newfoundland led to his appointment as

travelling missionary for the island and Ecclesiastical Commissary of Newfoundland in 1821.<sup>803</sup>

Leigh's proposed plans to organize the Church of England in Newfoundland included the organization of the S.P.G. schools as well. Since his initial tenure at Twillingate, Leigh showed much interest in educational matters. He believed that education was vital in the development of a strong Anglican parish. He reported to the S.P.G. that the establishment of a school that included the teaching of the catechism and the tenets of the Anglicanism would "operate more strongly in favour of the church than anything else."<sup>804</sup> Leigh, in keeping with the educational movement in England at the time, proposed that the school at Twillingate be established on the "national plan" and that a school teacher named Charles Sergeant, who was trained at the National School at Wells, be sent over under the patronage of the S.P.G.<sup>805</sup>

### **The "National System" of Education**

At the beginning of the nineteenth century in England it was realized that the charity school movement of the eighteenth century, which encouraged popular education by means of endowment and subscription day and Sunday schools, fell short of its goals.<sup>806</sup> The charity school movement of the early eighteenth century was tainted with fears of Jacobite tendencies, and the Sunday school movement at the end of the eighteenth century was but a band-aid solution. The early nineteenth century saw a decrease in child mortality and an increase in industry, which led to the demand of child

labour.<sup>807</sup> The S.P.C.K. Report of 1810 disclosed that two-thirds of the poor children in England received no schooling.<sup>808</sup> Comparatively, the educational situation in England did not appear much better than that which existed in Newfoundland in the early nineteenth century. In 1818 Lord Brougham's Commission of Inquiry into the Education of the Lower Orders reported that out of approximately 13,000 parishes in England, 3,500 had no school.<sup>809</sup> Although this voluntary effort of public education was deemed inadequate, it would not be until 1833 that the British parliament granted any aid to public education in Great Britain.<sup>810</sup> Throughout the beginning of the nineteenth century, the debate over state finance and church involvement in education would delay any decision<sup>811</sup> and continue the financing of public elementary education on a voluntary system.

The "national system" of education that arose in the early nineteenth century was based upon Dr. Andrew Bell's Madras or mutual system of education and the teachings of the Anglican catechism. Under this method of education, many children could be taught cheaply through the use of monitors. First the master would train the monitors. These monitors or assistant teachers were older students, usually between the ages of eleven and fourteen. They were responsible to hear the lessons of the younger children with the aid of a tutor, who ranged from seven to eleven years old. It was believed that the older children could explain things better to the younger children than an adult could and that the older children learned better because of the reinforcement of the lesson through teaching.<sup>812</sup> Bell's contemporary, Joseph Lancaster, developed a similar system of

education; however, he supported the idea of “unsectarian” religious teachings. Sarah Trimmer, author and pioneer of the Sunday school movement, adamantly opposed Lancaster’s unsectarian education. She felt that the Book of Common Prayer and the Anglican catechism should remain prescribed subjects and that the bishops and clergy should remain authorized guardians of education.<sup>813</sup> In 1810 supporters of Lancaster, the majority of whom were Whigs and Dissenters, formed a committee that later became known as the “British and Foreign School Society.” They founded and supported nondenominational schools. The supporters of Bell, who were mainly Tories and Churchmen, formed the National Society under the auspices of the S.P.C.K. in 1811.<sup>814</sup> As a result, the S.P.C.K. charity schools were turned into national schools, and the S.P.C.K. limited its involvement to the supply of books. In 1817 the National Society was incorporated by Royal Charter<sup>815</sup>, a privilege enjoyed by the S.P.G. since 1701 but never by the S.P.C.K.<sup>816</sup>

#### **John Leigh, Ecclesiastical Commissary, 1821-1823.**

Although Charles Sergeant, the teacher trained in the national system, did not come to Twillingate in 1817, Leigh continued to support the idea of S.P.G. schools being formed on the national plan. In 1819, while Leigh was in Harbour Grace, the school master at Carbonear, Thomas Pierce Conners, died. Leigh notes that he preferred for the S.P.G. to send someone from England trained in the National System to replace him. He suggested, however, that if such an appointment was not possible, William Loader, unlike

Connors, a member of the Church of England, be appointed.<sup>817</sup> In keeping with the national plan, Leigh asserted that all the S.P.G. schoolmasters should be devout Anglicans. He complained to the S.P.G. that too often in Newfoundland the Society's money had been paid to people who were anything but church Protestants.<sup>818</sup> In order to rectify this problem, Leigh conducted inquiries into the character and religious affiliation of potential S.P.G. schoolmasters. He also recommended the removal of certain S.P.G. schoolmasters who were not affiliated with the Church. In Bonavista, for example, Leigh appointed Thomas Gaylor the S.P.G. school teacher to replace Mrs. Hosier, whom he dismissed because she was a Methodist. According to Leigh, Hosier kept a day school but never a Sunday school.<sup>819</sup>

Leigh's interest and involvement in the supervision of the schools within his district led to the following proposal on improving the educational situation in Newfoundland:

1. Catechists and Schoolmasters should be placed in out harbours where there are any considerable number of Episcopalian inhabitants.
2. Each Catechist or Schoolmaster must report the success of his school to the missionary of his district before receiving the yearly stipend.
3. Catechists and schoolmasters must assemble inhabitants on Sunday and read prayers and sermons provided by Society and missionary only.
4. Each catechist and schoolmaster must open a Sunday school and instruct at least 3 poor children gratis.
5. Missionaries be empowered to appoint schoolmasters.

6. Missionaries be furnished with a few volumes of orthodox sermons to lend to catechists and schoolmasters to read to congregation on Sunday.

7. Missionary must visit out harbours in district as much as possible.<sup>820</sup>

From the above proposal it is evident that Leigh attempted to deal with the ecclesiastical and scholastic problems the Church of England encountered in Newfoundland. The first proposal dealt with the lack of Anglican clergy in Newfoundland. By employing Anglican schoolmasters and catechists in areas that did not have a resident clergy, the Church would be able to cheaply deal with an increased dispersed population. Secondly, the proposal suggests that catechists and school teachers, who were traditionally appointed and accountable to the S.P.G. committee in England, should now be appointed and answerable to the missionary in his district. This proposal would put the S.P.G.-sponsored schools directly under the local authority of the Anglican clergy, in order to ensure that the catechists and school teachers were qualified Anglicans. Leigh had noted to the S.P.G. prior to this proposal that he felt that too often an S.P.G. salary was given to non-Anglicans.<sup>821</sup>

On 16 March 1821 the S.P.G. adopted this proposal as a part of its rules and regulations. Based upon the above recommendation that S.P.G. schoolmasters open a Sunday school and teach at least three poor children gratis, Marshall, the S.P.G. schoolmaster in St. John's, resigned his position in 1822. He reasoned that after working all week, he wished to devote his time on Sunday to religious worship and his family.<sup>822</sup> The requirement that S.P.G.-sponsored school teachers must establish a Sunday School

was in direct response to the economic situation in Newfoundland and the use of child labour in the sedentary fishery. Throughout the week poor young boys and girls were engaged in the fishery and economically unable to be spared for the classroom. This problem was reminiscent of the one that Anspach encountered when he introduced the use of Sunday Schools in Conception Bay. The requirement to have at least three children taught free of charge would have been to ensure that some of the poor who could not afford to have their children instructed would be able to avail of Sunday instruction. Any further plans Leigh had for the reorganization of the Church and Anglican schools in Newfoundland, however, would not be realized. On 17 August 1823 after a long illness, Leigh died at Bonavista.

### **The Newfoundland School Society**

As already stated at the beginning of this chapter, the post-war era of the Napoleonic wars brought economic and social change to Newfoundland, especially St. John's, the mercantile centre for the island. The new type of merchant, unlike his predecessor, spent more time in Newfoundland and thus gained greater insight into the social miseries such as poverty and ignorance among the masses. These social problems were intensified in the second decade of the nineteenth century, because of the depressed economy and the influx of Irish immigrants. It resulted in a flood of people migrating to the larger settlements such as St. John's to find employment or relief. The year 1817 saw much devastation in St. John's. The shore fishery was limited, the bank fishery met with

little success, and the spring seal fishery experienced an unprecedented failure.<sup>823</sup> This resulted in the economic ruin of many, from the merchant to the common fisherperson. This economic disaster was only worsened by a severe winter and devastating fires that ravished the town twice that very winter.<sup>824</sup>

It was during these troubled times that Samuel Codner, a merchant involved in the Newfoundland trade since 1788,<sup>825</sup> began his philanthropic work. In 1821, Codner attended a meeting of the evangelical British and Foreign Bible Society at Margate, England. Lord Liverpool presided over the meeting and stressed to his listeners how important it was for Great Britain to provide religious instruction in the colonies.<sup>826</sup> Codner immediately began to organize support and collect subscriptions for the setting up of schools in Newfoundland. In 1823 the Newfoundland School Society was formed. It sought support from the British government, which agreed to give the Society land grants in Newfoundland in order to build schools as well as free passage on the H.M. Ships -of- War for its teachers. The British government also issued instructions to the authorities in Newfoundland to provide all the aid and support within their power to the Society's schools.<sup>827</sup> In 1824 the British government also gave the Society a grant of five hundred pounds for the building of schools and one hundred pounds per annum for teacher salaries.<sup>828</sup>

The chief aim of the Society was to provide free instruction to all inhabitants of all denominations in Newfoundland. Its teachers were required to be members of the Church of England trained in Bell's system of education. Although the national system in

England included the teaching of the Anglican catechism, the Newfoundland School Society schools avoided this during school hours in an attempt to appeal to all denominations on the island. In September 1824, the Society advertised in the *Mercantile Journal* to tell the public that its school was soon to be opened. It announced that the Bible would be read without comment and that instruction in the Anglican catechism would be given after school hours.<sup>829</sup> Its aim was to attract as many students as possible, especially Catholics who accounted for half of the island's population. In St. John's, many Roman Catholic children availed themselves of this institution until the founding of a school by the Benevolent Irish Society in 1826. This Society, too, professed nondenominational education; however, eventually it became the chief Roman Catholic school in St. John's.<sup>830</sup> The Newfoundland School Society also received support from the Methodist Missionary Commission, which subscribed twenty pounds a year for three years on the assurance that the children who attended were free to attend their own places of worship.<sup>831</sup> By 1825, however, the Commission withdrew its support, because it was dissatisfied with the bias the schools showed towards the Anglican faith. The schoolmasters of the Newfoundland School Society often conducted Sunday schools, directly interfering with Methodist Sunday schools. Despite the fact that the Newfoundland School Society was considered for all intent and purposes an Anglican institution, its overall relationship with the S.P.G.-sponsored Anglican clergy and school teachers was strained at best. The allegations of S.P.G. ineffectiveness in education, the Newfoundland School Society's connection with the Methodists, and the fact that the

Newfoundland School Society schools often directly competed with the S.P.G.-sponsored schools would ensure that the two societies remained separate entities in their educational efforts in Newfoundland.

The first Newfoundland School Society school was opened 20 September 1824 in St. John's. It was attended by three school teachers who had arrived from England that summer: Mr. and Mrs. William Jeynes and Benjamin Fleet. The summer of 1824 also saw the arrival of the new Anglican ecclesiastical commissary, George Coster. He noted upon his arrival that one or two schoolmasters and a schoolmistress had arrived in Newfoundland from England. Since he had heard that these teachers were sanctioned by government in absence of all instruction by the S.P.G., Coster abstained from any connection with them.<sup>832</sup>

#### **George Coster, Ecclesiastical Commissary (1824) and Archdeacon (1825-30)**

George Coster, the new Anglican Ecclesiastical Commissary appointed to replace Leigh after his sudden death in 1823, arrived in St. John's in 1824. Coster, like his predecessor, saw the need for ecclesiastical and educational reform in Newfoundland. He was ordained a priest in 1817 and received the appointment of S.P.G. missionary to Bermuda in 1822.<sup>833</sup> One of Coster's main concerns at this mission was the lack of education for children. In 1824, after being offered the appointment of Ecclesiastical Commissary to Newfoundland, Coster made his way to North America. By 1825, Coster's position in Newfoundland was changed to that of Archdeacon.<sup>834</sup>

Like his counterparts in England, Coster supported and promoted the National System of Education. He attempted to assist Joseph Beacon in altering the St. John's Charity School to operate under a "national plan." This would not happen immediately, however, because Coster suspected that the local trustees were apprehensive of such alterations.<sup>835</sup> He also proposed to establish a National school in Bonavista for one hundred children, whom he would help to catechize.<sup>836</sup> Coster believed that education was one of the most important tools in the preservation of the Anglican faith in Newfoundland. In 1824, Coster recommended to the S.P.G. that in communities where there are no resident ministers, the erection of schoolrooms was preferable to the erection of small churches. He reasoned that this would be a cheaper venture and would ensure the founding of a school without excluding divine service, because the schoolmaster could read to the congregation on Sundays.<sup>837</sup>

In 1825 the Newfoundland School Society opened a school at Trinity. Coster investigated this Society and decided that the Anglican clergy in Newfoundland would be able to work with this organization. He reported that he found nothing in their schools that would contradict the constitutions of the S.P.G. or the National System of Education.<sup>838</sup> He did, however, assure the S.P.G. that he would "keep an eye" on the situation.<sup>839</sup> This cooperation, however, would not last. In 1833, a controversy arose between William Bullock, the S.P.G. missionary at Trinity who was largely responsible for bringing the Newfoundland School Society to his parish, and a Mr. Martin, the Newfoundland School Society's teacher. According to Bullock's letter to Archdeacon

Edward Wix, Coster's successor in 1830, Martin had said that those children who attended Bullock's Sunday school should not be given benefit of instruction at his school during the week. Thomas Mark Willoughby, the superintendent for the Newfoundland School Society in British North America, visited Trinity to investigate the allegations. It appears that Martin denied the incident, and Willoughby, supporting Martin, ensured Bullock that if a Newfoundland School Society interfered with parents sending their children to Bullock on Sundays he would withdraw that teacher immediately. Bullock pointed out that the fact that the Newfoundland School Society teachers kept Sunday schools was interference enough.<sup>840</sup> Reportedly the S.P.G. began losing its schools as early as 1825, because of the erection of schools by the Newfoundland School Society. In Bonavista, for example, the opening of the Newfoundland School Society did not mean that more children received an education, but that those who were enrolled in the S.P.G. school began to attend the free Newfoundland School Society school.<sup>841</sup> This resulted in Thomas Gaylor losing his students from the S.P.G.-sponsored day school.

The nondenominational Newfoundland School Society found support among Protestant dissenters. This also perpetuated the distrust of the Anglican clergy. At the beginning of his tenure, Archdeacon Edward Wix, Coster's successor, reported to the S.P.G. that although the "Newfoundland School Society have done and are doing; very great good . . . the liberal plan. . . on which that Society is unhappily constituted, it is too much to expect that their Sunday schools should be in connection with the church."<sup>842</sup> According to the Newfoundland School Society's constitution, its school teachers were

required to be members of the Church of England. This rule, according to Wix, was no longer applied in practice. He also stated that this "departure from the rules rest solely on Mr. Willoughby and respectable people should now withdraw from the Society."<sup>643</sup> Wix asserted that the school teachers at the principal Newfoundland School Society schools were highly respectable church members and their schools were excellently conducted. However, he lamented that many dissenters were employed as school teachers in the Newfoundland School Society branch schools.<sup>644</sup> Two prime examples given by Wix were the Newfoundland School Society's branch master in Portugal Cove, John Curtis, a known Wesleyan, who assembled his followers on Sunday,<sup>645</sup> and Mr. Vey in Bay Robert's, who competed with the S.P.G. appointed school master, William Mosdell.<sup>646</sup> Finally, the fact that the S.P.G. missionaries in Newfoundland were accused of misinforming the society in England about its schools in Newfoundland and making no provision for free education further bridged the gap between the two institutions.

#### **An Episcopal Inquiry into the S.P.G. Schools in Newfoundland**

By 1827 the S.P.G. was calling on Coster and the Bishop of Nova Scotia, John Inglis, to assess the educational situation in Newfoundland. Since 1744 the S.P.G. had contributed to S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland. The Newfoundland School Society reported that except for the government-supported St. John's Charity School, there were no other free schools upon its arrival in 1824. Also at this time, the Bishop of London had been informed that the efforts by the S.P.G. were so "ineffectual" as to be "merely

nominal."<sup>847</sup> He was also told that the S.P.G. missionaries were inaccurately reporting the state of the schools in Newfoundland. The Bishop of London conveyed these accusations to the S.P.G., which prompted an inquiry. In May 1827, John Inglis arrived in St. John's, marking the first ever Anglican episcopal visit to Newfoundland. Both Inglis and Coster surveyed the educational situation on the island and submitted their report to the S.P.G. Out of the approximately 20 schools Inglis visited, one half employed school teachers worthy of praise, such as Joseph Beacon in St. John's and Robert Bray in Harbour Grace. The other half were cited as being not very efficient; however, their appointments were justified by the fact that a more appropriate person was not available. Out of all the schools examined, only two were given a completely negative evaluation. William Loader of Carbonear was reported as being not very qualified as either a catechist or schoolmaster, and a Mr. Williams at Bay Roberts was evaluated as aged and not very effective.<sup>848</sup> Out of the approximately twenty schools mentioned, around 15 were daily schools, admitting a number of students gratis. For the rest of the schools mentioned in his report, Inglis could not offer a first-hand account, because he was unable to visit them personally.

Coster also submitted his evaluation to the S.P.G. He defended the activities of the Anglican clergy in Newfoundland with regard to pedagogical activities. He asserted that the economic, social and geographical situation in Newfoundland was not always conducive to finding the best possible educators for the S.P.G. schools. In order to ward off the encroaching Methodists and Roman Catholics, the Anglican clergy would often

employ catechists in settlements that weren't regularly visited by the clergy. These catechists were either schoolmasters already established in the community or the most appropriate person found to read on Sundays and teach school. The most qualified person was not always available. Either the community did not have such a person residing in its area, or the S.P.G. salary for such a position was not adequate to lure the most qualified from their present employment. Thus, the S.P.G. missionary was left with two options: forget the employment of less qualified individuals who could aid in the preservation of the Anglican faith and wait indefinitely for an appropriate person to be found, or employ the less qualified in hopes that even a minimum amount of activity would prove better than none at all.<sup>849</sup> It was through the establishment of many Sunday schools that Coster felt that the S.P.G. was most serviceable to the poor children in Newfoundland. In these institutions many people were taught to read, pray and repeat the Anglican catechism.<sup>850</sup>

Coster admitted that he was far from happy with the state of the S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland. In fact, he reminded the Society that he had brought his feelings on this matter to their attention before. In order to improve things in Newfoundland, Coster suggested that the Society assist in the establishment of a central training school based on the national plan, increase salaries in order to ensure the employment of better qualified persons, require annual reports from schoolmasters, and grant one hundred pounds per annum for the erection of proper school rooms.<sup>851</sup> The Society agreed to these suggestions, and up until the withdrawal of government financial support in 1833, there was a clear and concentrated effort by the S.P.G. and its clergy in Newfoundland to

improve education of the poor on the island. Their efforts, however, would be overshadowed by the activities of the Newfoundland School Society.

### **The S.P.G. National Central Training School in St. John's**

One of the most important outcomes of the inquiry of 1827 was the shift towards a national plan of education in the S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland. Methodologically, this did not offer the schools any advancement beyond the practice of memorization and recitation. It did, however, begin to legitimize the schools with teacher training. In Coster's "Report to the Bishop of Nova Scotia" in 1825, he highlighted the need for a central school in Newfoundland, where S.P.G. teachers could be trained in the Madras or monitorial system of education. He felt that such a venture could improve things and put the S.P.G. schools on better footing.<sup>852</sup> During this time in St. John's, the Newfoundland School Society had its own Central Training school under the supervision of William Jeynes. At this school Bell's monitorial system of education was applied. According to Phillip McCann, the Society's strategy was to set up principal schools in major centres in Newfoundland under the direct supervision of trained teachers from England and branch schools in the smaller settlements, which would be staffed by the monitors who received their training at the central institute.<sup>853</sup> By 1829 the Newfoundland School Society had eight principal schools and fifteen branch schools.<sup>854</sup>

Coster recommended that St. John's, under the supervision of Joseph Beacon, be the site of the S.P.G. central training school. Joseph Beacon was the schoolmaster at the

government-sponsored St. John's Charity school, who had also received the S.P.G. appointment of schoolmaster, which entitled him to an annual salary from the Society. For this annual stipend, Beacon opened a Sunday school<sup>855</sup> in which he taught gratis forty boys and instructed an extra twelve boys at the St. John's Charity School.<sup>856</sup>

In 1827, both Coster and Inglis agreed that the school in St. John's should be organized on a national plan and that Beacon should be trained in Halifax. A Central School, based on the Madras or National system of education, was opened in Halifax in 1816 under the supervision of Mr. West and later Mr. Gore. This school became so well known that teachers from other areas in North America were sent to this school for training.<sup>857</sup> On 15 August 1827, Inglis and Beacon set sail for Halifax on the *HMS Alligator*.<sup>858</sup> In Halifax, Beacon received instruction from the Master at the National School, which enabled him to introduce this system to the S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland.<sup>859</sup> During the summer of 1828, Carrington reported to the S.P.G. that Beacon (now referred to as Bacon) had introduced the national scheme of education at the St. John's Charity School. Bacon also began his training of other S.P.G. teachers, starting with Mr. Parker from Port de Grave.<sup>860</sup> By the winter of 1829, there were eight S.P.G. school teachers attending Bacon's Central Training School. Among those in attendance were William Loader of Carbonear and Richard Parmiter of Emanuels, who were cited by the Bishop of Nova Scotia in his Inquiry of 1827 as lacking qualifications as schoolmasters. According to Carrington, Parmiter obtained a full knowledge of the national scheme; however, Loader made little progress and was expected to return again

for further instruction.<sup>861</sup> Thus, a standard of education among the Newfoundland S.P.G. schools began to emerge. Also, there was an increased awareness of the need for the Church of England to organize itself locally and of competition from other pedagogical organizations in Newfoundland. As a result of these factors, the activities of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland from the 1820s until 1833, when the British government withdrew its support from the S.P.G., which in turn forced the Society to decrease its schools in Newfoundland, had increased dramatically. In Coster's 1829-30 report of S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland there were reportedly seventeen day schools and eighteen Sunday schools receiving support from the S.P.G.<sup>862</sup>

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the 1820s marked a dramatic change in the S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland. The post-Napoleonic era brought to both England and Newfoundland a depressed economy, increased population and a demand for child labour. This brought to the forefront again the issue of education for the poor. In England, this concern developed into two voluntary societies, the British and Foreign School Society, which supported nondenominational instruction of the Bible, and the National School Society, which continued the work of the S.P.C.K. and advocated the Book of Common Prayer and the church catechism as required texts for study. In Newfoundland, the increase in population and the religious tolerance enjoyed by the Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics highlighted for the local clergy the problems of a lack in local administration

and authority. As a result, Newfoundland clergy such as John Leigh began to call for local authority, an appeal that would be paralleled in the political realm by such reformers as William Carson, Patrick Morris and John Kent. Newfoundland had become a colony in its own right and could no longer be governed from across the Atlantic.

Social problems, such as a lack of formal education, allowed middle-class merchants like Samuel Codner to remedy the situation through philanthropy. His founding of the Newfoundland School Society and its recruitment of trained schoolmasters from England in 1824 put pressure on the S.P.G. to reform and defend its nearly century-old institution on the island. During this same year, Newfoundland received colonial status. The need for local government and authority had been realized. In 1827, after rumours about the inadequacy of the S.P.G.-sponsored schools and the inaccuracy of reports from its clergy, the S.P.G. initiated an inquiry into the state of its schools in Newfoundland. The most important result of this inquiry was the setting up of the S.P.G. on the 'national plan' of education and the development of an S.P.G. Central National Training school under the supervision of Joseph Beacon (later named Bacon), the schoolmaster of the S.P.G. and government-supported Charity School in St. John's.

Thus, the 1820s were a turning point in the history of S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland. No longer were these schools, scattered throughout the isolated communities of Newfoundland, independent entities reliant upon correspondence with England for advice and guidance. With the establishment of the office of Ecclesiastical Commissary and later Archdeacon, there was a greater sense of organization within the

Anglican community and therefore in its educational endeavours. There was an attempt at monitoring the S.P.G. schools and the teachers it employed. Also, the increase in teacher salaries, the requirement of annual reports, and the establishment of a Central Training School based on the National scheme gave the S.P.G. schools a sense of professionalism that it never had before. From this point until 1833 the activities by the S.P.G. in Newfoundland had increased dramatically. In Coster's 1829-30 report of S.P.G. schools in Newfoundland there were reportedly seventeen day schools and eighteen Sunday schools receiving support from the S.P.G.. This increased activity declined considerably after 1833, when the British government withdrew its support of the S.P.G. and the new colony began to take responsibility for educating its youth.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, organized activities at home and abroad were needed to ensure the continued vitality and prosperity of the Anglican faith. The formation of societies such as the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. were important factors in sustaining the Church of England institutionally and religiously. The mandate of the S.P.C.K. was to provide parochial libraries at home and abroad, provide missionaries for the plantations, and erect charity schools in and about London. While the S.P.C.K. made great strides in the establishment of charity schools in England, it was soon realized that its original design was too general to be helpful in supporting overseas missions. In order to propagate the gospel in the colonies and plantations, a separate society was needed with more resources. Based upon this, Thomas Bray, co-founder of the S.P.C.K., initiated the formation of the S.P.G. in 1701. The aim of this society was the propagation of the Anglican faith abroad.

The work of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland and its support of several parish schools throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was but a small portion of its overall commitments. At the onset, the primary objective of the Society was to

propagate the Anglican religion in the British factories, plantations, and colonies. Among its various activities the Society provided Anglican clergy as missionaries to these areas, aided in the establishment of churches and church organizations, distributed Church literature and supported schools, and provided parochial libraries to these missions. Thus, the support of educational endeavours was but one activity the S.P.G. pursued in its attempt to propagate the Anglican faith. In assessing the S.P.G.'s work in Newfoundland, it must be remembered that the society's scope was worldwide. It carried on its work in North America, Bermuda, the West Indies, India, Ceylon, South Africa, Borneo, Australia and New Zealand during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>63</sup> Thus educational endeavours in Newfoundland were not high on its list of aims and objectives.

Thomas Bray presented a report in England on the state of religion in Newfoundland in 1700. In this document, Bray noted in disbelief that Newfoundland did have a year-round population, yet little was done to ensure the spiritual well-being of its inhabitants. As a result of Bray's account, the S.P.C.K. included John Jackson among its correspondents and provided him with books to distribute among the inhabitants of the various bays. In 1703 when Jackson's three year private subscription from the inhabitants of St. John's had ended, the S.P.G. added Jackson to its list of missionaries with an annual salary of fifty pounds. Jackson's ministry was, however, ended abruptly in 1705 when he was recalled to England. His attempt to minister to an unsettled and lawless populace would be remembered as one shrouded in controversy and scandal. His

ministry prompted the S.P.G. to instruct its missionaries in the colonies to refrain from any interference in civil matters. Jackson's lack of success in St. John's may have also contributed to the avoidance of the S.P.G. to support any ministry in Newfoundland for the next twenty-five years. Newfoundland, after all, was viewed not as a colony but as a temporary fishing station and nursery for seamen. Why, therefore, would a society, incorporated by Royal charter, provide institutions supportive of settlement in a land that was governed by a non-settlement policy? In 1705 when Jacob Rice was appointed to St. John's by the Bishop of London, he would receive no support from the S.P.G..

Although there are no available documents from Rice to support the claim that he established a formal school during his tenure, it cannot be ignored that his supporters attested to his "setting up a school for the youth." Without dismissing such an assertion, it can be reasonably assumed that this statement referred to a catechetical school that would prepare the youth in St. John's for public catechism. The fact that Rice does not mention anything about a formal school where a more literary curriculum was taught supports this assumption.

The first recorded formal school in Newfoundland was based not in one of the major centres such as St. John's, Harbour Grace or Trinity, but in the smaller settlement of Bonavista. The establishment of this school preceded any formal government institution in Newfoundland by at least two years. The founding of this school was not a result of a philanthropic organization in England but the cooperation and determination of Bonavista's resident Anglican minister, Henry Jones, and the inhabitants in that

settlement. Jones did, however, correspond with the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. regarding assistance. Both societies responded with contributions of textbooks and slates. The S.P.G. also sent gratuities to Jones for his ecclesiastical and educational endeavours in Bonavista. The schoolmistress at the school in Bonavista, however, did not receive any funds from the S.P.G., but was financed solely by the Bonavista inhabitants and the subscriptions Jones was able to collect while in England. Although Jones would receive regular gratuities from the S.P.G., it would not establish Bonavista as one of its missions during Jones' sixteen-year tenure. It did, however, establish a mission at Trinity in 1730.

The second mission established in Newfoundland was in Trinity. The missionary employed there was Robert Killpatrick. Bonavista, on the other hand, was not considered an S.P.G. mission until the appointment of William Peasley in 1743. Peasley replaced Jones when he transferred to Trinity to enjoy the security of the S.P.G.-sponsored mission in that settlement. While at Trinity, there is no evidence to indicate that Jones continued his educational endeavours. The lack of formal educational activities in Trinity Harbour would continue throughout the eighteenth century and can be attributed to its social and economic situation. The migratory nature of the labouring poor, who resorted to the interior during the winter months for food, shelter and employment, made the establishment of any formal schooling difficult.

Peasley continued with pedagogical activity in Bonavista. He reportedly attended to his ministerial duties and continued to teach the poor children to read, yet he complained that the inhabitants would not give him the same financial support that they

had extended to Jones. This deficiency, coupled with the fact that Bonavista failed to provide him with a house and glebe, abruptly ended his mission in Bonavista. His tenure marks the last time in the eighteenth century that the inhabitants of Bonavista would have a resident S.P.G.-sponsored minister. Although it appears that some form of pedagogical activity continued in Bonavista, it would be approximately thirty years before the S.P.G. would become involved again.

A year after his arrival in Bonavista, Peasley moved to St. John's, where the S.P.G. had agreed to establish its first mission in that settlement since Jackson. Upon his arrival, Peasley noted that there existed in St. John's a school taught by a Roman Catholic teacher. Peasley, fearing the inoculation of Roman Catholicism upon the youth in St. John's, appealed to the S.P.G. to support the appointment of an Anglican teacher. The S.P.G. agreed and Peasley personally undertook the task of teaching the children in St. John's. After Peasley's transfer to South Carolina in 1750, we hear nothing more of a S.P.G.-sponsored school in St. John's for over thirty years.

In 1766, Lawrence Coughlan was employed by the inhabitants of Harbour Grace and Carbonear as their minister. A year later he secured the appointment as S.P.G. missionary to that area in order to ensure his continuance since private subscriptions were not forthcoming. This brought the total number of S.P.G.-sponsored missionaries in Newfoundland to three. One of Coughlan's initial tasks in Harbour Grace was to establish a school in that community. Through the efforts of Coughlan and the inhabitants of Harbour Grace, the first Anglican schoolhouse was built in Newfoundland.

For the first three years of the school's existence school teachers were unable to secure an annual stipend from the S.P.G.. Finally, in 1770, John Griggs was chosen as schoolmaster by Coughlan, and upon the approval of the merchants in Harbour Grace and the recommendation of the governor, Griggs received the S.P.G. appointment in 1772. Coughlan's tenure in Harbour Grace would prove more beneficial to the introduction of the Methodist faith in Conception Bay than the promotion of the Anglican faith. The school that he helped establish, however, would continue.

After Coughlan's resignation in 1773 and James Balfour's transfer from Trinity in 1775, the school once again suffered the fate of alternating schoolmasters and a lack of constancy. For a period of approximately four years a qualified schoolmaster could not be procured and Balfour personally attended to the school in order to ensure its continuance and a proper education for his own children. This arrangement was frowned upon by the S.P.G., and it urged Balfour to find an appropriate person to instruct at the school. In 1785 Balfour recommended William Lampen for the appointment of Harbour Grace's S.P.G.-sponsored school teacher. Lampen would continue to teach at this school until his death in 1821. Except for a personal controversy with Balfour, which cost Lampen his S.P.G. salary for approximately four years between 1792 and 1796, Lampen's educational endeavours in Harbour Grace were positively reported by several missionaries in the area. Lampen's school consisted of paying students and non-paying students. For the non-paying students Lampen received an annual stipend from the S.P.G. He taught his students reading, writing, and for those that qualified, arithmetic

and vocational instruction. From his detailed correspondence with the S.P.G. and his annual reports, it is evident that his teaching methods were consistent with his counterparts at the S.P.C.K. schools in England and other S.P.G. schools in the colonies. He taught all students the Anglican catechism and constantly sent them to the clergy for catechizing. In 1797 Lampen began an evening school for the youth in Harbour Grace. He reported that it was the only one of its kind in Newfoundland. He reasoned that such an institution was necessary in order to ensure that the older children who were involved in the fishery during the day could also receive instruction.

In 1784, one year prior to Lampen's appointment in Harbour Grace, Governor John Campbell granted the explicit right of religious liberties for all denominations in Newfoundland. The effects of this were immediately and strongly felt by the S.P.G.-sponsored missionary in St. John's, Walter Price. Not only did this changed legal situation for Roman Catholics result in ecclesiastical competition for the Anglican faith, it also highlighted the administrative problems the Church of England was experiencing in Newfoundland without any strong local authority. In 1787 Price included in his statistics for the past year a total of six schools operating in St. John's. He noted that five of these were taught by Roman Catholic teachers and one by a Protestant dissenter. In 1788 Price opened his own school in St. John's. Although he did hire an assistant teacher to help with a large number of students, Price did not appeal to the S.P.G. for support because he felt the teacher in question was not effective. In 1791, after Price was transferred to New Brunswick he recommended to the S.P.G. the appointment of a Mr. Collins who had

taught at Price's school in St. John's for the previous two years. It would not be until the appointment of Lionel Chancey in 1799 that there was a steady involvement of the S.P.G. in educational activities at St. John's. This was done at the request of the S.P.G. missionaries in St. John's in order to ensure that the tenets of the Anglican faith were taught in St. John's to a growing population.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the permanent population in Newfoundland had grown considerably. Social problems such as caring for the poor and providing education to the masses were highlighted and became a secular concern. Nowhere in Newfoundland was this more obvious than in St. John's, which had grown as the island's social, economic and political centre. Governor William Waldegrave and his successor James Gambier felt that education for the poor was one way of dealing with the social problems in St. John's. Based upon voluntary subscription and government support, a charity school for boys and girls was founded in St. John's in 1803. This school was open to poor children of all denominations, yet it did receive the support of the S.P.G. The S.P.G. missionaries were members of the local society, the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, which was responsible for the operation of these charity schools. By 1822, the school master at this charity school, Joseph Beacon, would also receive a stipend from the S.P.G. as well as the salary he received from voluntary subscription and government.

In 1802, Lewis Amadeus Anspach, Superintendent of the first Grammar School in Newfoundland in 1799, was appointed missionary to Harbour Grace in 1802. His

interest in the education of the poor within his district led to the establishment of Sunday Schools in the area. This Sunday School movement in Newfoundland seems related to the wider movement that occurred in England at the end of the eighteenth century. This movement was a revival of the day charity school movement that had occurred in the early eighteenth century. Instruction on the Sabbath, however, offered a viable solution to the problems that plagued the day charity schools. It allowed children to remain at work during the week and gave them an opportunity to learn on Sundays, which kept them off the streets and far from feared idleness and mischief. Under Anspach's guidance, Lampen opened a Sunday school in Harbour Grace, which was well attended. Sunday schools, asserted Anspach, were the solution to the problem of educating the poor children of Newfoundland. It ensured that the children who were engaged in the fishery during the week, and the children whose parents were unwilling or unable to pay for daily instruction could still receive an education in reading and the tenets of the Anglican faith. Twenty-five years later, Archdeacon George Coster would echo these sentiments and assert that most significant educational accomplishments by the S.P.G. in Newfoundland had occurred through the establishment of its Sunday Schools. While this is certainly true for the quantity of schools offered in rural Newfoundland because of S.P.G. Sunday schools, it is difficult to evaluate the quality of instruction received.

During the post-war era of 1815, Newfoundland's political and social status had finally changed from being a mere fishing station to a colony in its own right. The migratory fishery had all but vanished during the Napoleonic war years and a sedentary

fishery reigned supreme. Because of this change in the industry, a new type of merchant emerged. No longer was he involved directly in the migratory fishery and residing in England. Instead, the new merchant took up residence in Newfoundland. He supplied the bye-boat keepers and the planters with necessary supplies and bought from them their catch for market. These new merchants, together with the doctors, lawyers and other professionals residing on the island, were not content to be governed by overseas authorities. They exerted their economic independence and began to push for political reform. The ineffectiveness of distant authorities was also being felt by the Anglican clergy in Newfoundland.

John Leigh, the S.P.G. missionary to Twillingate and Harbour Grace, arrived in Newfoundland in 1817. He found the Church in much need of supervision and local organization. He reported to his superiors the need for increased missionary salaries, more control and supervision for its schools, and local ecclesiastical authority. This, he felt, would organize the church in Newfoundland and give it a better footing on the island. In response to his recommendations, the S.P.G. appointed him its travelling missionary for Newfoundland and recommended him to the Bishop of Nova Scotia for the appointment of Ecclesiastical Commissary. Leigh's endeavours in Newfoundland were, however, cut short by illness and a premature death in 1823.

Leigh's successor, George Coster, an S.P.G. missionary to Bermuda, arrived in Newfoundland in 1824 to assume his position as the island's new Ecclesiastical Commissary. His position was elevated to that of Archdeacon in 1825. Coster's main

educational contribution during his tenure was to help introduce the national system of education to Newfoundland and to initiate an S.P.G. teacher training institute in St. John's under the supervision of the S.P.G.- sponsored school teacher Joseph Beacon. He also showed much diligence in monitoring the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland and helped to found more such schools in the scattered and isolated settlements throughout Newfoundland. One of the most important tasks Coster undertook during his tenure as archdeacon in Newfoundland was the investigation ordered by the S.P.G. into the state of its schools in Newfoundland. This investigation was prompted by the founding of the Newfoundland School Society in 1823 and the criticism it prompted against the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland. Based on reports of inefficiency and lack of charity, the S.P.G. requested that Coster and John Inglis, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, assess the educational situation of Newfoundland.

Of the several criticisms made against the S.P.G.-sponsored schools, the following two are of special interest in evaluating the educational activities of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland. First, the S.P.G. had spent nearly a century in sending stipends to school teachers in Newfoundland in order that the poor children could take advantage of the educational institutions available in their settlement. The Newfoundland School Society, upon its arrival, however, asserted that the only free school that existed in Newfoundland was the government-supported St. John's Charity School. Secondly, in light of the efforts of the newly formed Newfoundland School Society, the efforts by the S.P.G. were characterized as "ineffectual" as to be "merely nominal," meaning they were

not effective. Based upon a comparative study of the S.P.C.K. charity schools in England and other S.P.G.-sponsored schools in the colonies, the historical reconstruction of the S.P.G.'s involvement in Newfoundland, and Coster's assessment and recommendations in 1827, a judgment about the S.P.G.'s educational endeavours in Newfoundland can be offered.

In his thesis, James Healey states that the S.P.G.'s educational efforts in Newfoundland were highly significant. He notes that previous historians on the subject such as Ruth Christensen and Frederick Rowe have expounded the importance of the S.P.G.'s work in Newfoundland with "little qualification"; however, Healey, with only slight modification, concludes his thesis by reiterating Rowe's list of the S.P.G.'s noteworthy contributions in Newfoundland. This list, however, does little to evaluate the educational efforts of the S.P.G. Instead it offers a summation of what Rowe credits the S.P.G. with having accomplished in Newfoundland along educational lines.

The aim of the S.P.G. was to propagate the Anglican faith in Britain's colonies, factories and plantations. Among the several tasks identified in accomplishing this design was the encouragement given to the setting up of schools. This, however, was but one avenue among several used by the S.P.G. to propagate the Anglican faith. It was never the intention of the S.P.G. to offer Newfoundland, nor any other colony or plantation for that matter, a system of education. The S.P.G. did not directly establish schools in Newfoundland in the eighteenth century but responded to the requests of its missionaries and community leaders to aid in the continuance of their schools by

subsidizing the school teacher's salary with a gratuity or annual stipend. As a condition for this stipend, the S.P.G. teacher was usually required to teach a number of poor children gratis. Thus, when historian Frederick Rowe, as well as James Healey, assert that the S.P.G.'s efforts were "hopelessly inadequate" in the eighteenth century to meet the educational needs of Newfoundland, which had settlements that could be "counted in the hundreds," he does not properly appreciate the context. Based upon the historical reconstruction in this thesis, it is evident that the efforts of the S.P.G. throughout the eighteenth century were only in direct response to the educational endeavours of the individual communities. In fact, as a missionary society, the S.P.G.'s involvement in ecclesiastical affairs and educational endeavours was intended only as a temporary measure until the settlements in question could become self-supportive. The fact that this was never realized in the eighteenth century is a direct result of the poverty and educational indifference that plagued the isolated settlements in Newfoundland as well as the lack of institutional and social development of the island.

As we have seen in chapter two of this thesis, the intentions of the voluntary society, the S.P.C.K., was also limited to offering guidance and support to charity schools in England. The onus was on the individual parishes to establish, fund and administer these institutions. At the beginning of the nineteenth century when the S.P.G.'s educational contributions in Newfoundland were criticised by its competitor as being ineffectual, the voluntary system of elementary education that had existed throughout the eighteenth century in England was also under attack. In fact, in the first half of the

nineteenth century, England, upon which Newfoundland depended for guidance in such areas, could only report that it had charity schools in a third of its parishes. It thus becomes evident that it was not the efforts of the S.P.G. that proved inadequate in Newfoundland but the voluntary system of education as a whole that characterized the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In fact, the Newfoundland School Society, whose main directive was the education of the children in Newfoundland, would also experience problems with funding and support. The success of popular elementary education in Newfoundland and England would depend on a government regulated and funded system with compulsory attendance.

When the Newfoundland School Society established its school in St. John's, it noted that except for the government-sponsored St. John's Charity School, there was no other free school in Newfoundland. In order to assess the S.P.G.'s contribution to education of the poor who could not afford to pay for an education, we must look at its intentions regarding this form of charity. Did the S.P.G. intend to offer exclusively free schools in Newfoundland? Based upon the historical reconstruction offered in this thesis, the answer to this question is unquestionably no. Ideally, the S.P.G.-sponsored schools were to be modelled after the S.P.C.K. charity schools in England. This was true in terms of their aims, methodology and curriculum; however, the S.P.G. was willing to adapt to the needs of the Newfoundland settlements in terms of method, curriculum, and structure. The S.P.C.K. charity schools discouraged the mixing of paying and non-paying students, lest the school teacher find favour with the former. Such an exclusive form of charity

school, however, was rare and not always possible in many rural areas of England. This plan was also never feasible in the poor, isolated settlements in Newfoundland. There were, however, exceptions. The S.P.G. school teacher John Thomas ran a school at Scilly Cove (now Winterton), where he taught all the students gratis because of the poverty of the people in the community. Thomas was able to do this by subsidizing his income in the summer by working in the fishery and receiving his annual salary from the S.P.G. for the school he taught during the winter months. In most cases, however, the S.P.G. gave gratuities to school teachers or committed itself to an annual stipend on the assurance that the school teacher would admit a certain number of students free of charge. At Bonavista, George Bemister reportedly taught upward of twenty students for his annual S.P.G. salary. At St. John's, Lionel Chancey reported that he taught five out of his forty-five students free of charge. These numbers had decreased from the previous year when he taught ten out of fifty students gratis. Finally, in 1788, William Lampen received an increase in his annual S.P.G. salary on the condition that he would teach an increased number of charity students. Thus it is important to clarify the term "free school." Although a free education was not available to all who attended a S.P.G.-sponsored school, it did offer "free tuition" at these schools, and thus allowed some poor children a chance to avail of an institution that would have otherwise been closed to them.

The curriculum available to all children, paying and non-paying, who attended the majority of S.P.G.-sponsored schools, was that of a common education. The theme

was religious education with a focus upon reading, writing, and -- for those that qualified -- arithmetic and vocational training. The teachers of these schools sometimes proved to be less than qualified. Teacher inefficiency and neglect were common problems that existed throughout the period in England as well as in other North American colonies. Coster asserted that when a qualified school teacher could not be found, the missionaries in Newfoundland enlisted the aid of the less qualified, reasoning that this was more desirable than offering no instruction at all. When Coster offers an assessment on the S.P.G. school teacher, he admits that oftentimes the teachers in these schools and the Sunday schools were "not as capable as we could have wished, [but] great good was indeed done by them."<sup>864</sup> This should not, however, diminish the efforts of S.P.G.-sponsored educators such as William Lampen of Harbour Grace, John Thomas of Scilly Cove, and Joseph Beacon of St. John's. One of the reasons that qualified teachers were so hard to procure was because the salary available for such a position was never enough to entice the most qualified to give up their present employment. In fact, Coster asserted that higher salaries for S.P.G. school teachers would ensure a better service because the Society could then insist that the teachers devote themselves entirely to pedagogy, a condition that at the time was unreasonable because of the low salaries.

The majority of paying students who attended the S.P.G.-sponsored schools were children of the middle-class or labouring poor. Thus, the attendance of the majority of students would have been affected by external factors such as severe weather, winter migration, and disease. As well, the use of child labour to assist in the family income,

throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a predominant problem that hampered the efforts of the promoters of education in Newfoundland. Because of this, the establishing of S.P.G. Sunday schools became the only way to educate many of the children in rural Newfoundland. John Curtis of Portugal Cove pointed out that his Sunday school was well attended because the parents could not "afford to keep them at school on the weekdays, but employ them at a very early age as assistance to procure the necessities of life. In the summer on the fishery and in the winter season in the woods."<sup>65</sup> Anspach noted that this practice of using children in the fishery occurred from May to October, "as soon as they could handle a line."<sup>66</sup> Thomas Laugharne, the S.P.G. missionary at Twillingate, also remarked that, "every child, as soon as he is able to walk, is, during the summer employed in the fishery."<sup>67</sup>

The social and religious philosophy behind the establishment of the S.P.C.K. charity schools was to propagate the Anglican faith against Dissent and encroaching Catholicism and to ensure the continuance of a social order that thrived on the poor accepting their lot in life and remaining loyal and obedient servants. These objectives were echoed in Newfoundland by the missionaries and leaders of certain settlements that applied to the S.P.G. for support of their schools. A common education was desired to strengthen the social order of a mercantile society and not as a vehicle for social or economic betterment. It is difficult to evaluate and to determine whether these schools were successful in this regard. The absence of any class lists from the S.P.G.-sponsored

schools in Newfoundland curtails the researcher in being able to measure the effects that this type of education had upon the lives of these students.

There are some indications, however, that the S.P.G.-sponsored schools, contrary to its aims, afforded the poor economic and social mobility. When support for Lampen's Sunday School faltered in 1807, Anspach appealed to the S.P.G. for support in order to ensure its continuance.<sup>868</sup> Among the reasons given for the difficulty in raising the needed subscriptions, Anspach noted that those in the community who could best afford to support the Sunday school would not because it was known in the community that those planters who could read were in better circumstances than those who could not. This does not only indicate economic betterment as a result of education but an opposition by the merchants and more successful planters to such mobility. Another example can be taken from one of Anspach's letters to the S.P.G. in 1810. In this letter<sup>869</sup>, Anspach informs the S.P.G. that a former family servant had married a Mr. John Picot during the spring of 1809 and settled at Portugal Cove. In the summer of 1809, armed with a small supply of books given to her by Anspach and with only occasional assistance from her husband, she opened a school. Reportedly the school was in a flourishing state with no less than twenty-five children under her care. The fact that a domestic servant was able to advance socially as a school teacher in charge of her own school indicates that education afforded her the opportunity to advance both socially and economically. The final example of social mobility also comes out of Conception Bay. In 1791 Lampen reported to the S.P.G.<sup>870</sup> that he had taught a charity girl reading and

writing and proposed to teach her cyphering. His reasoning for doing so was not founded upon practical reasons but merely due to the proficiency the young girl showed in learning. This incident is significant because we begin to see the desire to impart education surpass not only gender expectations but social ones as well. In 1802 Lampen indicated to the S.P.G. that he taught charity boys only as far as the art of writing. The fact that he had planned to teach a charity girl cyphering or arithmetic would have been exceptional not only in Newfoundland, but in England as well. As a result of these examples, it is evident that the aim of the S.P.G.-sponsored charity schools to ensure a continuance of the mercantile social order was not always realized. The objective of the charity schools in the eighteenth century was not to offer innovative movements beyond the existing class structure or gender distinctions but to ensure that the labouring poor remain content with their lot in life as obedient servants. Retrospectively, it is evident that true education does not allow one to be controlled but rather affords one an independence of thought and lack of vulnerability. Because of this, the aim to control the masses through education could never be realized.

The most important aim of the S.P.G.-sponsored schools in Newfoundland was the propagation of the Anglican faith. In order to offer an evaluation as to whether this objective was met, it is best to rely upon the eye witness accounts through the use of the primary sources available. The S.P.G.-sponsored two types of schools in Newfoundland, the day school and the Sunday school. The predominant theme in both institutions was the teaching of the tenets of the Anglican faith and the catechism. One must be cautious

when evaluating these schools based upon the accounts of the missionaries who were reporting the success of their efforts to their superiors. There is little doubt that such glowing accounts may have been exaggerated somewhat in order to further their cause. However, the general theme throughout the correspondences of the missionaries with the S.P.G. was that these schools did aid in the sustaining and building of Anglican communities. The “reformation of manners” and the ability of the children to repeat the catechism were repeatedly given as proofs that both the day and Sunday schools were successful. In his assessment of the educational contributions by the S.P.G., Coster asserted that it had been most serviceable to the children of the poor through its establishment of Sunday schools. As a result of these schools alone many poor children in Newfoundland learned to read and pray, besides being regularly catechized and brought to the Anglican faith. Although Coster was quick to point out that the system could be improved and the teachers more capable, he felt that the 325 pounds spent per year by the S.P.G. could not have been used for a better purpose.

The S.P.G.’s educational endeavours in Newfoundland were but a small portion of its overall commitments. Its intention was to provide assistance to fellow Anglicans in British factories, plantations and colonies abroad in promoting the Anglican faith. As a mission-oriented society, it aided in the development and continuance of community schools in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that may have otherwise not existed. Thus, to compare its support to the efforts of the Newfoundland School Society, whose main objective was education in Newfoundland, would be unfair. Throughout the

primary sources available it is rare to see the S.P.G. deny such assistance to any community that applied and which was willing to follow the rules of application laid down by the Society. Despite the educational support offered by the S.P.G., the social, economic and political situation in Newfoundland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries would hamper pedagogical activities on the island well into the nineteenth century. The fact that some of the poor children were given the opportunity to read and write during this time was the result of efforts by the inhabitants and such individuals as Henry Jones, Laurence Coughlan, William Lampen and Lewis Amadeus Anspach, just to name a few. The fact that in these isolated frontier settlements such individuals were able to rely upon a benevolent society such as the S.P.G. for guidance and support was no doubt a blessing within itself.

## REFERENCES

1. Robert Unwin, "The Established Church and the Schooling of the Poor: The Role of the SPCK 1699-1720," *The Churches and Education*, Proceedings of the 1983 Annual Conference of the History of Education Society of Great Britain (London, 1984), p. 14.
2. W.K. Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S.P.C.K.*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1959), p. 2.
3. W.O.B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1896*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1898), p. 8.
4. Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: With an Essay on Charity and Charity Schools*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., (London: J. Tonson, 1732), p. 317.
5. G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (London: Longmans, Green, 1945), p. 278.
6. Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 29.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 35
8. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 5.
9. H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1950*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1951), p. 10.
10. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, pp. 9-10; Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 13-18.
11. Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 29.
12. Minutes of the first S.P.C.K. Meeting as found in Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 25.
13. Samuel Clyde McCulloch, "The Foundation and Early Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 20 (June 1951): 122.
14. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 7.
15. Letter from John Chamberlayne to Colonel Nicholas, Governor of Virginia, Westminster, England, 3 October 1700 as cited in Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 226.

16. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, p. 13.
17. Thomas Bray, *A Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion, on the Continent of North-America*. (London: John Brundenell, 1701), pp. 9-10.
18. Edmund McClure, ed, *A Chapter in English Church History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Years 1698-1704 together with abstracts of Correspondents' Letters During part of the same period*. (London: S.P.C.K., 1888), pp. 125-7.
19. William Webb Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), p. 26. (Hereinafter referred to as *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*)
20. Thompson. *Into All Lands*, pp. 15-16.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 16; McCulloch, "Foundation and Early Work of the S.P.G.," p. 124.
22. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, p. 19.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
24. McCulloch, "Foundation and Early Work of the S.P.G.," p. 129; Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 31.
25. Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years.*, p. 228.
26. The seal agreed upon was, "A ship under sail making toward a point of land, upon the prow standing a minister with an open Bible in his hand, people standing on the shore in a posture of expectation, and these words, *Transiens Adjuva Nos* [Come over and help us.]" as cited in McCulloch, "Foundation and Early Work of the S.P.G.," p. 125.
27. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, p. 19.
28. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 33.
29. See Chapter Five of this thesis.
30. John Fordyce to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 16 January 1734, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, MSS. Canada, Diocese Nova Scotia (Newfoundland), Volume 23, pp. 353-354. (Hereinafter referred to as S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, B, or C.)
31. A.H. McLintock, *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832: A Study of Retarded Colonisation*. (London: Longmans, Green, 1941), pp. 53-55.

- 32.Keith Matthews, *Lectures on the History of Newfoundland: 1500-1830*, (St. John's: Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland, April 1973), p. 139.
- 33.*Ibid.*, p. 179.
- 34.*Ibid.*
- 35.*Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 36.C. Grant Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: A Geographer's Perspective*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), p. 88.
- 37.Matthews, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 148-9.
- 38.Robert Killpatrick to the S.P.G., 21 October 1730, Trinity, NF, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 23, p. 137.
- 39.Matthews, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 180.
- 40.*Ibid.*, p. 160.
- 41.*Ibid.*, pp. 163-166.
- 42.Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 82.
- 43.*Ibid.*
- 44.*Ibid.*, p. 88.
- 45.S.P.G. Journals, Volume 16, p. 288.
- 46.James Balfour to the S.P.G., Trinity, NF, 24 October 1765, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 162.
- 47.Balfour to the S.P.G., Trinity, NF, 17 November 1766, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 168.
- 48.Arthur Barnes, "The History of Education in Newfoundland," (Unpublished Doctor of Pedagogy thesis, New York University, 1917), p. 14.
- 49.John Leigh was appointed Newfoundland's first Ecclesiastical Commissary in 1821.
- 50.John Leigh to the S.P.G. Secretary. Harbour Grace, NF., September 4, 1820. S.P.G. Letter Books, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 335.

51. See S.P.G. Journal, Volumes 5 - 9; S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A & B; and The Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace, Volume 1.

52. See S.P.C.K. Letters, ABL 14 -21 (1726 - 1741); CN2/3 - CN2/9 (1737 - 1743); CS2/19 - CS2/24 (1728 - 1732).

53. See S.P.G. Journal, Volumes 24 - 33; S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C.

54. Stephen Copley, *Literature and the Social Order in Eighteenth Century England*. (London: Croom Helm, 1984), p.3.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

56. Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 136.

57. Isaac Watts, "An Essay Towards the Encouragement of Charity Schools, particularly among Protestant Dissenters," *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts, D.D. containing besides his Sermons, And Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects, Several Additional Pieces, selected from his Manuscripts*. Reprinted from the London Edition, 1810 (New York: A.M.S., 1971), p.718.

58. Hans Rollmann and Bonita Powers, "Bonavista's 'Hewer's of Wood and Drawers of Water': The First School in Newfoundland," *Humanities Association of Canada Bulletin*. 17/1 (April 1989): 27.

59. William J. Sheasgreen, "John Locke and the charity school movement," *History of Education*, 15/2 (1986): 63 - 79.

60. M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, (London: Frank Cass, 1964), pp.76-77.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 75; Rollmann and Powers, "Bonavista's 'Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water.'" p. 28.

62. Inhabitants of Bonavista to the S.P.G., November 11, 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 107.

63. March 8, 1698/9, S.P.C.K. Minutes as cited in Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 25.

64. In the minutes of early meetings and abstracts of letters from early correspondences, Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp.25 - 121, there are several references to schools already in existence before the efforts of the S.P.C.K. On November 30, 1699, Mr. Bridges and Mr. Skeat report that "the two schools at Westminster, and those at Aldgate and Wapping were built before

the formation of this society.” p.45; Also, Archdeacon Yeate, writing from Marlborough on 28 November 1699, states in Allen and McClure, p. 100 that “50 poor children had been taught on charity in his parish and that by [the] death of [the] Benefactors he has been forced to lay down [the] School after above seven years continuance.”

65.For a discussion on philanthropy as a means to salvation and social advancement, see Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees*, pp. 294 - 324.

66.Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.* , p.23.

67.*Ibid.*, p. 91.

68.As we shall see in Chapter 3 of this thesis, Henry Jones of Bonavista (1725 - 1741) approaches the establishing of his school in a similar manner.

69.Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 33.

70.Jones, *Charity School Movement.*, p. 43.

71.*Ibid.*, p. 41.

72.Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 122. The following postscript is added to the S.P.C.K. Report for 1711 states, “The zeal which has appear’d of late Years among us for promoting the Christian Education of the Children of the *poorer Sort* has not stopp’d within the Kingdom of *Great Britain and Ireland*, but hath *New England*, (where at Boston were set up 3 charity Schools, *An* 1709); Also, Reverend Henry Jones, the Anglican minister in Bonavista (1725 - 1741) solicits the S.P.C.K. for help in starting his charity school in Bonavista.

73.Samuel Clyde McCulloch, “Foundation and Early Work of the S.P.G.,” p. 129.

74.Thompson, *Into All Lands*, p. 18.

75.*Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

76.Barnes, “History of Education in Newfoundland,” p. 14.

77.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 10, pp.15 - 16.

78.Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 122. A postscript for the Society’s Report of 1711 states that “since the Publication of the last Account of Schools, the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, hath allowed 10 pounds *per Ann.* To Mr. *William Huddleston*, Master of the Free School at *New York in America*, on the Condition that the said *William Huddleston* shall transmit Yearly to the said *Society*, a certificate under the seal of the

Mayor of New York, that he teaches 40 poor children to read and write, and instructs them in the Principles of the Church of England: . . .”

79. Rollmann and Power, “Bonavista’s ‘Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water,’” p. 28.

80. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 97.

81. “Account of the Charity Schools, 1704,” as quoted in Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 98.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 99. This is quoted from the Minutes of the Charity School for Girls in the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields, Jan. 1, 1700.

83. *Ibid.*

84. Although this particular is not included in the original S.P.C.K. Rules and Orders drafted in 1704, it was added later. According to Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 145, “after the death of Queen Anne there was for a time a certain distrust of charity schools. Whether rightly or wrongly, an idea obtained that these schools were ‘Nurseries of sedition and Rebellion instead of Religion.’ The Society’s records speak of the need for choosing ‘a Master well affected to His Majesty and Government.’”

85. S.P.G. Journals, Volume 2, p. 165. . .

86. Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, pp. 138 - 139. Among the Orders specified for the S.P.C.K. teachers, . . . “twice a week he was to instruct the children in the Church Catechism, ‘which he shall first teach them to pronounce distinctly and plainly; and then, in order to practise, shall explain it to the meanest Capacity, by the help of *The Whole Duty of Man*, or some Good Exposition approved of by the *Minister*.’ He was to take particular care of their manners and behaviour, ‘to correct the beginnings of Lying, Swearing, Cursing, taking God’s Name in Vain, and the Profanation of the Lord’s Day.’ He was to teach them ‘the true Spelling of Words, and distinction of Syllables, with Points and Stops;’ and also to teach them to write ‘a fair legible hand with the grounds of Arithmetick.’ The girls were to learn to read, etc., and ‘generally to knit their Stockings and Gloves, to mark, sew, make and mend their Clothes.’ ‘Twice every Lord’s Day and Holy Day the Master is to bring the Children to Church, and they are always to have ready their Bibles, bound up with the Common Prayer. When a sufficient number know the Catechism, he is to give notice to the Minister, so that they may be catechized in Church. Prayers are to be said in School, Morning and Evening, and the Children are to be taught to pray at home, when they rise and when they go to Bed, and to use Graces before and after Meat.”

87. Barnes, “History of Education in Newfoundland,” pp. 12 - 14; James Healey, “An Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland, 1703 - 1850,” (M.Ed. thesis, Department of Educational Foundations, Memorial University of Newfoundland, May 1995), pp. 14 - 15.

88. Barnes, "History of Education in Newfoundland," p. 12; Healey, "Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland," p. 13.
89. Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p.143; Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p.101.
90. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 40.
91. Frederick Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 12 January 1828, S.P.G. Letter Book Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 259.
92. Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 21 January 1829, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 261.
93. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 100.
94. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 39.
95. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 100.
96. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 39.
97. George Coster to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 21 July 1827, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 135.
98. McCulloch, "Foundation and Early Work of the S.P.G.," p. 133.
99. William Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 10 October 1788, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 10.
100. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 19 November 1812, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 20.
101. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 October 1787, S.P.G. Letter Book Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 9.
102. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 10 October 1788, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 10.
103. John Curtis to the S.P.G., Portugal Cove, NF, 24 November 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 9.
104. John Clinch to the S.P.G., Trinity, NF, 21 December 1802, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 39.

105. "Report of Daily Schools, 1829 - 1830," by George Coster, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21, folio 175.
106. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 33, p. 124.
107. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 219.
108. S.P.G. Journals, Volume 18, p. 61.
109. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 34.
110. Malcolm Seaborne, *The English School: It's Architecture and Organization, 1370-1870*. (England: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 108.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
112. Lionel Chancey to the S.P.G., 15 December 1803, St. John's, NF, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 178.
113. Thomas Laugharne to the S.P.G., Twillingate, NF, 27 November 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 356.
114. John Curtis to the S.P.G., Portugal Cove, NF, 24 November 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 9.
115. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 22.
116. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p.39.
117. George Bemister to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 25 October 1793, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 142.
118. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 15 December 1803, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 178.
119. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 105 - 106.
120. William Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 18 November 1801, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 16.
121. M. G. Jones gives the starting age of charity school children as six, Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 106.

122. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 42.
123. George Bemister to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 25 October 1793, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 142; John Bland and Gerald Ford to the S.P.G., (Attachment to folio 144) S.P.G. Letter Book Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 145a.
124. Laugharne to the S.P.G., Twillingate, NF, 5 November 1820, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 352.
125. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 41; Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 138.
126. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 41.
127. Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 139.
128. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 18, p. 61.
129. William Peasley to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 6 October 1743, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 11, p. 106.
130. Bearcroft (S.P.G. Secretary) to Peasley, 26 April 1744, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 13, p. 35 - 36.
131. Aubrey George Spenser to the S.P.G., Trinity, NF, 3 April 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 3.
132. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 262.
133. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 13.
134. James Balfour to S.P.G., Trinity, NF, 24 October 1765, S.P.G. Letter Book Series B, Volume 6, p. 162.
135. Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 18 January 1830, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 263.
136. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 October 1789, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 11.
137. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 October 1787, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 9.

138. Laugharne to the S.P.G., Twillingate, NF, 5 November 1820, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 352.

139. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 41.

140. *Ibid.*

141. Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 11 January 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 247.

142. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 77.

143. *Ibid.*

144. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 10 October 1788, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 10.

145. Beulah Folmsbee, *A Little History of the Horn-book*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Boston: The Horn-book, 1972), pp. 2 - 4.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

147. Henry Newman to Henry Jones, 6 March 1731/2, S.P.C.K. Letters, CS2/24, folio 3.

148. Newman to Jones, 24 August 1741, S.P.C.K. Letters, CN 2/8, folio 11.

149. Garfield Fizzard, "Newfoundland's First Known School," *Newfoundland Studies*, 11/2 (1995): 190.

150. Paul Leicester Ford, "Facsimile of the New England Primer [1727]," *The New England Primer*. (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1962), p. 54ff.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

152. The outline of the primer is also included in Fizzard, "Newfoundland's First Known School," pp. 190 - 191.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

154. Rollmann and Powers, "Bonavista's 'Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water.'" p. 32.

155. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 107.

156. Rollmann and Powers, "Bonavista's 'Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water,'" p. 32.

157. *Ibid.*
158. Fizzard, "Newfoundland's First Known School," p. 191.
159. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 266.
160. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 80.
161. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, pp. 266 - 267.
162. Fizzard, "Newfoundland's First Known School," p. 194.
163. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 267.
164. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 80.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
166. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 265.
167. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 18, p. 61.
168. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 82.
169. Henry Jones to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, November 7, 1727, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 20, p. 268.
170. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 October 1789, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 11.
171. *A Report of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor of St. John's, NF, From the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1810 to the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1811.* (Liverpool: J. Lang, 1812), p. 6.
172. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 143.
173. Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780 - 1850* (London: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 34.
174. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 145.
175. *Ibid.*
176. *Ibid.*

- 177.Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, p. 3.
- 178.*Ibid.*
- 179.Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 150 - 151.
- 180.*Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 181.*Ibid.*, p. 153.
- 182.Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, p. 35.
- 183.John Thomas to the S.P.G., Scilly Cove, NF, 28 October 1799, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 172; and Thomas to the S.P.G., Scilly Cove, NF, 22 October 1801, *ibid.*, folio 173.
- 184.Lionel Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 10 December 1802, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 177.
- 185.Lewis Amadeus Anspach, Harbour Grace, NF, 19 December 1803, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 184.
- 186.For a detailed account of Anspach's involvement in the establishment of Sunday Schools in Newfoundland, see Chapter Five of this thesis.
- 187.Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 January 1807, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 190.
- 188.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 29, pp. 233 -235.
- 189.John Curtis to the S.P.G., Portugal Cove, NF, 2 January 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 8.
- 190.Janet E. Miller Pitt, "Bonavista Bay," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume I (1981): 215.
- 191.Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 174.
- 192.Bruce Whiffen, *Prime Berth: An Account of Bonavista's Early Years*, (St. John's, NF: Harry Cuff Publications Limited, 1993), p.16.
- 193.See Gordon Handcock, *So long as there comes noe women: Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland*, (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1989), pp. 91-95.

194. Whiffen, *Prime Berth*, p. 19.
195. Pamela M. Hodgson, "Bonavista," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume I (1981): 213.
196. Whiffen, *Prime Berth*, p. 32.
197. See Chapter Four of this thesis.
198. Henry Jones to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 6 November 1725, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, pp. 19 - 20.
199. Jones to the S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 6 November 1725, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, pp. 17 - 18.
200. Jones to the S.P.G. Secretary, Trinity, NF, 29 November 1746, S.P.G., Letter Books, Series B, Volume 14, pp. 87 - 88.
201. Jones to the S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 6 November 1725, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, pp. 17 - 18.
202. Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years.*, p. 27.
203. Frederick Rowe, *The Development of Education in Newfoundland*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1964), p. 28.
204. Healey, "Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland," p. 16.
205. Barnes, "History of Education in Newfoundland," p. 15; George Albert Hickman, *The History of Education in Newfoundland*, (Nova Scotia: Acadia University, 1941), p. 3.
206. Rollmann and Powers, "Bonavista's 'Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water,'" p. 31.
207. Fizzard, "Newfoundland's First Known School," p. 182.
208. *Ibid.*
209. "Proposals from the Rev. Mr. Henry Jones to the Inhabitants at Bonavista in NF, 1725" Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 21.
210. Jones to the S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 6 November 1725, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, pp. 17 - 18.

211. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Covent Garden, England, 16 February 1727, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 19, p. 285 -287.
212. Jones to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 7 November 1727, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 27.
213. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 7 November 1727, S.P.G. Letter Books, Series A, Volume 20, p. 268.
214. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 5, p. 76.
215. "Proposals from the Rev. Mr. Henry Jones to the Inhabitants at Bonavista in NF, 1725" Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 21.
216. See Chapter Two of this thesis.
217. Jones to the Bishop of London, Middle Temple, England, 20 January 1726. Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 23.
218. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 5, p. 76.
219. Jones to the S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 6 November 1725, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, pp. 17 - 18.
220. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 7 November 1727, S.P.G. Letter Books, Series A, Volume 20, p. 268.
221. Jones to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 7 November 1727, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 27.
222. Hancock, *So longe as there comes noe women*, p. 78.
223. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, pp. 76-77.
224. Jones to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 7 November 1727, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 27.
225. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 31 October 1728, S.P.G. Letter Books, Series A, Volume 20, p. 443.
226. Henry Newman to Henry Jones, 23 July 1731, S.P.C.K. Letters, CS2/23, folio 10.

227. Jones to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 8 December 1729, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 30.
228. Jones to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 29 June 1731, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 39.
229. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Covent Garden, England, 16 February 1727, S.P.G. Letter Books, Series A, Volume 19, pp. 285-287.
230. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 29 October 1735, S.P.G. Letter Books, Series A, Volume 25, p. 321.
231. Henry Newman to Henry Jones, 29 August 1741, S.P.C.K. Letters, C.N. 2/8, folio 11.
232. Proposals from Rev. Henry Jones to the Inhabitants of Bonavista in NF, 1725. Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 21.
233. Jones to the S.P.G. Secretary, Covent Garden, England, 16 February 1727, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 19, p. 286.
234. "Proposals from Rev. Henry Jones to the Inhabitants of Bonavista in NF, 1725." Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 21.
235. Jones to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 29 June 1731, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 39.
236. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 7 November 1727, S.P.G. Letter Books, Series A, Volume 20, p. 268.
237. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 42.
238. Jones to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 29 June 1731, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 39.
239. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 39.
240. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 29 October 1735, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 25, p. 321.
241. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 80-81.
242. Jones to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 7 November 1727, Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 27.

243. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 41; Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 138.
244. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 41.
245. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, December 1, 1729, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 22, p. 182.
246. Whiffen, *Prime Berth*, p. 18.
247. Jones to the S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 6 November 1725, Fulham Papers. Volume 1, pp. 17 - 18.
248. Jones to the S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 28 November 1740, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 7, p. 69.
249. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 55, Figure 3.1.
250. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 7 November 1727, S.P.G. Letter Books, Series A, Volume 20, p. 268.
251. See Chapter Two of this thesis.
252. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 8, pp. 124 - 125.
253. Henry Newman to Henry Jones, 29 August 1741, S.P.C.K. Letters, C.N. 2/8, folio 11.
254. Jones to S.P.G. Secretary, Covent Garden, England, 16 February 1727, S.P.G. Letter Books, Series A. Volume 19, p. 287.
255. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 5, p. 115.
256. Petition of Bonavista Inhabitants to the S.P.G., 10 June 1742, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 10, p. 62.
257. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 9, p. 63.
258. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
259. William Peasley to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 6 October 1743, S.P.G. Letter Book Series B, Volume 11, p. 106.
260. *Ibid.*
261. *Ibid.*

262.*Ibid.*

263.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 9, pp. 229-230.

264.Peasley to S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 6 October 1743, S.P.G. Letter Book Series B, Volume 11, p. 106.

265.Peasley to the S.P.G. Secretary, St. John's, NF, 6 December 1744, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 13, p. 203.

266.Petition of the Inhabitants of Bonavista, Bonavista, NF, 15 November 1752, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 20, p. 4.

267.Bearcroft to \*Lindsay, England, 10 April 1753, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 20, p. 24. (\*Although this letter is addressed to Rev. Langman, it is obvious from the content that it was intended for Lindsay)

268.James Balfour to the S.P.G. Secretary, Trinity, NF, 21 October 1768, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 174.

269.Balfour to the S.P.G. Secretary, Trinity, 14 November 1771, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 192.

270.*Ibid.*

271.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 19, pp. 343-344.

272.John Bland to the S.P.G. Secretary, Bonavista, NF, 12 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 108.

273.Petition of the Inhabitant of Bonavista, Bonavista, NF, 11 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 107.

274.George Bemister to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 25 October 1793, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 142.

275.*Ibid.*

276.Bemister to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 22 October 1794, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 144.

277.Petition from Inhabitants of Bonavista for a Schoolmaster to the S.P.G. President, Bonavista, NF, 11 November 1791, S.P.G.. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 107.

278. George Bemister to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 25 October 1793, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 142; John Bland and Gerrald Ford to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 22 October 1794, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 145.
279. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 8.
280. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 218.
281. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 142.
282. *Ibid.*, Volume 28, p. 138.
283. Bemister to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 31 November 1807, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 146.
284. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 29, p. 308.
285. Edward Mullaby to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 12 December 1810, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 428.
286. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 142.
287. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
288. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
289. John Clinch to the S.P.G., Trinity, NF, 1 January 1814, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 58.
290. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 31, p. 193.
291. Her first name is not given.
292. John Leigh to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 31 August 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 360.
293. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 33, p. 309.
294. *Ibid.*, p. 332.
295. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 33, p. 334.
296. *Ibid.*, Volume 34, p. 130.

297. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

298. Philip Bearcroft to William Peasley, 26 April 1744, England, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 13, pp. 35-36.

299. Petition from the Inhabitants of Bonavista for a Schoolmaster, 11 November 1791, Bonavista, Newfoundland, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 107.

300. Matthews, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 167.

301. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 8.

302. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

303. John D. Rogers, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, Volume V, Part IV, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 93-94.

304. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

305. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

306. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, pp. 82-83.

307. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

308. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

309. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

310. Inhabitants of St. John's to the Bishop of London, 30 August 1699, St. John's, NF, British Library, MHA-16-D-2-036.

311. Charles Hedges to John Jackson, 27 March 1701, England, British Library, ADD MS 9747, 30, MHA-16-D-3-042.

312. Ruth M. Christensen, "The Establishment of the S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703-1783," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 20 (June 1951): 211; Michael Godfrey, "Jackson, John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume II, (1969), p. 293.

313. See Bray, *A Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion, on the Continent of North America*.

314. McClure, ed, *Chapter in English Church History*, pp. 125-126.

315.*Ibid.*, p. 127.

316.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 1, p. 107.

317.*Ibid.*, p. 194.

318.Colonial Papers, CO 194, Volume 2D, frames 190-1.

319.*Ibid.*, Volume 3, frame 353; Burnham Gill, ed, "Tyranny in St. John's: A Sordid Story from the Colonial Records," (St. John's: Centre for Newfoundland Studies at QE II, 1971), p. 1.

320.*Ibid.*

321.D.B. Quin, "Lloyd, Thomas," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume II, (1969), p. 438.

322.Calender of State Papers, 1706, p. 588iv; Gill, ed, "Tyranny in St. John's," p.8.

323.*Ibid.*, p. 588v.

324.Godfrey, "Jackson, John," p. 293.

325.*Ibid.*

326.Jackson to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 21 October 1709, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 5, p. 66.

327.Quinn, "Lloyd, Thomas," p. 438.

328.*Ibid.*, p. 439.

329.For biographical information on John Moody, refer to Michael Godfrey, "Moody, John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume II, (1969), pp. 486-487.

330.Quinn, "Lloyd, Thomas," p. 439.

331.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 1, p. 194.

332.*Ibid.*, p. 196.

333.Rice to Phillip Stubbs, St. John's, NF, 6 November 1711, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 7, p. 539.

334.*Ibid.*

335. Geoff Peddle, "The Reverend Jacob Rice: Anglican Ministry and Preaching in Early Eighteenth Century Newfoundland," (M.A. thesis, Department of Religious Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, February 1996), p. 25.
336. Ruth Christensen, "Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," pp. 212-213.
337. Burnham Gill, ed, "Tyranny in St. John's," p. 34.
338. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
339. Rice to S.P.G. Secretary, St. John's, NF, 6 November 1711, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 6, p. 154.
340. "Testimonial of Military Court before Sir. Nicholas Trevaim," 20 October, 1712. Fulham Papers, Volume 1, p. 3.
341. "A Certificate for Jacob Rice of Newfoundland to the S.P.G. by L. Liddart, Giles Wheeler et al.," S.P.G. Journal, Appendix B, p. 132.
342. *Ibid.*
343. Rowe, *Development of Education in Newfoundland*, p. 26.
344. Healey, "Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland," p. 15.
345. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 57.
346. Christensen, "Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 214.
347. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
348. Thomas R. Millman and A.R. Kelley, *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church*, (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), p. 19.
349. Fordyce to the Bishop of London, St. John's, NF, 29 November 1734, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 25, pp. 349-350.
350. Henry Jones to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 16 November 1730, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 23, pp. 142-143.
351. Fordyce to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 16 January 1736, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 25, pp. 353-354.

352. Fordyce to the Bishop of London, St. John's, NF, 29 November 1734, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 25, pp. 349-350.
353. Fordyce to the S.P.G., London, England, 15 March 1735, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series A, Volume 25, p. 348.
354. Waldo E.L. Smith, *The Navy and Its Chaplains in the days of sail*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961), p. 163.
355. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 9, p. 115.
356. William Peasley to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 6 October 1943, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 11, p. 106.
357. Traders, Inhabitants and Boat keepers of St. John's to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 8 July 1743, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 11, p. 107.
358. Michael Ballard to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 25 April 1744, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B., Volume 11, p. 108.
359. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 6 December 1744, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 13, p. 203.
360. Religious Instructions to Governors of Newfoundland: 1729-1786, <http://www.mun.ca/rels/ang/texts/instruct.html>, p. 1.
361. See Hans Rollmann, "Richard Edwards, John Campbell, and the Proclamation of Religious Liberty in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 80/2 (Fall 1984): 4-12.
362. For a discussion on the "Hedge Schools" that sprung up in Ireland see Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 259-265.
363. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 6 December 1744, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 13, p. 203.
364. Bearcroft to Peasley, England, 8 May 1746, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 15, p. 208a.
365. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 10, pp. 15-16.
366. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 9 November 1747, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 15, pp. 3-4.

367.*Ibid.*

368. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 9 November 1747, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 15, pp. 3-4.

369. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 15 November 1748, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 16, p. 1.

370. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 9 November 1747, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 15, pp. 3-4.

371. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 15 November 1748, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 16, p. 1.

372.*Ibid.*

373. Keith Matthews, "Keen, William," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Volume III, (1974), pp. 323-324.

374.*Ibid.*

375. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 3 November 1749, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 17, p. 44.

376. Certificate for William Peasley, St. John's, NF, 24 October 1749, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 17, p. 46.

377. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 3 November 1749, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 17, p. 44.

378. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. Helen's Parish, South Carolina, 12 September 1751, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 19, p. 137-139.

379. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 12, p. 89.

380.*Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

381.*Ibid.*, Volume 23, p. 263.

382.*Ibid.*, p. 9.

383.*Ibid.*, p. 366.

384. Edward Langman to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 12 November 1765 S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 153.
385. Barnes, "History of Education in Newfoundland," p. 15.
386. Langman to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 10 November 1760, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 141.
387. Langman to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 30 September 1763, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 151.
388. Langman to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 29 July 1774, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 198.
389. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 23, p. 226.
390. *Ibid.*, p. 361.
391. *Ibid.*, Volume 23, p. 366.
392. For a detailed discussion on religious liberties in Newfoundland in the eighteenth century, please see Hans Rollmann, "Religious Enfranchisement and Roman Catholics in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland," *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*, edited by Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne, (St. John's, NF: Jespersen Press, 1987), pp. 34-52.
393. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
394. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 23, p. 422.
395. *Ibid.*, p. 366.
396. *Ibid.*, p. 422.
397. *Ibid.*
398. For a more detailed discussion on this see Hans Rollmann, "John Jones, James O'Donel, and the Question of Religious Tolerance in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland: A Correspondence," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 14/4 (June 1984): 23-27; and Raymond J. Lahey, *James O'Donel in Newfoundland (1784-1807): The Establishment of the Roman Catholic Church*, Newfoundland Historical Society, Pamphlet No. 8, edited by Shannon Ryan and G.M. Story, (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1984).

- 399.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 23, p. 422.
- 400.*Ibid.*, Volume 25, p. 30.
- 401.“Notes Concerning the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John’s Newfoundland,”  
[http://www.mun.ca/rels/cong/texts/journ\\_new.html](http://www.mun.ca/rels/cong/texts/journ_new.html), p. 59.
- 402.S.P.G. Journal., Volume 25, p. 30.
- 403.Walter Price to the S.P.G., St. John’s, NF, 20 October, 1788, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 99; S.P.G. Journal, Volume 25, p. 117.
- 404.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 25, p. 231.
- 405.*Ibid.*, p. 363.
- 406.*Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 407.Price to the S.P.G., St. John’s, NF, 20 October 1788, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 99.
- 408.Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, pp. 230-231.
- 409.*Ibid.*, p. 230.
- 410.*Ibid.*, p. 232.
- 411.*Ibid.*, p. 445.
- 412.Captain Thomas Skinner to the S.P.G., 26 April 1795, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 148.
- 413.Hickman, *History of Education in Newfoundland*, p. 6.
- 414.Frederick Jones and G.M. Story, “Anspach, L.A.,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume VI, (1987), p. 10.
- 415.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 28, p. 160.
- 416.*Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 417.*Ibid.*, p. 137.

418. "The Last Will and Testament of John Jones (1799)," <http://www.mun.ca/rels/cong/texts/jjwill.html>.

419. Lionel Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, Newfoundland, 28 December 1801, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 176.

420. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, Newfoundland, 10 December 1802, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18., folio 177.

421. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

422. *Ibid.*

423. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 28 December 1801, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 176.

424. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 10 December 1802, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 177.

425. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 10 November 1804, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 179.

426. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 10 December 1802, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 177.

427. Betsy Rodgers, *Cloak of Charity: Studies in Eighteenth Century Philanthropy*, (London: Methuen & Company Ltd., 1949), p. 18.

428. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 29, p. 118; Harries to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 6 July 1805, *S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C*, Box 1a/17, folio 79.

429. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 10 November 1804, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 179.

430. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 10 December 1801, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 175.

431. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, November 1810, S.P.G.. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 180.

432. Sister Mary Nolasco Mulcahy, "The St. John's Schools of Industry," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 77/4 (Spring 1983): 18.

433. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

434. *Ibid.*

435. *Ibid.*

436. *A Report of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor of St. John's, Newfoundland. From the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1810 to the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1811*, p. 6.

437. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

438. Harries to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 20 November 1809, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 84.

439. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 127.

440. David Rowland to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 24 October 1811, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 214.

441. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, pp. 65-66.

442. Rowland to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 3 August 1810, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 210.

443. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 204.

444. Rowland to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 3 August 1810, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 210; S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 350.

445. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 31, p. 134.

446. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

447. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

448. *Ibid.*, p. 344.

449. *Ibid.*, p. 396.

450. *Ibid.*, Volume 30, p. 134.

451. Rowland to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 24 October 1811, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 214.

452. *A Report of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor of St. John's, from the 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1808 to the 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1809*, (Liverpool: J. Lang, 1809), p. 4.

453. *A Report of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor at St. John's, NF, 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1810 to 31<sup>st</sup> July 1811*, pp. 6-7.

454. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 204.

455. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

456. Thomas Marshall to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 24 December, 1813, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 226; S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 357.

457. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 378.

458. Thomas Marshall to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 24 December, 1813, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 226; S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 357.

459. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 429.

460. *Ibid.*, p. 450.

461. *Ibid.*, Volume 31, p. 180.

462. A.H. McLintock, *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland*, pp. 124-125.

463. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 31, p. 136.

464. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

465. *Ibid.*

466. Marshall to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 26 December 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 230.

467. Marshall to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 15 October 1814, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 227.

468. Marshall to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 25 September 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 231.

469. Frederick Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 15 July 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 249.
470. Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 11 January 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 247.
471. Pamela M. Hodgson, "Conception Bay," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume I (1981): 492.
472. Linda E. Russell, "Harbour Grace," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume II (1984): 807.
473. Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland; 1577-1660*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 61.
474. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
475. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 13.
476. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
477. John Burt to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 21 December 1826, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 295.
478. Hodgson, "Conception Bay," p. 493.
479. J. Ralph Dale, "Carbonear," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume I (1981): 345.
480. *Ibid.*
481. *Ibid.*
482. *Ibid.*
483. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 98, note 39.
484. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 16, p. 259.
485. *Ibid.*, Volume 17, p. 209.
486. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
487. *Ibid.*, Volume 21, p. 292.

488. *Ibid.*, Volume 22, p. 78.
489. *Ibid.*, Volume 24, p. 214.
490. *Ibid.*
491. *Ibid.*, Volume 22, p. 386.
492. *Ibid.*, Volume 25, p. 259.
493. *Ibid.*
494. *Ibid.*, Volume 32, p. 190.
495. John Burt to the S.P.G., Carbonear, NF, 16 May 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 283.
496. Russell, "Harbour Grace," p. 807.
497. *Ibid.*
498. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland*, p. 87.
499. Russell, "Harbour Grace," p. 808.
500. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 7.
501. Russell, "Harbour Grace," p. 808.
502. *Ibid.*
503. Edward Langman to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 6 November 1764, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 161.
504. "Hans Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, edited by Charles Scobie and John W. Grant, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992,) p. 58.
505. *Ibid.*
506. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
507. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

- 508.*Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 509.*Ibid.*
- 510.S.P.G. Journals, Volume 17, p. 209.
- 511.*Ibid.*
- 512.*Ibid.*, p. 413.
- 513.Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," p. 62
- 514.*Ibid.*
- 515.*Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 516.*Ibid.*
- 517.*Ibid.*
- 518.*Ibid.*
- 519.*Ibid.*, Volume 18, p. 59.
- 520.Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," p. 68.
- 521.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 18, p. 59.
- 522.*Ibid.*, p. 276.
- 523.*Ibid.*, p. 485.
- 524.*Ibid.*, Volume 21, p. 97.
- 525.*Ibid.*, Volume 17, p. 413.
- 526.*Ibid.*, Volume 18, p. 59.
- 527.*Ibid.*, p. 485.
- 528.*Ibid.*, Volume 19, p. 171.
- 529.*Ibid.*, p. 173.

- 530.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 20, p. 262.
- 531.*Ibid.*, Volume 21, p. 6; Griggs to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 13 November 1775, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 204.
- 532.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 21, p. 97.
- 533.*Ibid.*, p. 419.
- 534.Griggs to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 30 October 1772, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 195.
- 535.*Ibid.*, Volume 17, p. 413.
- 536.*Ibid.*, Volume 18, p. 485.
- 537.*Ibid.*, Volume 18, p. 59; *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p. 173.
- 538.*Ibid.*, Volume 18, p. 59.
- 539.*Ibid.*
- 540.Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 218.
- 541.Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 106.
- 542.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 18, p. 59.
- 543.*Ibid.*, Volume 25, p. 307.
- 544.Healey, "Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland," pp. 31-32.
- 545.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 19, p. 173; John Griggs to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 4 November 1771, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, folio 191.
- 546.Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 41.
- 547.Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 97.
- 548.*Ibid.*
- 549.See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

550. Peasley to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 9 November 1747, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 15, pp. 3-4.
551. Chancey to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, November 1810, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 180.
552. John Hoskins to William Butt, Grates Cove, NF, 19 December 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21, folio 165.
553. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 17, p. 413.
554. *Ibid.*, Volume 18, p. 276.
555. Coughlan to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 November 1770, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 187.
556. *Ibid.*
557. Coughlan to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 28 October 1767, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 170.
558. Griggs to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 4 November 1771, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 191.
559. Coughlan to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 October 1768, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 175.
560. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 80-81.
561. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
562. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 86.
563. Joseph Hildreth to the S.P.G., New York, NY, 18 October 1768, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 3, p. 163; Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 113.
564. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 116.
565. Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," p. 75, note 88.
566. Edward Langman to S.P.G., St. John's, NF, November 14 1759, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, p. 137.

567.Coughlan to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 October 1768, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 175.

568.Griggs to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 30 October 1772, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 195.

569.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 24, p. 41.

570.*Ibid.*

571.*Ibid.*, Volume 22, p. 78.

572.Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 197.

573.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 22, p. 78.

574.*Ibid.*, p. 168.

575.*Ibid.*, Volume 24, p. 48.

576.*Ibid.*, Volume 25, p. 118.

577.James Balfour to the S.P.G., Trinity, NF, 26 July 1774, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 199.

578.*Ibid.*

579.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 20, p. 213.

580.*Ibid.*, Volume 21, p. 4.

581.*Ibid.*, p. 3.

582.Balfour to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 4 December 1775, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 201.

583.*Ibid.*

584.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 24, p. 214.

585.*Ibid.*, p. 5.

586.*Ibid.*, Volume 21, pp. 292-293.

587. Balfour to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 2 December 1779, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 215.

588. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 24, p. 214.

589. Balfour to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 26 October 1785, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 231.

590. For a discussion on religious liberty in Newfoundland in 1784 see Hans Rollmann, "Religious Enfranchisement and Roman Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland," *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*, ed. Terrance Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne (St. John's: Jeperson Press, 1987), pp. 34-52; and Hans Rollmann, "Richard Edwards, John Campbell, and the Proclamation of Religious Liberty in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 80/2 (Fall 1984): 4-12.

591. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 21, p. 419.

592. Edward Freeman to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 4 December 1778, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 212.

593. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 21, p. 419.

594. *Ibid.*, Volume 22, p. 78.

595. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

596. Freeman to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 7 December 1779, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 216.

597. For a discussion on the class system in Harbour Grace see S. Dawn Barrett, "Revivalism and the Origins of Newfoundland Methodism; 1766-1774," (M.A. thesis, Department of Religious Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1993), pp. 38-44.

598. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 22, p. 189.

599. *Ibid.*, p. 386.

600. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 219.

601. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 22, p. 189.

602. Balfour to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 19 November 1781, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 219.

603.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 23, p. 227.

604.*Ibid.*, p. 267.

605.*Ibid.*

606.*Ibid.*, Volume 24, p. 42.

607.*Ibid.*

608.*Ibid.*

609.*Ibid.*

610.*Ibid.*, p. 214.

611.*Ibid.*

612.*Ibid.*, Volume 33, p. 127.

613.*Ibid.*, Volume 25, p. 445.

614.*Ibid.*, Volume 27, p. 6.

615.Balfour to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 26 October 1785, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 230.

616.William Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 October 1787, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 9.

617.*Ibid.*

618.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 25, pp. 36-37.

619.*Ibid.*, Volume 27, p. 376.

620.Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 39.

621.George Bemister to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 25 October 1793, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 142.

622.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 28, p. 137.

623.*Ibid.*, p. 2.

624. Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 41; Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 262.
625. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 13.
626. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 28, p. 116.
627. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 October 1787, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 9.
628. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 24, p. 370.
629. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 13.
630. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 248.
631. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 October 1787, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 9.
632. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 October 1787, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 11.
633. Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, pp. 172-173.
634. Balfour to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 24 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 128.
635. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 376.
636. *Ibid.*, Volume 28, p. 235; Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 18 November 1801, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 16.
637. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 73-84.
638. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, pp. 262-274.
639. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 10 October 1788, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 10.
640. Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 136.

641. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 77.
642. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 248.
643. *Ibid.*, Volume 24, p. 370.
644. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 10 October 1788, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 10.
645. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 24, p. 248.
646. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 76.
647. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 28, p. 322.
648. *Ibid.*, Volume 27, p. 248.
649. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 18 November 1801, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 16.
650. Rollmann and Powers, "Bonavista's 'Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water.'" p. 32.
651. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 106-107.
652. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 248 & 376.
653. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 79.
654. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, p. 266.
655. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 13.
656. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 18 November 1801, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 16.
657. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 30 October 1802, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 19.
658. Kemp, *Support of Schools in New York by the S.P.G.*, pp. 266-267.
659. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 13; S.P.G. Journal, Volume 25, pp. 433-434.

660.Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 80.

661.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 28, p. 116.

662.Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 October 1789, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 11; S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 146.

663.Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 10 October 1788, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 10.

664.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 25, p. 118.

665.*Ibid.*, Volume 27, p. 248.

666.Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 18 November 1801, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 16.

667.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 376.

668.*Ibid.*

669.*Ibid.*, Volume 29, p. 167.

670.*Ibid.*

671.*Ibid.*, p. 175.

672.*Ibid.*

673.*Ibid.*, p. 220.

674.Certificate of Balfour, Stephen Bennett and James Rev. Knight, Harbour Grace, NF, 10 Oct 1789, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio10a.

675.Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 13.

676.Harbour Grace Inhabitants to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 27 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 15.

677.Balfour to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 27 December 1790, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 5.

- 678.A. Graham to the S.P.G., Rupell Street, London, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 131.
679. John Harries to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 4 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 67.
- 680.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 25, p. 445.
- 681.Harries to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 1 July 1793, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 70.
- 682.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 26, p. 110.
- 683.Balfour to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 14 November 1795, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 8.
- 684.Inhabitants of Harbour Grace to John Harries, Harbour Grace, NF, 24 July 1792, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 134.
- 685.Harries to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 4 January 1793, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 69.
- 686.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 6.
- 687.*Ibid.*
- 688.*Ibid.*
- 689.Ellen M. Dinn, "Jenner, George," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume III, (1991): 106.
- 690.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 26, p. 247.
691. John Bland to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 16 November 1795, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 112. For a detailed discussion on John Clinch and his relationship with Jenner refer to Geoff Peddle, "The Reverend Dr. John Clinch of Trinity: Medical Pioneer and Missionary," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 82/1 (1986): 42-48; and John Davies, "A Historical note on the Rev. John Clinch, first Canadian vaccinator," *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 102 (1970): 960.
- 692.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27, p. 5.
- 693.*Ibid.*, p. 5 & 144.

694.*Ibid.*, p. 356.

695.*Ibid.*, p. 410.

696.*Ibid.*, Volume 28, p. 116.

697.*Ibid.*

698.*Ibid.*

699.*Ibid.*, p. 235.

700.*Ibid.*, Volume 28, p. 229.

701.*Ibid.*

702.Jones and Story, "Anspach, Lewis Amadeus," p. 9.

703.*Ibid.*, p. 320; Anspach to the S.P.G., 25 October 1802, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 182.

704.Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 30 May 1803, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 183.

705.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 248; Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 9 July 1812, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 196.

706.*A systematical review of the laws and regulations relating to the trade and fishery of Newfoundland*, London, 1810; and *A summary of the laws of commerce and navigation, adapted to the present state, government, and trade of the island of Newfoundland*, London, 180 as cited in Jones and Story, "Anspach, Lewis Amadeus," 10.

707.Jones and Story, "Anspach, Lewis Amadeus," 10.

708.Lewis Amadeus Anspach, *A History of the Island of Newfoundland*, (London: T. and J. Allen, 1819.)

709.*Ibid.*

710.Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 19 December 1803, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 184.

711.Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 144.

712.*Ibid.*, p. 146.

713. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 19 December 1803, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 184; S.P.G. Journal, Volume 28, p. 435.

714. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 19 December 1803, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 184.

715. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 28, p. 435.

716. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 19 December 1803, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 184.

717. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 January 1807, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 190.

718. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 18 December 1805, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 186.

719. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 January 1807, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 190.

720. Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 85-87.

721. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 January 1807, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 190.

722. *Ibid.*

723. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 29, p. 235.

724. *Ibid.*, Volume 30, p. 248.

725. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

726. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

727. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

728. *Ibid.*, Volume 31, p. 5 & 305.

729. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

730. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

731.*Ibid.*, p. 405.

732.Griggs to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 30 October 1772, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series B, Volume 6, p. 195.

733.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 27., p. 248.

734.*Ibid.*, Volume 29, p. 233.

735.*Ibid.*, Volume 32, p. 176.

736.*Ibid.*, Volume 28, p. 320.

737.*Ibid.*, Volume 22, p. 386.

738.John Tucker to the S.P.G., Port de Grave, NF, 6 November 1810, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, no folio number given. Tucker writes to the S.P.G. that in 1810 he kept school at Port de Grave for the past 31 years.

739.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 28, p. 114.

740.*Ibid.*, p. 320.

741.Ansbach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 23 December 1805, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 187.

742.Frederick Carrington to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 July 1819, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 235.

743.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 32, p. 257.

744.*Ibid.*, Volume 32, p. 355; Leigh to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 4 September 1820, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 335.

745.Leigh to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 January 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 336.

746.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 25, p. 259.

747.*Ibid.*

748.*Ibid.*

749.*Ibid.*, Volume 31, p. 269.

750. Vic Admiral Pickmore to the S.P.G., London, England, 18 June 1817, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, no folio number given.

751. *Ibid.*

752. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 32, p. 190.

753. This monitorial system of education is explained more fully in chapter two of this thesis.

754. Leigh to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 9 August 1820, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 334.

755. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 32, p. 352.

756. John Burt to the S.P.G., Carbonear, NF, 12 June 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 280.

757. Burt to the S.P.G., Carbonear, NF, 2 January 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 281.

758. Burt to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 11 January 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 282.

759. Burt to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 16 May 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 283.

760. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 30, p. 125.

761. George Williams to the S.P.G., Bay Roberts, NF, 10 January 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 11.

762. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 31, p. 306.

763. Leigh to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 4 September 1820, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 335.

764. Charles Blackman to the S.P.G., Port de Grave, NF, 22 July 1828, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 66.

765. Blackman to the S.P.G., Port de Grave, NF, June 1834, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 20.

766. George Williams to the S.P.G., Bay Roberts, NF, 24 July 1834, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 12.

767. Petition from Inhabitants of Grates Cove to Frederick Carrington, Grates Cove, NF, 1823, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 255.

768. "An Account of Mr. John Hoskins: in a Letter to the Rev. John Wesley." *The Arminian Magazine* 8 (1785): 24.

769. *Ibid.*

770. John Hoskins to William Butt, Grates Cove, NF, 19 December 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21, folio 165.

771. *Ibid.*

772. James Mayo to the S.P.G., Wisborne, England, 19 March 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21, folio 164.

773. Petition from Inhabitants of Grates Cove to Frederick Carrington, Grates Cove, NF, 1823, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 255.

774. Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 30 December 1823, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 254.

775. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 34, p. 284.

776. *Ibid.*, Volume 32, p. 56.

777. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

778. Hans Rollmann, "The Colonial Episcopate of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland Missions," *Frontiers Then and Now: The Canadian Anglican Episcopate 1787-1987 (The Archbishop Owen Memorial Lectures, 1987)*, (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1989), pp. 26-32.

779. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 32, p. 257.

780. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-353.

781. *Ibid.*, Volume 33, p. 125.

782. Matthews, *History of Newfoundland*, pp. 194-195.

- 783.Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 217.
- 784.*Ibid.*
- 785.*Ibid.*, p. 223.
- 786.*Ibid.*, p. 227.
- 787.Matthews, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 227.
- 788.Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*, p. 237.
- 789.Matthews, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 227.
- 790.McLintock, *Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland*, p. 125.
- 791.*Ibid.*, p. 135.
- 792.Matthews, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 267.
- 793.Rollmann, "Colonial Episcopate of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland Missions," p. 27.
- 794.*Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 795.Rollmann, "Religious Enfranchisement and Roman Catholics in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland," p. 35.
- 796.Rollmann, "Colonial Episcopate of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland Missions," p. 27.
- 797.*Ibid.*, p. 29.
- 798.Rollmann, "Religious Enfranchisement and Roman Catholics in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland," p. 35.
- 799.Lewis Amadeus Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 18 December 1805, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 186.
- 800.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 32, p. 257.
- 801.*Ibid.*, p. 352.
- 802.*Ibid.*
- 803.*Ibid.*, Volume 33, p. 124.

804.*Ibid.*, Volume 31, pp. 263-264.

805.*Ibid.*

806.Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 327.

807.*Ibid.*

808.Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 156.

809.*Ibid.*: Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 332.

810.*Ibid.*, p. 333.

811.*Ibid.*, p. 330.

812.Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 156; Jones, *Charity School Movement*, pp. 334-337.

813.Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p. 338.

814.Clarke, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 157.

815.*Ibid.*

816.For a discussion on the benefits of an incorporated society see Chapter Two of this thesis.

817.Leigh to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 9 August 1820, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 334.

818.Leigh to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 4 September 1820, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 335.

819.Leigh to the Bishop of London, Bonavista, NF, 31 August 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 360.

820.A summation of "Leigh's suggestions laid before the Society for the improvement of things in Newfoundland, 1821", S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 336a.

821.Leigh to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 4 September 1820, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 335.

822.S.P.G. Journal, Volume 33, p. 209; Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 11 January 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 247.

823. McLintock, *Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland*, p. 125.
824. Thomas Grantham to the S.P.G., St. John's, Newfoundland, 15 November 1817, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 274.
825. Canon Bolt, "The Codner Centenary or Performance of a Vow: A Short Review of the Rise and Progress of the Colonial and Continental Church Society (1823-1923)"
826. *Ibid.*; Barnes, "History of Education in Newfoundland," p. 19; Rowe, *Development of Education in Newfoundland*, p. 38.
827. Phillip McCann, "The Newfoundland School Society 1823-1836: Missionary Enterprise or Cultural Imperialism?" Unpublished Lecture (Newfoundland Historical Society, City Hall, St. John's, NF, January 8, 1976), p. 3.
828. *Ibid.*
829. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
830. Rowe, *Development of Education in Newfoundland*, p. 35.
831. Jo Oppenheimer, "Some Patterns in the Early History of Newfoundland Education, 1578-1836," (M.A. thesis, Department of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, September, 1982), pp. 104-105.
832. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 35, p. 52.
833. Genevieve Lehr, "Coster, Venerable George," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume I, (1981): 547.
834. *Ibid.*
835. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 35, p. 52.
836. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
837. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.
838. *Ibid.*, Volume 36, p. 81.
839. *Ibid.*

840. William Bullock to Archdeacon Wix, Trinity, NF, 25 October 1833, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21, folio 224.
841. Coster to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 18 December 1827, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 136
842. Edward Wix to the S.P.G., St. John's, Newfoundland, 9 August 1830, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21A, folio 4.
843. Wix to the S.P.G., St. John's, Newfoundland, 8 September 1830, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21A, folio 5.
844. Wix to the S.P.G., St. John's, Newfoundland, 9 August 1830, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21A, folio 4.
845. Wix to the S.P.G., St. John's, Newfoundland, 28 December 1830, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21A, folio 8.
846. Wix to the S.P.G., St. John's, Newfoundland, 8 September 1830, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21A, folio 5.
847. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 37, p. 254.
848. John Inglis to the Secretary of the S.P.G., Halifax, 14 September 1827 in *An Account of the State of the Schools in the Island of Newfoundland, Established or Assisted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. (London: S.P.G.; C. & J. Rivington, 1827), p. 6.
849. S.P.G. Journal, Volume 37, p. 254
850. *Ibid.*
851. *Ibid.*
852. *Ibid.*, Volume 36, p. 89.
853. McCann, "Newfoundland School Society," p. 6.
854. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
855. *Ibid.*
856. Joseph Beacon to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 23 May 1822, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 13.

857. Rowe, *Development of Education in Newfoundland*, p. 29.

858. John Inglis to the Secretary of the S.P.G., Halifax, 14 September 1827 in *Account of the State of the Schools in Newfoundland*, p. 4. The actual date they left Newfoundland for Halifax can be found in "Appendix: Letter from the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia," in *S.P.G. Annual Report 1827*. (London: S.P.G.; C. & J. Rivington, 1828), pp. 102.

859. *Ibid.*: Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 12 January 1828, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a\18, folio 259. It is these primary sources which dispel James Healey's assertion that, "There is nothing to indicate that Beacon left Newfoundland at anytime. . . ." Healey, "Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland," p. 73.

860. Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 30 July 1828, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 260.

861. Carrington to the S.P.G., St. John's, NF, 21 January 1829, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 261.

862. Report of Daily Schools, 1829-30 by George Coster, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/21, folio 175.

868. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, pp. 35-226.

864. George Coster to the S.P.G., Bonavista, NF, 21 July 1827, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/ 20, folio 135.

865. John Cutis to the S.P.G., Portugal Cove, NF, 2 January 1821, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/20, folio 8.

866. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 January 1807, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 190.

867. Thomas Laugharne to the S.P.G., Twillingate, NF, 5 November 1820, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/19, folio 352.

868. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 15 January 1807, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 190.

869. Anspach to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 9 January 1810, S.P.G. Letter Book Series C, Box 1a/18, folio 193.

870. Lampen to the S.P.G., Harbour Grace, NF, 20 November 1791, S.P.G. Letter Book, Series C, Box 1a/17, folio 13; S.P.G. Journals, Volume 25, p. 433-4.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### **Primary Sources - Manuscripts:**

The Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace Library. London: World Microfilms Publications, Volumes I, 11, and 19.

Charles Hedges to John Jackson, 27 March 1701. England: British Library. ADD MS 9747, 30. MHA-16-D-3-042.

Inhabitants of St. John's to the Bishop of London, 30 August 1699, St. John's, NF: British Library. MHA-16-D-2-036.

Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge Letters. ABL 14 -21 (1726 - 1741); CN2/3 - CN2/9 (1737 - 1743); CS2/19 - CS2/24 (1728 - 1732).

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts - Letter Books, Series A, B, & C. East Ardsley, Wakefield: Micro Methods, 1964.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: The Journals, 1701 - 1833. Wakefield: Micro Methods, 1964.

### **Primary Sources - Printed:**

An Account of Mr. John Hoskins: in a Letter to the Rev. John Wesley." *The Arminian Magazine* 8 (1785): 24-27, 85-88, 143-144, 194-196.

"Appendix: Letter from the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia," in *S.P.G. Annual Report 1827*. London: S.P.G.; C. & J. Rivington, 1828, pp. 62-104.

Allen, W.O.B., and McClure, Edmund. *Two Hundred Years: The History of The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698 - 1898*. London: S.P.C.K., 1898.

*Annual Reports of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. London: S.P.G., 1701 ff.

Anspach, Rev. Lewis. *A History of the Island of Newfoundland*. London: T. & J. Allman, 1815.

- Bray, Thomas. *A Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion, on the Continent of North America*. London: John Brudenell, 1701.
- Calender of Letters from Canada, Newfoundland, Pennsylvania, Barbados and the Bermuda, 1721 - 1793 as preserved at The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. List and Index Society, Special Series, Volume 5, 1972.
- Calender of State Papers, Colonial Series.
- Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701 - 1892*. London, 1895.
- CO 194. Great Britain. Colonial Office. Newfoundland. Original Correspondence, Newfoundland.
- Gill, Burnham. ed. "Tyranny in St. John's: A Sordid Story from the Colonial Records." St. John's: Centre for Newfoundland Studies at QE II, 1971.
- Inglis, John to the Secretary of the S.P.G., Halifax, 14 September 1827 in *An Account of the State of the Schools in the Island of Newfoundland, Established or Assisted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. London: S.P.G.; C. & J. Rivington, 1827.
- "The Last Will and Testament of John Jones (1799)."  
<http://www.mun.ca/rels/cong/texts/jjwill.html>.
- Mandeville, Bernard. *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits. With an ESSAY on Charity and Charity Schools*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. London: J. Tonson, 1732.
- McClure, Edmund, ed. *A Chapter in English History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Years 1698-1704 together with Abstracts of Correspondents' Letters during part of the same period*. London: S.P.C.K., 1888.
- "Notes Concerning the Dissenting Church of Christ at St. John's Newfoundland."  
[http://www.mun.ca/rels/cong/texts/journ2\\_new.html](http://www.mun.ca/rels/cong/texts/journ2_new.html).
- "Religious Instructions to Governors of Newfoundland: 1729-1786."  
<http://www.mun.ca/rels/ang/texts/instruct.html>.

*A Report of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor of St. John's, from the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1808 to the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1809.* Liverpool: J. Lang, 1809.

*A Report of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor of St. John's, NF. From the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1810 to the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1811.* Liverpool: J. Lang, 1812.

Watts, Isaac. "An Essay Towards the Encouragement of Charity Schools, particularly among Protestant Dissenters." *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts, D.D. containing besides his Sermons, And Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects, Several Additional Pieces, selected from his Manuscripts.* Reprinted from the London edition, 1810. New York: A.M.S., 1971.

### **Secondary Literature:**

Barrett, S. Dawn. Revivalism and the Origins of Newfoundland Methodism; 1766-1774." M.A. thesis, Department of Religious Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1993.

Barnes, Arthur. "The History of Education in Newfoundland." Unpublished Doctor of Pedagogy thesis, New York University, 1917.

Bolt, Rev. Canon. *The Codner Centenary or the Performance of a Vow. A short review of the rise and progress of the Colonial Church Society, 1823 - 1923.*

Brunner, Daniel L. *Halle Piets in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge.* Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993.

Buffett, F.M. "Fordyce, John." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume III (1974): 219-220.

Cell, Gillian T. *English Enterprise in Newfoundland; 1577-1660.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.

Christensen, Ruth M. "The Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703 - 1783." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 20 (June 1951): 207 - 229.

Clarke, W.K. Lowther. *Eighteenth Century Piety.* London: S.P.C.K., 1945.

- Clarke, W.K. Lowther. *A History of the S.P.C.K.* London: S.P.C.K., 1959.
- Copley, Stephen. *Literature and the Social Order in Eighteenth Century England.* London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- Cowie, Leonard W. *Henry Newman: An American in London, 1708 - 43.* London: S.P.C.K., 1956.
- Dale, J. Ralph "Carbonear." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador.* Volume I (1981): 344-346.
- Davies, John. "A Historical note on the Rev. John Clinch, first Canadian vaccinator." *Canadian Medical Association Journal.* 102 (1970): 960.
- Dickinson, A.B. "Some Aspects of Education in Newfoundland." M.Ed. thesis, Department of Education, University of Leeds, May 1976.
- Dinn, Ellen M. "Jenner, George." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume III (1991): 106.
- Dinn, Ellen M. "Jones, Henry." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume III (1991): 123.
- Colbourne, Wade B. "Kilpatrick, Robert." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume III (1991): 174.
- Fizzard, Garfield. "Newfoundland's First Known School," *Newfoundland Studies* 11/2 (1995): 179 - 198.
- Folmsbee, Beulah. *A Little History of the Horn-book.* 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Boston: The Horn-book, 1972.
- Ford, Paul Leicester. "Facsimile of the New England Primer [1727]." *The New England Primer.* New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1962.
- George, M. Dorothy. *England in Transition: Life and Work in the Eighteenth Century.* London: George Routledge, 1931.
- Godfrey, Michael. "Jackson, John." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume II. (1969): 293-294.

- Godfrey, Michael. "Moody, John." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume II. (1969): 486-487.
- Handcock, W. Gordon. *So long as there comes no women: Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland*. St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1989.
- Hans, Nicholas. *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951.
- Head, C. Grant. *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.
- Healey, James. "An Educational History of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland. 1703 - 1850." M.Ed. Thesis, Department of Education Foundations, Memorial University of Newfoundland, May 1995.
- Hewson, John. "Leigh, John" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume VI (1987): 392-393.
- Hickman, George Albert. *The History of Education in Newfoundland*. Nova Scotia: Acadia University, 1941.
- Hodgson, Pamela M. "Bonavista." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume I (1981): 213-214.
- Hodgson, Pamela M. "Conception Bay" *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume I (1981): 492-493.
- Howley, Rev. M.F. *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*. Belleville, Ontario: Mika, 1979.
- Humphreys, David. *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969.
- Hume, Robert. "Interest with impotence: the influence of the SPCK as a directive force for the development of education in eighteenth century Kent." *History of Education* 11/3 (1982): 165-172.

- Johnson, Trudi Dale. "Teacher Training in Newfoundland, 1800 - 1949." M.Ed. thesis, Department of Education Foundations, Memorial University of Newfoundland, May 1985.
- Jones, Frederick. "Balfour, James." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume V (1983): 52-53.
- Jones, Frederick. "Clinch, John." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume V (1983): 189-190.
- Jones, Frederick. "Langman, Edward." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume IV (1979): 437-438.
- Jones, Frederick. "Peasley, William." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume III (1974): 504.
- Jones, Frederick. "Wix, Edward." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume IX (1976): 846-847.
- Jones, Frederick and Story, G.M. "Anspach, Lewis. Amadeus." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume VI (1987): 9-11.
- Jones, M.G. *The Charity School Movement*. London: Frank Cass, 1964.
- Kemp, William Webb. *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969.
- Lahey, Raymond J. *James O'Donel in Newfoundland (1784-1807): The Establishment of the Roman Catholic Church*, Newfoundland Historical Society, Pamphlet No. 8, edited by Shannon Ryan and G.M. Story. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1984.
- Lahey, R.J. "Newfoundland Material Contained in the Annual Reports of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701 - 1850." St. John's.
- Laqueur, Thomas Walter. *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780 - 1850*. London: Yale University Press, 1976.

- Lehr, Genevieve. "Coster, Venerable George." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume I (1981): 547.
- Newcombe, Alfred. "The Appointment and Instruction of S.P.G. Missionaries," *Church History*. 5 (1936): 340 - 358.
- Manross, William Wilson. *S.P.G. Papers in Lambeth Palace Library: Calendar and Indexes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.
- Matthews, Keith. "Keen, William." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume III (1974): 323-324.
- Matthews, Keith. *Lectures on the History of Newfoundland: 1500 - 1830*. St. John's: Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland, April 1973.
- May, Trevor. *An Economic and Social History of Britain 1760 - 1970*. New York: Longman, 1987.
- McCann, Phillip. "The Newfoundland School Society 1823 - 1836: Missionary Enterprise or Cultural Imperialism?" Unpublished Lecture, Newfoundland Historical Society, City Hall, St. John's, Newfoundland, January 8, 1976.
- McCulloch, Samuel Clyde. "The Foundation and Early Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 20 (June 1951): 121 - 135.
- McLintock, A.H. *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832: A Study of Retarded Colonisation*. London: Longman's, Green, 1941.
- Meiklejohn, John Miller Dow. *An Old Reformer Dr. Andrew Bell*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1881.
- Millman, Thomas R., and Kelley, A.R. *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983.
- Mulcahy, Sister Mary Nolasco. "The St. John's Schools of Industry." *The Newfoundland Quarterly* 77/4 (Spring 1983): 17 - 22.
- Muir, Percy. *English Children's Books, 1600 - 1900*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: B. T. Batsford, 1969.

- O'Flaherty, Patrick. "Coughlan, Laurence." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume IV (1979): 175-177.
- Oppenheimer, Jo. "Some Patterns in the Early History of Newfoundland Education, 1578 - 1836." M.Ed. thesis, Department of Education Foundations, Memorial University of Newfoundland, September 1982.
- Owen, David. *English Philanthropy, 1660 - 1960*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Peddle, Geoff. "The Reverend Jacob Rice: Anglican Ministry and Preaching in Early Eighteenth Century Newfoundland." M.A. thesis, Department of Religious Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, February 1996.
- Peddle, Geoff. "The Rev. Dr. John Clinch of Trinity Medical Pioneer and Missionary." *The Newfoundland Quarterly* 82/1 (Summer 1986): 42-48.
- Pascoc, C.F. *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., 1701 - 1900*. London, S.P.C.K., 1901.
- Pitt, David G. "Thomey, Arthur." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume V (1994): 373.
- Pitt, Janet E. Miller. "Bonavista Bay." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume I (1981): 215-216.
- Pitt, Janet E. Miller. "Carrington, Rev. Frederick Hamilton." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume I (1981): 357.
- Poole, C.F. "For the Love of Men's Souls: The Beginnings of Education in Newfoundland." *Dalhousie Review* 1 (1970 -71): 194 - 200.
- Quin, D.B. "Lloyd, Thomas." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume II (1969): 438-439.
- Riggs, Bertram G. "Balfour, Rev. James." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume I (1981): 118.
- Riggs, Bertram G. "Harries (alt. Harris), Rev. John." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume II (1984): 843.

- Ritchie, Carson I.A. "Rice, Jacob." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*: Volume II (1969): 564.
- Rodgers, Betsy. *Cloak of Charity: Studies in Eighteenth Century Philanthropy*. London: Methuen, 1949.
- Rogers, John D. *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies*. Volume V. Part IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.
- Rollmann, Hans. "The Colonial Episcopate of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland Missions." *Frontiers Then and Now: The Canadian Anglican Episcopate 1787-1987 (The Archbishop Owen Memorial Lectures, 1987)*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1989.
- Rollmann, Hans. "John Jones, James O'Donel, and the Question of Religious Tolerance in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland: A Correspondence." *The Newfoundland Quarterly*: 14/4 (June 1984): 23-27.
- Rollmann, Hans. "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland." In: *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, edited by Charles Scobie and John W. Grant. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.
- Rollmann, Hans. "Religious Enfranchisement and Roman Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland." In: *The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*. Edited by Terrance Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne. St. John's, NF: Jespersen Press, 1987.
- Rollmann, Hans. "Richard Edwards, John Campbell, and the Proclamation of Religious Liberty in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland." *The Newfoundland Quarterly*: 80/2 (Fall 1984): 4-12.
- Rollmann, Hans and Powers, Bonita. "Bonavista's Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: The First School in Newfoundland." *Humanities Association of Canada Bulletin*. 17/1 (April 1989): 27 - 33.
- Rowe, Frederick. *The Development of Education in Newfoundland*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1964.
- Rowe, Frederick. *Education and Culture in Newfoundland*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976.

- Russell, Linda E. "Harbour Grace." *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* Volume II (1984): 807-823.
- Seaborne, Malcolm. *The English School: It's Architecture and Organization, 1370 - 1870*. England: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.
- Sheasgreen, William J. "John Locke and the charity school movement." *History of Education* 15/2 (1986): 63 - 79.
- Smith, Waldo E.L. *The Navy and Its Chaplains in the days of sail*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961.
- Thompson, Rev. H.P. *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701 - 1950*. London: S.P.C.K., 1951.
- Thomas, C.E. "Bullock, William." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Volume X (1972): 110-111.
- Trevelyan, G.M. *English Social History*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Longmans, Green, 1945.
- Unwin, Richard. "The Established Church and Schooling of the Poor: The Role of the S.P.C.K., 1699 - 1720." *The Churches and Education*. Proceeding of the 1983 Annual Conference of the History of the Education Society of Great Britain. (London: 1984), pp. 14 - 32.
- Whiffen, Bruce. *Prime Berth: An Account of Bonavista's Early Years*. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1993.
- Wilson, Rev. Williams. *Newfoundland and its Missionaries*. Cambridge, Mass.: Dakin & Metcalf, 1866.







