

DENOMINATIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE
SUBDIVISION OF THE 1874 PROTESTANT GRANT
TO EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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**DENOMINATIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SUBDIVISION OF THE 1874
PROTESTANT GRANT TO EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND**

BY

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

**Department of Education
Memorial University of Newfoundland
May 1998**

St. John's

Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

The initial settlement stages of Newfoundland saw a slow expansion of education due to the interdiction of permanent residence by British authorities. After precarious colonization a system of education under the Colonial Secretary was to be implemented in the Colony, but with consistent and continual bickering amongst the Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Methodists, the task was complex. The Education Acts of 1836, 1843, and 1874, gradually establish the denominational system of education in Newfoundland and are discussed. By using these Educational enactments, historical documents, and a series of primary sources such as newspapers and Superintendents' Annual Reports, the researcher has attempted to trace denominational attitudes toward the subdivision of the 1874 Protestant grant to education in Newfoundland, while including an historical examination of the application of the Act of 1874 under superintendents of education that characterizes an opposition to denominationalism by the Methodist congregation. The dates covered are 1836-1903.

Findings are that the proposal for subdivision favoured by the Anglicans, and supported in time by the Catholics, was opposed by the Methodists before its attainment in 1874. The Methodists believed the subdivision would result in even further complexity, and additionally dividing the grant would surrender schools to heights of ineffectiveness in their view. Their attitude expresses a reservation toward a system of denominational education. In light of these findings, religiously oriented educational circumstances leading up to 1874 that constitute relative denominational attitudes and historical examination, will be analyzed. It is further found through examination of the relevant documents that the opposition to

denominationalism in education on the part of the Methodists continued unabated subsequent to the coming of full denominationalism in 1874.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Foremost I would like to thank Dr. John Netten for his excellent guidance, unending time, and great advice and instruction. His knowledge and thoughts on the subject matter of educational history in Newfoundland are greatly recognized and appreciated. Dr. Netten's nature of keeping me focused on the topic was impelling during the trying times of this work. His scholarly approach and notable encouragement to see this project through were motivating. Without his direction this thesis would not have been completed. I am forever indebted to Dr. Netten for his attention to this work and his overall supervision of the project.

I would further like to thank my wife Nancy who provided love, friendship, and moral support throughout this project, and our daughter Mealey and son Innis who were inspirational and provided brightness and laughter in the last stages of this work. Also, I thank my family and friends who showed interest in this endeavour, particularly, my dad, Joe MacDonald, for his overall support and interest in this study, my brother, Dr. Hugh MacDonald, for the computer and financial assistance, and my uncle, Fr. Hughie MacDonald, for his encouragement of education. And finally, I would like to thank the staff at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies. This thesis is dedicated to my late mom Irma Macdonald, her wit and scholarly influence are everlasting.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS*

(1) Denomination- a religious denomination for which educational districts have been established by or under section five of the Statutes of Newfoundland, 1960.

(2) School Board- includes a School Board constituted by or under this Act, and, except in Sections 6, 7, and 8, an Amalgamated School Board constituted in accordance with Sections 26 to 29, and also includes a Board of Education, a common board, a committee and other governing bodies existing by virtue of Section 4 (Statutes of Newfoundland, 1960).

(3) Constitution of School Board- the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall, on the recommendation of the proper Superintendent, appoint, in each district, a School Board consisting of five or more persons of the same religious denomination as that for which the district was established and representative of the most important parts of the district, one of whom shall be the senior clergyman or other officer of the denomination of the district, but the Minister may, upon the recommendation of the proper Superintendent or Superintendents, appoint as members of any such Board, persons other than those of the religious denomination of the Board (Statutes of Newfoundland, 1960).

(4) School Board Districts- a number of areas of convenient dimensions, organized for educational purposes for each religious denomination (Statutes of Newfoundland, 1960).

(5) School Districts- the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by order establish educational districts for any religious denomination that is not mentioned in the Schedule (Statutes of Newfoundland, 1960).

(6) Public School- includes a school within a district conducted by the authority of, and receiving financial aid from the School Board for that district (Statutes of Newfoundland, 1960).

(7) Proper Superintendent- the Superintendent of Education representing the appropriate religious denomination (Statutes of Newfoundland, 1960).

(8) Board of Directors- includes a Board of Directors of a college constituted by or under this Act and a Board of Directors existing by virtue of Section 4 (Statutes of Newfoundland, 1960).

(9) Certificate of Grade- includes a licence to teach issued under the authority of The Education (Teacher Training) Act (Statutes of Newfoundland, 1960).

(10) Council of Higher Education- the CHE was a body set up by a Legislative Act to standardize the curriculum and raise standards by establishing tests and grading certificates for pupils and pupil teachers. Essentially, the department of education implemented government policy that set public requirements across examinations, salary dispensation, teachers' certification, and the curriculum.

(11) The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts- the SPG was formed in 1701 by a group of Anglican clergyman who wanted to spread the Gospel to Colonial settlers. Concerns were not so much the facilitation of educational provisions but rather religious promotion. Although the promotion of religion was the initial intent it appeared that a percentage of the public could not read the Gospel and thus the authorities set the process of educating in motion and the early missionaries began teaching the rudiments of reading and writing.

(12) The Benevolent Irish Society- the BIS was formed in 1806. Initially a Protestant society that used the Irish National System of schooling the BIS eventually became exclusively Catholic and aligned itself with the Church in Rome. However, it was non-denominational in character and open to the public. A person's denominational background was not discriminated against. Establishing the system with the hope of curtailing the prevalent economic plight of the poor of St. John's, the Protestant Irish founders of the BIS wanted

their society organized on the broadest principles of benevolence. The ideology behind the Society was very humanitarian: the alleviation of Irish suffering.

(13) The Newfoundland School Society- formed in 1823 the NSS concentrated on providing a broader curriculum and not necessarily a dispersion of missionaries. The Society wanted to inculcate 'moral and religious principles' to the inhabitants of the Island.

(*)Some definitions are taken from the Statutes of Newfoundland (1960). Centre for Newfoundland Studies, St. John's, Newfoundland, Queens Printer. pp. 250-252. Definitions taken from the 1960 Education Act are applicable for years covered in this thesis as the meanings of the List of Abbreviations and Symbols were the same for pre-1960.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The system of education in Newfoundland has involved both church and state. Education has not been solely church-based nor unified into a single body under the state, although the educational system of Newfoundland commenced within a framework of denominationalism. In part, the state attempted to establish a system of schooling in 1836 with the dispensing of financial support for the development of a secular system of education as well as subsidizing existing church schools. Nevertheless, with future Acts the educational system moved towards denominationalism and was legally established along fully denominational lines in 1874.

Objective of Study

The evolution of Newfoundland education is unique in Canada and worthy of examination. The objective of this thesis is to study the denominational attitudes toward the subdivision of the 1874 Protestant grant to education in Newfoundland as it was this subdivision which created a fully denominational system of education in Newfoundland. The historical background of educational policy in Newfoundland, notably, the first Act of Education of 1836 and the Education Acts of 1843 and 1874, shows the drift towards denominational education in Newfoundland. Therefore, pre-1874 Education Acts form a basis for the study as they are integral to understanding denominational attitudes toward the 1874 Act of Education.

This thesis considers the historical background and early educational legislation concerning denominational education, and considers the views of the various groups involved in the debate about it. Particular examination is made of the views of those involved with the provision of education in Newfoundland subsequent to the implementation of full denominationalism in 1874, with a view to establishing which of these concerned supported denominational education and which opposed the offering of education in this way.

Scope of Thesis

The early education system in Newfoundland must be understood as having been economically restricted, in respect of a developing colony; socially constrained, in regard to social communication and settlement; politically coerced, in relation to the West Country merchants' influence with the English Parliament regarding the permanent colonization policy; and finally, most importantly, as having as its impetus religious bodies of different denominations that held differing views and attitudes toward the provision of education in Newfoundland. By including an historical examination of the application of the Act of 1874, with particular emphasis on school reports by superintendents, the study will also show that the Methodist congregation's opposition to denominationalism prior to and after the subdivision of the grant of Education of 1874 contributed greatly to conflict within denominationalism.

Chapter one of this thesis, the introduction, establishes the objective of the study, discusses scope of thesis, and reviews literature that was read to complete this work. Chapter

two discusses geographical factors and early settlement of the Island of Newfoundland. It gives a brief history of the beginnings of education by concentrating on early Societies and Orders that gave assistance to education, namely, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Benevolent Irish Society, the Newfoundland School Society, the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor in St. John's, and the Wesleyan Methodists.

Chapter three discusses early educational legislation while chapter four deals with the Education Act of 1874. An example of census statistics is presented for the purposes of denominational allowance, the role of the superintendent is given, and reaction and accompanying debate on the 1874 Act of Education is highlighted. Chapter five examines the application of the 1874 Act of Education under three separate denominations, namely, the Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Methodist school boards. The Education Act of 1903 and the establishing of the Council of Higher Education and its importance is also presented. Chapter six, the Conclusion, gives a brief account of the educational structure of Newfoundland and summarizes the findings of this thesis.

Review of the Literature

Much of the information for supporting this thesis is derived from primary sources. Educational Acts and related legislation were searched at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at Queen Elizabeth II Library at Memorial University in St. John's. Compiled by the Legislative library in 1979, the three-set volume contains Newfoundland's Acts of Education until 1952. The volumes are neatly arranged in chronological order. Beginning with

Newfoundland's first Education Act of 1836, volume one contains the Education Acts until 1892, volume two contains the Acts 1893-1916, and volume three contains the Acts 1916-1952. From 1952 to present, the Education Acts can be found in the annual Statutes of Newfoundland at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies.

The School Inspectors and Superintendents' reports were viewed at various places. It should be noted that the author was restricted in scope regarding the availability of certain annual school reports. The only accessible Report(s) of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards until 1903, the end time frame for which this thesis is concerned, are as follows. Memorial University, in St. John's, had years 1876-1893 on micro film # 689. Years 1875-1884 are listed as appendices to the Journal of the Legislative Council of the Island of Newfoundland. Reports for the years 1893, 1897-1901, and 1903 were available as individual reports or as appendices in the Journal of the Legislative Council of the Island of Newfoundland, also available at Memorial University.

Report(s) of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards are best found at the United Church Archives in St. John's. Volumes 1876, 1877, 1881-1885, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1897-1899, and 1900-1903 are in complete book form. Reports for 1876-1884 can be found at Centre for Newfoundland Studies as appendices of the Journal of the Legislative Council of the Island of Newfoundland. The Public Reference Library in St. John's also has volumes 1877-1889 available.

The Public Reference Library also contains a small collection of the Report(s) of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, namely for, the years 1892,

1898, 1900-1903. Memorial University has the Report(s) of 1886 and 1898 on hand in individual books, as well as reports for 1875-1884, listed as Appendices in the Journal of the Legislative Council of the Island of Newfoundland. The Newfoundland Provincial Archives, located in the Colonial Building in St. John's, has the Journal of the Legislative Council and Journal of the House of Assembly. Also included there are some Superintendent Reports under the three denominations.

The Journal of the House of Assembly and the Journal of the Legislative Council were excellent primary sources of information. Annually printed, the journals covered different sessions and assemblies and included Education Acts, debates on bills from both chambers, and vital Superintendent School Reports. The debates in the Assembly and Council provide insight into differing denominational view points. As political power changed hands between a Protestant dominated government to a Catholic dominated government, Assembly and Council debates frequently featured education as a main topic of discussion. Also, petitions reflecting denominational attitudes were often included as appendices of the Journal of the House of Assembly and the Journal of the Legislative Council.

Found as appendices in the Journal of the House of Assembly and Journal of the Legislative Council from 1874-1885, the Superintendents' Reports contain a wealth of information. In the Reports, statistics of school operations were given in appendices, tables of population and grading were presented, and attendance information was annually given. Branches of instruction and subjects taught were analyzed with financial statements presented and district subdivisions attended to in separate denominational reports.

More primary sources used were particular Census & Returns of the Population & c. of Newfoundland found at the Newfoundland Provincial Archives. Also, newspapers of different years, and often at times, under differing names, were searched. The Morning Chronicle, The Newfoundlander, The Patriot, The Public Ledger, The Times, found at the Centre for Newfoundland studies at Queen Elizabeth II Library and at the Public Reference Library, provided insights into denominational attitudes. They also contain excerpts from the Houses of the Council and Assembly. Finally, the Methodist Monthly Greeting magazine was used as a primary source as it sometimes gave the Methodists viewpoint on denominational education. This can be found at the United Church Archives in St. John's.

F. W. Rowe's books, The Development of Education in Newfoundland (1964) and Education and Culture in Newfoundland (1976) are important books in understanding early educational history in Newfoundland. Early racial and religious antagonisms are presented in both in relation to English Protestants and Irish Catholics, both important ingredients in the development of education in Newfoundland.

The early school societies, such as the Newfoundland School Society, the Benevolent Irish Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, are analyzed at length in The Development of Education in Newfoundland (1964). The book deals with much subject matter such as private schools, state aid to education, training, status of teachers, secondary education, inspection and supervision, and educational opportunity. The book also includes the issue of denominational education. It gives attention to the Acts of Education leading up to 1874 and what happened subsequent to 1874. Notice is given to legislation, particularly

educational legislation as it was received and judged by the various religious bodies.

The actual historical and sociological background of Newfoundland is more precisely considered by Rowe in Education and Culture in Newfoundland (1976). Early and late government systems that affected education are presented. Post 1920 information is lengthy in this book with detailed information about migration and transportation that affected educational development. The precursor of present day Memorial University of Newfoundland is also given consideration. Dr. Rowe's books are necessary guides in the study of Newfoundland's educational history. They are particularly useful in giving the perspective of one whose career was spent largely with the Newfoundland school system.

Arthur Barnes' (1917) History of Education in Newfoundland presents the evolution of the Newfoundland school system to 1917, again from the perspective of one inside the system. He gives particular attention to the work of the Select Committee of the Legislature which was appointed prior to the 1874 Act of Education to record and analyze results of the questionnaire circulated by the committee on the subject of education. Barnes attaches much importance to the early reports of denominational inspectors of school. The inspectors' reports concerning the training of teachers and the idiosyncrasies of the educational system are given special attention by Barnes, leading Barnes to conclude that (p. 108): "...there are many local peculiarities that have to be considered, which make it impossible that any system existing elsewhere could be adopted without considerable qualification." Barnes describes how, with the Act of 1874, the training of teachers was carried on through a system by which the pupil teachers were indentured to the clerical superintendents of education and monitored

by certified teachers and graded in accordance with their level of education.

Barnes also examines the secondary education system in Newfoundland schools. Dr. Carson, a zealous politician, brought education into focus as early as 1836 when he suggested to the Assembly the establishment of a secondary school. Presented in 1844, the secondary school bill was affected by ecclesiastical antagonisms and thus destined for conflict. The origin of the academies begun in the mid nineteenth century is examined by Barnes. Barnes continues his study of this era by considering the later history of the academies and then gives attention to the creation of the Council of Higher Education which became an influential body in Newfoundland education. Barnes also examined the role of the denominational superintendents of education, who became highly influential figures in Newfoundland.

John Netten's articles Edward Feild Protagonist of Denominational Education: English Cleric and Educator, (1974) and Aims of Education in Newfoundland: A Historical Overview, (1980) are interesting articles as one refers to a major person involved in the development of the denominational system, namely, Bishop Edward Feild, and the other concentrates on the historical aims of education. The first article, Edward Feild Protagonist of Denominational Education: English Cleric and Educator, (1974) is written for people interested in educational and social history of Canada. It gives an insight into the life of Bishop Edward Feild. Netten mentions that as a protagonist of denominational education, Feild's educational activity was unending and his work in education was unparalleled in Canada. The article discusses early educational legislation and explains Bishop's Feild's High Tractarian view of education. Feild wanted a distinctive Anglican character maintained in

distinctively Anglican schools. Netten concludes with Feild's views on the Acts of Education as they slowly entrench a complete denominational educational system.

The second article, Aims of Education in Newfoundland: A Historical Overview, (1980) is divided into five parts. Section one, 'The Era of Church Societies,' gives a history of the aims of some early Church societies, particularly, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. These aims were directed towards religious and moral ends, essentially, the offering of social and material assistance to the poor. Section two, 'The Legislative Era,' mentions Newfoundland's first Act of Education in 1836. The author notes the extensive debates that took place in the Assembly and Council over religious education and suggests that the debates gave little attention to the overall purpose of the direction of education in the Colony. Section three, 'The Commission of Government Era,' considered what the Commission saw as essential aims, namely, equal opportunity and needs of students. The section continues with the views of C. A. Richardson, an English School inspector, and his look into the education system of Newfoundland. Section four, 'Recent Times,' refers to the 1950's and 60's and the Department of Education's publishing of a statement of Aims of Public Education for Newfoundland and Labrador. In section five, 'The Conclusion', Netten suggests certain aims, specifically, religious and moral purposes for education, seem to have been commonly accepted. The two articles are both well written and well researched.

Frederick Jones' thesis, Bishop Feild. A Study in Politics and Religion in 19th Century Newfoundland, is very inclusive with regards to views on religious education and the political systems that asked for exclusive control over their own school destiny. In chapter sections

dealing with 10-15 years of political and religious interaction, Jones examines existing denominational schools prior to 1876 and Bishop Feild's advocacy of a complete denominational framework. This period is particularly noted for lengthy political wranglings and is depicted in titled chapters dealing specifically with such topics as, 'The Splitting of the Protestant Conservatives: 1844-1855' (Chapter 4) and 'The Battle With the Liberals: 1844-1855' (Chapter 5). Jones' thesis is well researched and fastidious in its wealth and delivery of material. The use of primary sources from England and the only known private papers of Feild from Kidlington Parish Records and Lambeth Palace Library, helps explain Feild's High Church Anglican view and his politically Conservative approach to discussions on secular politics.

Mary Sheldon's master's thesis, Establishment of the Denominational School System in Newfoundland, also pays particular attention to the role of the Anglican Church in the establishment of the denominational school system in Newfoundland. Sheldon suggests that the most vocal group determined to control its process of schooling was the Church of England. Under the leadership of Bishop Feild, the group believed the best way to accomplish the control of the school system was by subdivision of the Protestant grant to education. Sheldon's thesis deals with efforts of the churches, especially the Church of England. It examines particularly the 1843 Act of Education and the split of the education grant between Catholic and Protestant boards, and the subsequent agitation for subdivision between 1850-1858.

Vincent P. Burke's thesis, History of Catholic Education in Newfoundland: The

Oldest British Colony, is clearly laid out in an easily readable fashion. Part I provides a general survey of Colonial Education from the Colonial Records and then advances to three divisions of education: 1689-1823; 1823-1836; and 1836-1913. Basically, the third section of Part I, Legislative Period, 1836-1913, suggests that the Act of 1858, with some slight alterations, governed educational policy until 1874 and the entrenchment of denominational education. The establishment of denominational education, and the appointment of school inspectors for three leading denominations, are also considered. Although, in critically analyzing Burke's information regarding the Act of 1876, one might say that Burke over-attends to the coming of the Christian Brothers which occurred in the same year and devotes little time to relevant issues he originally delineated concerning denominationalism.

In Part III Burke addresses the 'Administration and Inspection' of schools after the erection of the Council of Higher Education in 1893. The Council was a body that influenced instruction by standardizing the curriculum and establishing examinations and grading certificates for pupils and pupil teachers to improve standards. Burke gives particular attention to Catholic schools. As well, related denominational information such as statistics and average enrolment is given.

According to Phillip McCann's article (1988b), The Politics of Denominational Education in the Nineteenth Century in Newfoundland, denominationalism was espoused by the School Boards of Trinity Bay, Bonavista, and Conception Bay, which passed a clause that saw the Authorized Version of the Bible legalized for reading in school. This gave the Protestants an effective 'bias,' even though the Governor of the time was a supporter of

non-denominational education. In McCann's account, children were excluded from schooling by the persistent wrangling of the English Protestants and Irish Catholics. Disputes over denominational representation on any given Board, and the reading of the Bible in school, affected a child's attendance at school. When Bible reading was made permissible due to its classification as non-sectarian by the Attorney-General, Catholics resigned from the Boards of education, giving Protestants, effectively, a dominant role.

McCann's article focuses on those who advocated non-denominational education and those who contested the subdivision of the Protestant grant. The article is a preliminary synopsis of the encounters over the division and subdivision of the Protestant education grant and is not intended to analyze the effects of denominationalism on the process of schooling. McCann acknowledges the radicalism inherent in the Irish immigrants, in relation to schooling. In contrast though, the author does not consider this as great a force in the creation of denominational education as the Conservative Protestants' role.

Sister Mary Teresina Bruce's doctoral dissertation (1963), A Historical Study of Family, Church, and State in Newfoundland Education, is concerned with the early years of Newfoundland education. The controversies surrounding the introduction of the Bible into schools in relation to the division of the 1843 grant are documented. Legislation and educational amendments are sketched with respect to the creation of separate denominational academies. Bruce's thesis is thoroughly researched and well documented.

G. A. Hickman's (1943) M.A. thesis, The History of Education in Newfoundland, succinctly divides the past educational undertakings into three periods, namely, the 'Early

Period, 1689-1823,' the 'Period of Organization, 1823-1836,' and the 'Legislative Period, 1836-1941.' Section one discusses charity schools and private schools. Section two discusses the Society for the Propagation of the Bible in Foreign Parts, the Newfoundland School Society, the Benevolent Irish Society, and the Presentation Nuns. Section three discusses the 1836, 1874, and 1903 Acts of Education. Hickman concludes with some aspects of denominational education, suggesting that amalgamation, in reference to the 1903 Act, might possibly have benefitted Newfoundland society to a greater extent than the then presently established system of denominationalism.

The Development of Denominational Education in Newfoundland, 1800-1970, (1975)

by Christopher English, suggests that the system of denominational education “emerged out of and was a response to the Newfoundland milieu” and was seen as an “understandable development” (p. 19). English implies that the political institutions’ slow development of a civil service meant a late arrival of educational legislation. With a reversal back to the Act of 1836 and the intentions of the House of Assembly and references to Bishops Fleming and Feild, English communicates the determination of those involved in providing independent schooling for different denominations.

Llewellyn Parson’s article (1964), Newfoundland’s Struggle To Develop A System of Education, deals briefly with occurrences about the time of the Act of 1874, particularly in relation to the population of the Island’s denominations around 1874-1875. He argues that the religious differences of the denominational system had a pernicious effect on the progress of education and also suggests that the responsibility of post 1876 era was to simply make the

system “work” (p. 36). The article largely presents the author’s theoretical orientation to the denominational system, that being one of opposition.

Jo Oppenheimer’s M.Ed. thesis (1982) titled, Some Patterns in the Early History of Newfoundland Education, 1578-1836, provides an account of educational development in Newfoundland. Oppenheimer disputes any claim that little educational activity existed in Newfoundland prior to the Education Act of 1836. Neatly divided into three temporal sections, the thesis defines the forms of schooling that existed in Colonial Newfoundland, (e.g. church schools, apprenticeship, and naval training), and claims Newfoundlanders as cultivated people, contesting, as she suggests, any historical view of early Newfoundland people as uncivilized.

The attention Oppenheimer’s thesis gives to Naval Training, acknowledges the importance of training seamen. Apprenticeships, of equal importance in economics and education, possibly ranged from 2,000-10,000 people annually in the fishing trade alone. Many apprentices took part in migrations to Newfoundland and since the population of Newfoundland was very migratory in its early stages, these additional forms of educational advancement are considered significant. The intertwining of a *milieu* of social, political and economic forces yields an interesting framework from which to perceive pre-1836 educational development in Newfoundland.

Jacob Parson’s M.A. thesis, The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism 1765-1855 (1964), is a comprehensive description of the Methodists in Newfoundland. Relevant to this research is the early contribution to education by the Methodists given by

Parsons. However, the thesis only deals briefly with the subdivision of the Education Grant consequent to the Act of 1874. The thesis considers Methodist history of missions, organizations, and districts. The thesis is well researched.

Education in the Atlantic Provinces (1957), by G. A. Frecker, gives a brief history of denominationalism, highlighting Anglican opposition to the Government's attempt at establishing a non-denominational Academy in St. John's in 1844; the Church of England's favouring of the three way grant; the 1852 legislation giving the Protestant boards of St. John's and Conception Bay the right to subdivide on denominational lines; and the subsequent Acts of 1874 and 1876, which enabled children to be taught by teachers who share their religious faith in schools administered by public school boards closely affiliated with their church. Looking also at the present educational system is a complimentary theme of the book. Presented as one of the Quance Lectures in Canadian Education, it highlights similarities between Newfoundland and the other Atlantic Provinces.

D. W. Prowse's (1896) A History of Newfoundland is worthy of inspection. Chapters I-XXVII contain settlement details and religious information. Chapter VIII provides a description of educational institutions from the launching of the Benevolent Irish Society until the institution of the Wesleyan Academy in 1858. Other information relevant to education, such as early religious persecution and the ideas of Bishops O'Donel and Fleming and the political activity of 1832-1836, are chronicled. It is a lengthy book that contains a wealth of information on many aspects of Newfoundland society.

M. F. Howley's (1888) Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland considers leading

Roman Catholic educationalists such as Scallan, Fleming, and Mullock and examines their contributions to religion and education. The Presentation Nuns (1833) and the Sisters of Mercy (1842) are given support by Howley as benefactors to educational progress in Newfoundland. Like philanthropic societies such as the Benevolent Irish Society, the Sisters had a far reaching effect on the community's lower classes but financial problems plagued development. A general overview of the political climate in Newfoundland is given, providing useful background to educational debate.

A. H. McLintock's (1941) The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland 1713-1832, is a study on Newfoundland until the formation of Representative Government in 1832. The interconnectedness of social and political conditions of early Newfoundland government, with educational circumstances of the time, makes for reading relevant to the time prior to the 1836 Act of Education.

CHAPTER 2

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

Physical arrangements of the land precluded early extensive settlement in Newfoundland. The Island's area appeared hostile to early settlers as Newfoundland has a coastline of thousands of miles, irregular harbour and cove indentations, and uncertain weather conditions. These characteristics as well as inland geographical attributes of glaciated fiords, granite plateaus, and rough topographical features, uncommon to other parts of north eastern North America, discouraged habitation and communication and encouraged isolation. Ultimately, the development of education would be very much hindered by geographical factors.

Though the settlement of Newfoundland was very difficult and slow, some settlement was occurring. John Cabot, working for King Henry VII of England, took possession of Newfoundland on June 23, 1497 and established English dominance. The early historical settlement of Newfoundland suggests that the regional area of St. John's had a population in 1527 as suggested in a letter from John Ruth to Henry VIII (Rowe, 1964, p. 6).

The subsequent reaffirmation of the English right to the province occurred in 1583 when Sir Humphrey Gilbert came ashore. During this time St. John's was developing, though with a slowly emerging population. Gilbert stayed in St. John's for a short period and his secretary, Captain Hayes, gave a description of houses, walks, and gardens, indicating that settlement was occurring (Rowe, 1952, p. 6).

An attempt made at settlement by John Guy at Cupids in 1610 had complete

colonization in mind. The settlement had access to fishing grounds, timber for ships, and was situated near possible farming grounds. Skilled artisans, livestock and poultry, arrived in Newfoundland to help foster the development of the colony (Rowe, 1976 p. 2).

Another early attempt at settlement was made by Sir George Calvert, later Lord Baltimore, at Ferryland in 1620. Calvert obtained a charter granting him what is today the Avalon peninsula. But illness among the colonists and the harshness of pioneer life, particularly disliked by Lady Baltimore, caused Calvert to petition the King for a grant to move to land further south (Rowe, 1976, p. 2).

However, early settlement in Newfoundland was limited. One of the peculiar features of Newfoundland's history was the eventual prohibition of permanent settlement in the colony by the British parliament. This occurred because of the desire of the West of England merchants to maintain a monopoly on the highly profitable fishery. As Rowe notes (1952) the following guidelines expressed the political conventions and desires of the West Country merchants of the day (p. 7).

1. That the fishing industry was of primary importance to the welfare of England, both economically and as a training ground for English seamen.
2. That the climate and the soil of Newfoundland militated against successful colonization, and that permanent settlement would only create serious problems for the Mother Country.
3. That by virtue of their investments and their long-time association with the Newfoundland fishery, they had a moral, if not a legal, right to possession of the more favoured fishing sites in the Island.

This situation was atypical of the rest of North America. Permanent settlers, known as 'planters,' were often at the mercy of the West Country merchants. They were not in a position to make themselves heard with any degree of emphasis in the English Parliament because of opposition from the West Country fishermen regarding their settlement. This group had indirect political influence within the British government and were uncompromising toward the notion of settlement (Rowe 1952, p. 7). Settlement was therefore slow and erratic in Newfoundland, so that social institutions were slow to evolve.

Early Societies and Orders: Pre-1836

Newfoundland's educational beginnings were made under the auspices of the church as there was no other agency capable of doing this. Religious agencies and associations afforded education to the public before government legislation implemented the first Act of Education (1836) and encouraged schooling. Oppenheimer (1982) has classified pre-1836 educational patterns in Newfoundland into three categories: church education; apprenticeship; and naval training, of which the first is of most importance as it was church societies that had the most influence on Newfoundland's early educational development.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, church societies and religious orders spread the gospel and education to all parts of the North American continent, particularly Newfoundland. The societies, taking the traditional Protestant position, emphasized the importance of reading for Biblical study, and thus, literacy was of prime importance. The societies and missions, that introduced early educational patterns to Newfoundland, may have

helped lay the foundations of denominationalism.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

The earliest society was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This society was the longest established organization involved with education in Newfoundland. The 16th of June, 1701, marked the founding of the SPG and many of the subjects in colonial America would now be administered 'true Protestant' religion through the work of this organization. The British government wanted to encourage the church in the colonies in order to encourage a stable and peaceable population.

Concerns were not so much the facilitation of education but rather the spread of the teachings of the Church of England as this society was part of the established Church. Funds came from two sources, private donations and an annual grant from the British Parliament. The British Parliament passed an ordinance in 1701, in order to advance religious observances in the colonies, as Anspach (1819) depicts (p. 109).

By Governor-in-Chief and Lord High Admiral of all those islands and plantations inhabited, planted, or belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects within the bounds and upon the coasts of America, a committee was appointed to assist for the better government and preservation of the said plantations...for the advancement of true Protestant religion, and further spreading of the gospel of Christ among those that yet remained there in great and miserable blindness and ignorance.

Specifically, most resources were used to pay missionaries salaries while smaller amounts of money were used to supplement the meager income of teachers. The area where

the SPG sent its missionaries and teachers was decided by its governing body in London. It was the original intention to send out teachers from England, but it proved difficult to persuade teachers to come out to places like British North America in the 18th century and most teachers were therefore local people chosen on the recommendation of the missionary in the area.

The aims of these schools were primarily religious. However, it appeared that a percentage of the public could not read the Gospel and thus the authorities set the process in motion of educating. As Netten (1980) suggests, a practical aim of the SPG was also that of its rule four, where the teacher taught his pupil to “write a plain and legible hand” (p. 24) in order to prepare for useful employment. The productivity of the SPG was very significant. Anspach (1819) indicates that by 1705, the society had twenty-eight ministers in North America at an annual cost of £595 sterling and another £495 for the establishment of “gratuities” (p. 110).

The society was of great importance to Newfoundland. As early as 1722, the society established a school at Bonavista, under the direction of a Reverend Jones, to aid in the advancement of religion and education to all the poor. By 1824 the Society had established schools in over twenty settlements in Newfoundland and thus its influence was considerable (Rowe, 1964, pp. 28-29). However, the exertions put forth by the Society were not able to meet the needs of the population fully. Between 1726 and the end of the century the Society had only eleven schoolmasters, whereas the number of settlements had increased many times. Nonetheless, contributions made by the Society to Newfoundland are noteworthy (Rowe

1964, pp. 31-32).

(i) It came to the aid of, if it did not establish, the first known school in Newfoundland.

(ii) Its efforts along educational lines were commensurate with its resources, especially when it is remembered that Newfoundland was only a small part of its total missionary field, and that nowhere, in the old world or the new, was there anything approaching a universal system of elementary education.

(iii) Its few schools were cultural beacons in a land that would otherwise have remained in total darkness in this respect.

(iv) It made available supplies of textbooks and reading material which were distributed throughout the Island by its missionaries.

By establishing the first school in Newfoundland and the idea of providing educational opportunity to people within larger settlements, who would eventually move to other parts of the Island to effect educational results, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts made a concerted contribution to education in Newfoundland.

The Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in St. John's

Founded in 1803 at the instigation of Governor Gambier, The Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in St. John's attempted to alleviate the problems of the poor, sick, orphaned, and widowed. Financial assistance was provided by leading merchants along with the Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy. Other support came from the British government and local subscriptions that often raised money with annual breakfast gatherings (Rowe, 1964, p. 35). The Society conducted school much like a Sunday school where students were taught

to read, those that could read were taught scriptures and catechism. Along with those subjects the Society taught industrial training. These schools were well attended. In 1809, 378 girls and 247 boys had registered with the Society from the time of its commencement (Rowe, 1964, p. 35).

The work of the Society was somewhat limited. There was no national body from which to draw support. However, by assisting the poor in St. John's, the Society prompted other citizens and organizations that were of better fortune to do for the colony what the Society was doing for the poor in St. John's (Rowe, 1964, p. 35). In 1833 the Society merged with the Newfoundland School Society and the school work was taken over by the larger society.

The Benevolent Irish Society

Another early society involved with providing education in St. John's was The Benevolent Irish Society, formed in 1806. Initially a non-denominational society the BIS ultimately became Catholic. Establishing the society with the hope of curtailing the prevalent economic plight of the poor of St. John's, the founders of the BIS wanted their society organized on the broadest principles of benevolence. The ideology behind the Society was very humanitarian: the alleviation of Irish suffering. Bishop O'Donel, the first Irish Bishop of St. John's, enthusiastically joined the BIS as a committee member, and later helped establish the Orphan Asylum. Based on non-denominational principles as well, the Orphan Asylum, under the leadership of Patrick Morris, was the BIS's first attempt at actual schooling. In

order to help ward off social deficiencies facing the homeless, orphaned people, and lower classes, a land grant was obtained in St. John's by the society and a building established at a cost of £1000 in 1827 (Rowe, 1952, p. 35). Though initially non-denominational, the student population of the school was predominantly Catholic, and the school came increasingly to be under the supervision of the Catholic Bishop, and by the early 1830's the school was being considered as a Catholic one.

The Newfoundland School Society

Perhaps the most important school society operating in Newfoundland was the Society for Educating the Poor in Newfoundland, commonly referred to as the Newfoundland School Society. Formed in 1823, the NSS was established under the supervision of a young Englishman by the name of Samuel Codner who, while conducting business in Newfoundland, was dismayed by the lack of literacy on the Island. Nearly shipwrecked three miles from the coast of Ireland, Codner made a resolution to establish schools for lower classes for scriptural instruction if his life was spared (Rowe, 1964, p. 40).

Codner stated that he was influenced by a speech given by Lord Liverpool in 1821 that stressed Great Britain's responsibility of supplying religious guidance to the colonies. Codner visited towns in England, Ireland, and Scotland, in search of aid. An organization was eventually established for the Society in England to recruit volunteers to help raise money for the cause of education (Rowe, 1964, p. 40). Essentially, the Society wanted to inculcate 'moral and religious principles' to the inhabitants of the island. In addition to the three R's,

the society taught sewing, knitting, and net making to elementary students.

The Newfoundland School Society had some similarities to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. They were supported by the Church of England, funds were raised by private donations, mostly in England, and they were both governed by a committee in London. Their School work was religiously motivated, and both Societies took in pupils of all denominations.

There were also some differences between the two societies. The SPG was a church organization with most of its resources supporting missionaries. The NSS was exclusively a school society. Teachers were for some years sent out from England, were well trained in London before leaving, and were relatively better paid. The SPG teachers were usually local people who were untrained.

The Newfoundland School Society was more organized than the SPG and concentrated on providing education rather than the spread of church teaching through the support of missionaries as well as teachers. Organizational meetings also suggested that the Society be open to other denominations, as noted (Netten, 1974, p. 86).

If the Society aimed at extensive usefulness, they must put away from them any design of interfering with the religious tenets of other sects. They should conciliate the good will of all, and endeavour to satisfy other denominations, that the object is, not to proselytize to a particular church, but to establish the conviction of those important truths which are held in common by every description of Christian belief. Education, not conversion, ought to be their object.

By communicating instruction to the inhabitants of Newfoundland the Society emphasized the importance of a curriculum not only for weekday instruction but evening and Sunday School as well, as noted by Table 1 (Rowe, 1964, p. 44).

Table 1: Newfoundland School Society Evening Class Schedule

Year: 1828	Daily Now on Books	Sunday, Present Attendance	Adult, Total Admitted
St. John's	129	17	156
Quidi Vidi	20	20	—
Trinity	86	86	75
Harbour Grace	95	113	25
Petty Harbour	61	76	43
Carbonear	56	59	20
Bonavista	99	—	21
TOTAL	546	371	340

Source: Rowe, (1964). *The Development of Education in Newfoundland*, Toronto: Gage and Co. Ltd., Centre for Newfoundland Studies. p. 44.

This schooling structure was particularly established for those involved in the processing of fish which kept even young people busy during the week. The previous table, Table 1, titled 'Newfoundland School Society Evening Class Schedule,' indicates high numbers and suggests that the implementation of evening classes for working adults was received very well by all. The number of people studying had increased in the St. John's area, Quidi Vidi, Trinity, Harbour Grace, Petty Harbour, Carbonear, and Bonavista.

The Wesleyan Methodists

The Wesleyan Methodists had limited influence in Newfoundland until the early 19th century. The Society originated under the direction of Charles Wesley as a group within the Church of England. The Wesleyans, later called the Wesleyan Methodists, eventually broke away from the Church of England and began sending missionaries to Newfoundland in the late 18th century. Methodism made its greatest gains where no educational facilities for children existed. At first they went to areas where there were no SPG missionaries such as the north shore of Conception Bay. The schools that were established were similar to the SPG's schools and a welcomed addition to any community. In rural areas early efforts by the Methodists at educating the public were made with the traditional Sunday and Day Schools. The Sunday schools, initiated by Lawrence Coughlan and John Hoskins, taught reading and also held religious services. Hoskins, from Bristol, England, landed at Trinity in 1774, aspiring to earn sufficient funds to continue to New England. As J. Parsons (1964) suggests, because competent teachers were often hard to find, the people of Old Perlican gladly received Hoskins to teach their children as there were about fifty families in need of instruction (p. 95).

The early Methodist missionaries were concerned with the 'great ignorance' that predominated amongst the people. Later, in 1819, a Mr. Walsh, stationed at Black-Head stated (Rowe, 1964, p. 76):

Only a few in my circuit are able to read the Word of God, it often draws from my heart a sign of pity, when I look around me from the pulpit, and see so many of them unable to take up a hymn or prayer book, to join in the worship of God....In no place, I think, could a mission day-school be established with greater probability of success than at this station. Had we a

pious young man, with moderate abilities, fixed here as a schoolmaster, under the superintendence of the missionary, I have no doubt a hundred children would be immediately collected, and their parents would contribute gladly to the support of such a master.

Missionaries were organized in 'circuits' with traveling preachers, an arrangement that made it difficult to operate schools. Also, due to a lack of funds and no government support, their efforts were quite limited. Nonetheless, the Wesleyan Methodists opened a small number of schools in the early 19th century in Newfoundland.

Catholic education was very limited in the 18th century in Newfoundland due to their lack of full freedom to practice their religion in Britain and the British Colonies. In particular, the Catholics were not allowed to open schools. Though their numbers were small the clergy would likely have done some teaching as traditional Catholic schooling was in the hands of religious orders, but there were no religious orders in Newfoundland until the arrival of the Presentation Sisters in 1833. The Sisters arrived to teach poor girls in St. John's, although wealthy girls increasingly attended after the school was established. Schools were also established later at Harbour Grace, and Carbonear, and Placentia.

Education in Newfoundland prior to the coming of legislative government was thus primarily in the hands of the churches. The Anglican Church was represented largely through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Newfoundland School Society. The major school organizations which were not associated originally with a particular church, the Benevolent Irish Society, and the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in St. John's, eventually became associated with churches, the Catholic Church in the case of the

former, the Church of England in the case of the latter.

CHAPTER 3

EARLY EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION

On January 1, 1832, legislative government came to Newfoundland in the form of an elected House of Assembly and an appointed Council. The first assembly, whose members were predominantly Protestant, soon appointed a committee to look at the educational needs of the colony. The committee reported that in the part of the Island nearer to St. John's, the voluntary system worked well and that legislative grants should be given to various schools which already existed (Newfoundland. House of Assembly. 1836, p. 67).

Your committee consider that in this part of the Island the voluntary system works advantageously, and therefore they would recommend that assistance be given by the Legislature by immediate grants of money, to be placed at the disposal of the several societies and individuals who direct and govern, for the gratuitous education of the poorer classes, schools of such importance as to claim the attention of the Legislature.

The report of the committee may have been influenced by contemporary arrangements in Britain where education was in the hands of the National Society, which operated schools for members of the Church of England, and the British and Foreign School Society, for members of other churches.

Newfoundland's first education act was passed on May 6, 1836 (see Appendix A). The Act made grants of £2100, as suggested by the committee, to voluntary organizations, namely, the British North America School Society of Newfoundland (The Newfoundland School Society), the Orphan Asylum School of St. John's, the Presentation Convent School

of St. John's, and the St. Patrick's Free School in Harbour Grace. These grants were to be distributed annually. The Act also gave grants of £1500 per annum to nine new school boards, consisting of thirteen members each, to be set up in areas according to the electoral districts of the colony. Although not denominational, the school boards, as based on the Education Act of 1836, were to include the senior clergyman of each of the denominations in the area (Education Acts of Newfoundland, 1979, p. 37).

The Act attempted to do two things at the same time. It subsidized church schools and set up non-denominational public schools. By doing so, the Act of 1836 was not well received. So much so that an amendment was proposed in 1837 because of problems with the Act. The main problem was with the board schools. The main difficulty was with the question of the place of the Bible in the classroom. To the Protestants, it was essential that the Bible be in the classroom and that it be read regularly in the school. On the other hand, the Roman Catholics, who claimed that they were not fairly represented on the thirteen member school boards, held their traditional position. They suggested the Bible was too complicated a work to be taught to pupils by untrained teachers. The Catholic preference was for the Bible to be left to the church. Religious teaching was to be largely in the hands of the clergy and was to be in the form of learning the church catechism.

The Bible question was most contentious in those areas where the school district population was relatively evenly divided between Catholic and Protestant, mainly in the regions of Conception Bay and parts of Trinity and Bonavista Bays. Each board was empowered by the Act of 1836 to make its own rules for its schools. This included deciding

whether the Bible was to be taught in the school or not (Education Acts of Newfoundland, 1979, p. 38).

Boards of education shall, respectively, have full power and authority, so soon after their appointment as may be, from time to time to meet and assemble together, in their respective districts, for the purpose of making bye-laws, rules, and regulations, for the establishment and management of schools within their respective districts.

In the case of the Conception Bay Board the insistence of the Protestant majority to retain the Bible in the school led to the withdrawal of Catholic members from the Board. Somewhat the reverse situation prevailed in Trinity and Bonavista Bays. In some cases boards refused to act altogether and grants were simply not used.

An election by this time had replaced the original conservative Protestant dominated assembly with a liberal Catholic majority one. An amendment was attempted by the assembly in 1837. This amendment was to add a clause to the Act of 1836, which stated that no books objectionable to any religious denomination were to be brought into schools. The Legislative Council, whose approval was required and which was Protestant dominated, rejected the amendment and proposed an alternate one which would have required that "no child shall be required to use any book objected to by the parents or guardians of such child" (Newfoundland Legislative Council, 1837 p. 35). This proposal was however rejected by the Assembly.

Nothing further came about in 1837. However, a number of amendments to the 1836 Act were proposed in 1838. These included some minor matters. The Governor was

empowered to replace local members as required, ministers were permitted to visit schools but not to give religious instruction, and only books chosen by boards could be used in the schools. The main clause of the 1838 Act intended to deal with the Bible in the school question. It stipulated that only books were to be allowed in schools, which did not “teach or inculcate doctrines or peculiar tenets of any particular or exclusive church or religious society whatsoever” (Education Acts of Newfoundland, 1979, p. 126). This amendment passed but does not seem to have achieved much.

Education Acts in the early 19th century were usually in force for a limited period of time, usually five or six years. This was true in the case of the Act of 1836, which, with its amendment of 1838, remained in force until 1843. In that year a new Act was proposed to ameliorate the problems created by the different educational views of Catholics and Protestants. The Act of 1843 was designed by a member of the Legislature, William Barnes, and is sometimes known as the Barnes’ Act. Barnes’ view was that elementary education was badly needed in Newfoundland and that religion ought to be the basis of a sound education. However, Barnes felt that Catholics and Protestants could not be educated together. Barnes had previously been opposed to the separation of Protestant and Catholic funding for the purposes of education but now felt that common schools could only be operated with an abandonment of religious principles, an example being the Protestants’ wish that the Bible be included in schools. Little debate occurred over the issue and, although most members of the House of Assembly did not seem to want separation, they saw no alternative.

The Act passed on May 22, 1843 and the Protestants and Catholics were each granted

separate boards of education for each district. It is at this point that a dual system of education was created. Five thousand one hundred pounds was distributed for the support of education, with the sum being divided among the children of Roman Catholic and Protestants. The amounts that were given to each board were specified. Limits of school districts were defined with the number of school districts increasing from nine to eighteen. The Act of 1843 also provided for nomination and appointment of members of boards, totaling seven members. The boards were empowered to make rules and regulations for their districts. Sums were also to be allocated from the Protestant grant to be paid to the Methodists in all districts where they operated schools. In the Protestant boards, a clergyman of every religious denomination in the district was to be a member. The remaining members were to be Protestants, the majority to be of the same denomination as the majority of residents of the district.

School Inspectors were also appointed under the Act. However, the government could not afford to pay two salaries simultaneously, so a system was adopted by which there was a Roman Catholic inspector one year and a Protestant inspector the next, to visit their own schools, except where requested. It was to be in place for six years. The Act was the first legislative step towards a denominational system of education.

In 1844, the year following the passage of the Act of 1843, Edward Feild arrived as Anglican Bishop of Newfoundland. Feild had a strong influence on educational developments in the colony. In the early 19th century two distinct wings were emerging in the Church of England. One of these, the evangelical movement, emphasized Protestant aspects in the Church of England, while the other movement emphasized those aspects of the Church of

England which were more Catholic. Feild was a strong supporter of the latter group. With this Catholic group there was a strong desire to have church based schools for members of the Church of England.

From his arrival in 1844 Feild campaigned actively for a set of schools for the members of the Church of England on a basis similar to those given to Roman Catholics in 1843. Such an arrangement could be set up by subdividing the Protestant grant for education. For the next thirty years Feild, and his supporters, campaigned for this subdivision of the Protestant grant. The legislative debates, public meetings, petitions, and the press all reflect debate throughout this period.

By 1850, considerable complaint was being made about the elementary school system. The idea of subdividing the grant amongst Protestants was being promoted. A bill for the subdivision of the Protestant grant was proposed by H. W. Hoyles, but with relatively little discussion the bill was eventually dropped. The Assembly may have been pre-occupied with an academy bill that would provide for three academies, namely the Roman Catholic, the Church of England, and the Methodist Church. It seems to have been generally understood that subdivision of the Protestant grant would come up again in the following session. However, the idea of subdivision was being opposed by the Methodists. As noted by the following Table (McCann, 1992, p. 8), the Methodists numbered less than the Anglicans and thus were afraid they would lose out if grants were made on *per capita* basis. They were also apprehensive of possible inaccuracies in the census of 1845. The Methodists also argued that teachers' salaries were already too small and that there would be too many small schools.

Thus, the 1843 Act was extended for another year.

Table 2: Percentage of Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Methodists, 1836, 1845, & 1857

Year	Roman Catholic	Anglican	Methodist
1836	50.7%	35.8%	13.6%
1845	49.1%	36.0%	14.9%
1857	46.9%	36.5%	16.7%

Source: McCann, P. (1992). Elementary Education and Religion in a Colonial Colony: Newfoundland 1836-1901, Unpublished manuscript. Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland. p. 8.

The Methodists saw an increase in the number of schools as impairing educational growth, as shown in the Methodist petition of 1850 (Parsons, J. 1964, p. 122).

That from all the information which your petitioners can obtain from their personal knowledge they feel confident that any further division of the amount appropriated to the support of Protestant schools is quite unnecessary inasmuch as the law which has been in beneficial operation for nearly eight years cannot in their humble opinion be reasonably objected to by any Protestant in the land especially as in the organization of the District Boards the various classes of Protestants are fully represented and have control. Your petitioners would most respectfully submit that further to divide the said grant would render these schools discouragingly inefficient and in many instances defeat the benevolent and patriotic design of your Honourable House.

The Methodists suggested that in the event of such a division there would be created a number of insignificant and contending schools of inferior character. With rival schools the Methodists anticipated problems in the educational field and at the community level. Essentially, the Methodists did not condone further separation (Parsons, J. 1964, p. 123).

Your petitioners do pray that in any measure which may be submitted to your Honourable House to make provision for the support of Elementary Schools, any proposition for a further division of the grant among Protestants, may not be entertained, and, also that a sum more adequate to the wants of the increasing population of the colony may be placed at the disposal of the respective Boards of Education whereby they might be enabled to build suitable schoolhouses and to afford a remunerative salary to competent teachers.

In 1851 a large meeting of Anglican clergy and members was held at the beginning of the session to give the Anglican position on the subdivision of the Protestant grant. Petitions were put forth and much discussion took place over the issue but the bill was defeated by the Methodists dissenters who held the majority in the House of Assembly. The old act was renewed for a further year with a new section added to it which set up Roman Catholic and Protestant central boards to distribute grants to schools.

In the election year of 1852, the subdivision issue became very political and the bill was again reintroduced by Hoyles. However, there was a deadlock between the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council. An alliance of Roman Catholics and Methodist dissenters removed subdivision from the bill sent to Council. But the Council returned the bill to the Assembly with an amendment for subdivision. This amendment was rejected by the House of Assembly. Conferences between the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly were not successful.

The Assembly argued that there was insufficient funds to subdivide. They stated that a subdivision would make the education system less effective, and would encourage religious differences, especially in the outports. On the other hand, the Legislative Council argued that

the subdivision was wanted by its members of the Church of England. They believed religious differences would not be encouraged and suggested that the present inefficiency of the schools came about largely through the lack of the subdivision of the Protestant grant.

The Act of 1843 was again extended with an amendment requiring the Protestant boards to provide detailed information on the probable effects of subdivision by the end of the year. However, there was further deadlock. A compromise bill was thus prepared by which, on the recommendation of the General Protestant Board of Education, the Governor could permit the separation of Protestant Boards in St. John's and Conception Bay districts, on the condition that no teacher would receive a salary of less than £30. This was accepted by Council.

In 1853, the Central Boards were removed and a conscience clause was introduced, making it unlawful for teachers to give a child religious instruction to which the parents objected. The system of district boards was enlarged from the eighteen districts from the 1843 Act to twenty three districts. However, due to the difficulties of getting people to act, geographical obstacles, and the denominational problem, the boards did not work well. However, no major changes occurred in the system until 1874.

During the 1860 session, the Protestant boards were asked for opinions on the subdivision topic. No clear change was evident as Burgeo, Channel, La Poile, Harbour Breton, Hants Harbour, and Twillingate voted for subdivision, while St. John's, Bay Roberts, Burin, Harbour Grace, Brigus, and Trinity voted against subdivision. Typical of the two opposing positions were the following comments. William White, Chairman of the Protestant

Board of Education in Fortune Bay, submitted the following to the Legislative Council in 1865 (Sheldon, 1972, p. 99):

Sectarian bitternesses are so bitter that little else but separation can be expected to remedy the evils arising from them. A want of proper teachers to fill vacancies, or an inability to divide the grant fairly among a number of settlements, with a fear of doing injustice to those which have no schools, might also occasion the evil.

The opinion of John Cunningham of Burgeo was the opposite. He stated the following to the Legislative Council the same year (Sheldon, 1972, p. 100):

In this country the churches are all too poor to maintain denominational schools successfully; they could not even raise the additional sum that would be required to support the increased number of schools that should be instituted to work this plan, and thus the schools would become much poorer and barer than they are at present.

In 1871, Bishop Feild sent a further petition to the Assembly. More petitions followed from both sides. A Select Committee of six members was appointed in the same year to investigate the education system. The committee circularized to clergy, teachers, chairmen of Boards, and others interested to comment on the subject, a question on subdivision. The final report, although actually on the eve of the Act of 1874, was presented in 1873, showing no apparent agreement on subdivision.

The foregoing section has been concerned with elementary education. Although it was common in the 19th century to consider secondary education as separate from elementary schooling, the evolution of the secondary system in the 19th century was subject to similar

debate. Serious consideration of secondary schooling in Newfoundland began in 1843, with a bill proposed for two colleges, one Catholic and one Protestant. There was to be separate boards for the operation of each. Grants were proposed for land, buildings, and equipment. The Roman Catholic board was to be appointed by the Assembly while the Protestant board was to include one member for every 5,000 members of the Church of England and one member for every 5,000 members of the other groups. The Anglican Bishop was to be *ex officio* a director of the Protestant College. The senior professor was to be a graduate of Oxford, Cambridge, or Trinity College, Dublin.

The Two Colleges bill was strongly opposed by The Patriot. On the grounds of need (There are Two Subjects, 1843, February 22, p. 3):

We have always been the advocate of education; but when we see an attempt made, under the veil of instruction, to set the entire colony by the ears, we cannot find words sufficiently caustic by which to denounce the mover of such a measure. To think of colleges, in our present state of semi-barbarism, is absolutely worse than the old system of keeping us in entire ignorance. However desirable a college may be, we are not in a state either to endow one from the paucity of our revenue, nor are the people able to avail themselves of such an institution from the absence of elementary education.

On the grounds of divisiveness The Newfoundlander stated the following (Sheldon, 1972, p. 51):

In all mixed societies, like ours, it is essential that the institutions of the country should have a comprehensive basis, and should be so framed, as not at least without necessity, to lay a groundwork for further separation of classes, than differences of opinion will, of themselves, more or less create.

Since the two colleges proposals had not been acceptable and since some still wanted secondary education, the logical course appeared to be the setting up of a non-denominational secondary school. A bill was proposed in 1844 for what was to be called the Classical Academy. There was to be no religious instruction nor was any minister with a fixed pastoral charge to be on its staff.

Bryan Robinson contested the bill as he did not want any school in which a child was not taught the religion of his or her parents. Bishop Feild, who opened his own collegiate school, opposed the bill as well. He would not have Anglican children in a school where Anglican principles were not taught. The Roman Catholics had similar views respecting their own children. Although the bill passed, the Academy lasted only six years in its original form.

By 1850 it seems to have been recognized that some change was needed in the Academy. Numerous petitions to the Legislature supported denominational division and a bill was passed, dividing the Protestant Academy into two denominational institutions, the General Protestant Academy and Church of England Academy, with separate boards appointed by the governor. We see the denominational tendencies slowly advancing. As the Act of 1843 sought two divisions, the 1850 Academy Amendment Act allowed for a division of three, and, subsequently, four.

The Methodists wanted their own academy rather than having to use the General Protestant Academy. The Act proposed to divide a grant of £1100 amongst the Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists, with a separate vote for a General Protestant Academy. With the Academy being divided into four parts full denominational schooling had come to

secondary education.

Finally, however, a bill was introduced in 1874 for complete denominational separation in education. The Protestant grant was to be equal to the Roman Catholic grant and divided amongst denominations on the basis of population. Where there were both Anglican and Methodist, there were to be separate boards for each of five to seven members, one of whom was to be a senior clergyman. The Church of Scotland and Congregationalists were to have two district boards each, St. John's and Harbour Grace. Kirk of Scotland was to have one board for all of Newfoundland. Commercial grants and teacher training were to be divided in the same way. A provision was to be made for inspectors for Church of England and Methodist schools. The Act was to go into effect on July 1, 1875, after a census had been taken to determine the proportions of the grant to be given to each denomination.

CHAPTER 4

THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1874 AND THE ACCOMPANYING DEBATE

The Education Act of 1874 was passed on April 29th. Precisely, this is the date of the subdivision of the Protestant Grant and it is here that a complete denominational framework was set up. Essentially, the Education Act of 1874 (see Appendix B) was a conclusion of the subdivision movement which began in 1843 and continued in 1851. The detailed terms of the 1874 Act were lengthy and dealt with many items. The Act provided for appointments of Wesleyan and Church of England Boards, provisions for Newfoundland School Society Schools, provisions for higher schools and inspection expenses, and the appointment of two Protestant inspectors, as noted in the 1874 Act (Education Acts of Newfoundland, 1979, p. 95).

The Governor in Council shall nominate and appoint two Protestant Inspectors of Schools, -one of whom shall be a member of the Church of England, for the Inspection of Church of England Schools, and the other shall be a member of the Wesleyan Church, for the Inspection of Wesleyan Schools; and such Inspectors shall also alternately inspect the other Protestant Schools provided for by this Act.

However, the main term of the Act of 1874 was the subdivision of the yearly appropriation of the Protestant half of the grant. The funding was given to the several Protestant denominations according to population and in association with the educational districts. These denominations included the Wesleyan, Congregational Church, Church of Scotland, and Free Church of Scotland. The subdivision of this Act meant the complete

separation of funding to education within religious groups and along denominational lines, as taken from the Act of 1874 (Education Acts of Newfoundland, 1979, p. 90).

That there shall be annually appropriated, out of such moneys as shall from time to time be in the hands of the Receiver General, unappropriated, a sum of money for Protestant Educational purposes, equal in proportion, according to population, to the sums of money by the said Acts appropriated for Roman Catholic Educational purposes, other than for Roman Catholic Commercial Schools and the training of Roman Catholic teachers. And the said sum, so appropriated by this Section for Protestant Educational purposes, shall be apportioned among the several Protestant Denominations according to population, to be expended by the several Boards of Education hereafter to be appointed in the Protestant Educational Districts mentioned in the said Acts, or as the said Educational Districts are hereby or may hereafter be altered.

Census

For the purposes of denominational allowance and in reference to populations of commercial schools and training schools, a census taking was launched in 1874 by the Governor in Council. The Hon. Stabb noted in the Assembly that the new educational arrangements were to be attended with difficulty. If there was to be a division, he suggested that a census taking should be done as soon as possible with “strict impartiality and fairness” (Legislative Council, 1874, p.1). The information gathered from the census of 1874 was extensive. Any contradictions over numbers of children attending school, or more importantly, numbers regarding various religious denominations, could be resolved. The type of information varied from the breakdown of birth place of citizens, to the number of students who could read and write, and to the children not frequenting school, as illustrated in the

following census table (Census & Return of the Population, 1874, p. 68).

Table 3: 1874 St. John's West Census Table

DATA	LOCATION	NUMBERS
BIRTH PLACE OF CITIZENS	Newfoundland	9657
	England	226
	Ireland	781
	Scotland	115
	British Colonies & Others	87
NUMBER OF VARIOUS RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS	Church of England	1829
	Church of Rome	7564
	Wesleyans	1086
	Kirk of Scotland	144
	Free Kirk	128
	Congregationalists	115
CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL	# Who can read and write	2812
	Children attending school	1927
	Children not attending school	1057

Source: Census & Return of the Population & c. of Newfoundland and Labrador, (1874). St. John's, Newfoundland, Newfoundland Provincial Archives. p. 68.

As mentioned, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1874, section two stated that monies were to be divided on the basis of population between all denominations (see Appendices C and D for population distribution of Roman Catholics and Protestant denominations for 1857, 1869, and 1874). The actual subdivision of the Protestant grant occurred on July 1, 1875. The Governor in Council nominated and appointed, in each of the Protestant educational districts, a Church of England Board and a Wesleyan Board. These

Boards of Directors managed and expended all monies assigned for educational purposes. The genuine division of the school property that entrenched the subdivision of the 1874 Act of Education occurred when George S. Milligan, Superintendent of Schools for Newfoundland under the Methodist Boards, and Canon William Pilot, Superintendent of Schools for Newfoundland under the Church of England Boards, surveyed all areas in their jurisdiction to conclude the divisional details of the Education grant.

Consolidation of 1876

The Education Acts of 1874 and 1876 changed the legislative fabric of Newfoundland's educational system. As Burke (1914, p. 59) asserted, the Act of 1876 was a consolidation of all prior Educational Acts still in effect from which Newfoundland's educational system had grown. Since there were now three separate sets of schools, Catholic, Church of England, and Methodist, three different educational programmes were emerging. In 1876, no centralization of educational policy had occurred. It was completely divided into a denominational system with no standardization. Due to the differences in the separate curriculums, students' qualifications differed, leaving an employer to guess where a person stood educationally. The new arrangements also now saw considerable power vested in the hands of the three superintendents of education.

Role of Superintendent

The Education Act of 1876 appointed superintendents of education in place of inspectors of schools for Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Methodist Churches (Education Acts of Newfoundland and Related Legislation. 1979, p. 506).

The Governor in Council shall nominate and appoint three Superintendents of Education for the Supervision and Inspection of all Board and Training Schools in the Colony: one of whom shall be a member of the Church of England, for the Supervision and Inspection of Church of England Schools; one a member of the Roman Catholic Church, for the Supervision and Inspection of Roman Catholic Schools; and one a member of the Methodist Church, for the Supervision and Inspection of Methodist Schools.

The superintendents were sworn before the Justice to uphold the duties of their position. With more power allocated to the newly commissioned superintendents the drive toward denominational education was additionally emphasized as the denominational superintendents had jurisdiction over educational administrative procedures as stipulated by the Act of 1876. Some duties of the superintendent are noted by the following information as taken from the Act of 1876 (Education Acts of Newfoundland. 1979, pp. 479-480).

...subject to the Governor in Council, a general supervision and direction of all Schools of their respective Denominations receiving aid from Government, and to enforce the provisions of this Act and the regulations and decisions of the Governor in Council in reference to the same, and to forward to Chairmen of Boards all the necessary forms of returns as provided for in the Act.

The Reaction

Early reaction to the idea of subdivision, as shown by the appointed Select Committee of 1871 that was to investigate the education system, particularly the subdivision of the Protestant grant, suggested that subdivision of the Protestant grant had by no means achieved universal agreement. The final report presented in 1873 showed no apparent agreement on subdivision. It is documented in the following Tables, Tables 4 and 5, that the number of signatures on petitions in favour of subdivision were 1,679 compared to 1,202 opposed (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1874, App., pp. 93-94).

Table 4: Petitions Favouring the Subdivision of the Protestant Grant to Education

Name of Place	Favouring Subdivision	Name of Place	Favouring Subdivision
1. Burgeo	155	2. Petty Harbour, Pouch Cove, and Torbay	90
3. Tilt Cove	19	4. Conception Bay South	211
5. Burin	131	6. Fortune Bay	27
7. Belloram	93	8. Sagona, Fortune Bay	28
9. LaPoile	103	10. Salvage	140
11. Fogo	65	12. Pushthrough	67
13. New Harbour, Trinity Bay	8	14. Bonavista	57
15. Catalina	102	16. Heart's Content	80
17. Grates Voce, Bay-de-Verdes	50	18. Garnish, Fortune Bay	36
19. Brigus	29	20. Hermitage Cove	47
21. Gualtois	48	22. Rencontre, Western Shore	50
23. Miscellaneous	43	Total Favouring Subdivision	1,679

Source: Newfoundland. Legislative Council, (1874). Journal. First Session, Eleventh General Assembly, App., pp. 93-94.

Table 5: Petitions Opposing the Subdivision of the Protestant Grant to Education

Name of Place	Opposing Subdivision	Name of Place	Opposing Subdivision
1. Old Perlican	127	2. Port-au-Basque	123
3. Bonavista	229	4. Musgrave Town	65
5. Grates Cove	62	6. Harbour Grace	61
7. Port-de-Grave	85	8. Carbonear	121
9. Greenspond	25	10. Black Head	280
11. Lower Island Cove	61	Total Opposing Subdivision	1,202

Source: Newfoundland. Legislative Council, (1874). Journal. First Session, Eleventh General Assembly, App., pp. 93-94.

Views such as those expressed by William Netten of Catalina, J.C. Harvey of Part-de-Grave, and Henry Petty of New Harbour who viewed the bill as a definite advantage and Phillip Brock of Western Point, Henry Lind of Greenspond, and R. H. Taylor of Brigus who saw the division as unnecessary, are indications of the split among the people and the widespread consciousness of public awareness.

Netten stated (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1874, App., p. 55).

I cannot but think that the members of the Church of England in this Colony are entitled to the same rights and privileges for the education of their children as are granted to Roman Catholics for theirs;...I have no doubt that it would be better for Catalina if the grant was subdivided, and that the cause of education would be much improved and promoted thereby.

Harvey also supported the subdivision of the Protestant grant by stating: (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1874, App., p. 78) "I consider it to be just and proper that such should take place, thinking also that each denomination would take a greater interest

in the schools than we find to be the case now." Henry Petty further espoused these view by suggesting that a division of the grant would be advisable (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1874, App., p. 86).

On the other hand, Phillip Brock suggested the following (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1874, App., pp. 62-63).

I do not consider that any subdivision of the grant is required, and fully believe that there will be endless difficulties in the way, owing to the numerous denominations of Protestant Christians; and firmly hold, that in matters of elementary education, all Protestant sects should work unitedly together, let each board divide the grant according to the number of children in the place where the school is located, without any reference to any Protestant denomination.

Henry Lind continued with the same theme (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1874, App., p. 70).

I beg to say that I think subdivision of the Protestant grant would be very detrimental to the cause of education, because the present teachers can hardly live on the salaries they receive, and therefore if the grant were subdivided the schools would have to be filled by men or women wholly incompetent, and we would see our native countrymen a few years hence much more ignorant than they are at present.

Taylor endorsed the above by adding that the plan to subdivide would rid the present system of intolerable jealousies (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1874, App., p. 89).

Mutual jealousies arise, and then mutual distrust is engendered; the one denomination is afraid that the other is getting too large a share of the grant, and religious differences are actually intensified by the ordinary mixed board. Another great evil arising from these mutual jealousies is the indifference

which very often supervenes.

Barnes (1917, p. 108) saw the clerical guiders of the 1874 denominational educational process as a group with no educational policies or visions, and suggested that the limiting of courses to traditional three R's and catechism, as he perceived the superintendents of education wanting, as inordinately conservative. That the curriculum was to be condensed was for Barnes so unfortunate an ideal as to limit ones' accessibility to a wider scope of teaching.

However, Burke (1914) quoted the Rev. Dr. Pilot in relation to denominational education as suggesting that the educational structure was "consonant with the convictions and sentiments of the people in general" (p. 70). Pilot considered that the study of English Grammar should not be placed on par with a knowledge of Catechism and Superintendent Blackall later saw religion as solidifying the whole educational process. This impressed Burke and he claimed that the churches, working in "friendly rivalry," were a valuable body to the cause of education (1914, p. 70).

Similarly, Bishop Feild, prelate of the Anglican Church, and the staunch supporter of subdivision of the Protestant grant, saw the bill as advantageous. Bishop Feild believed that through church based education more religious teaching would be given to the students. Additionally, for Bishop Feild, the most important part of education was that of religious truth. This religious truth was now to be guaranteed as several Protestant denominations were distributed independent financial support after 1874. A protagonist of religious education, Feild saw a corollary existing between education and religion. A conviction that was

prevailing among the Tractarians and High Church people, such as Feild, was that education and religion were essentially related. It was Feild's belief that education, and not conversion, should be the forefront of a useful activity. Coming from a country that had church oriented schools, Feild had been an original school inspector in England in the early 1840's. His observations were so thorough that one method of inspection was referred to as the "Feild Organization" (Netten, 1974, p. 81).

As early as 1850, Feild had written a letter to The Public Ledger stating that the principles of denominational separation were advantageous as more ministers would assist in religious instruction. Dissatisfied with governments' refusal to legalize denominationalism by an earlier Act of Education, Feild went on to state the following (Netten, 1974, p. 90).

It is a cause of equal surprise and concern to me that the just claim of the Church of England and of other Protestants to educate the children of their poorer members in their respective tenets and principles should be disregarded by the House of Assembly. After the propriety and necessity of a division and appropriation for that purpose have been once and again asserted and acted upon in the case of the Roman Catholic Church, I can not understand upon what grounds of justice or expediency the same opportunities are denied to the other churches.

Field's utter refusal to compromise with the Methodists is shown well by Feild's views on the subject of the Wesleyans adopting the title of "Church" late in the century (Tucker, 1877, p. 217).

Wesleyans, who, ashamed of the position of sect, affected, as other sects have done within the last few years, the title of "Church," was alluded to with regret [by Feild], but not without an exposure of the worthlessness and presumption of the claims of this body to divinely-appointed orders and

ordinances. For the avowal, of separation now made, but for long desired, the bishop was thankful.

Feild's further account of a visitation made to a girls school after the 1874 subdivision of the Protestant grant where the teacher was from the Wesleyan Church reinforces the position (Tucker, 1877, pp. 217-219).

I visited, as permitted by the rules of the Society, a school of girls; was kindly and respectfully received by the mistress, and was invited by her to examine a class; but when I would have gone forward for that purpose (and there are few duties in which I take greater pleasure), the mistress informed me, very properly, that the teacher of that class belonged to the Wesleyan Church! What could I do or say? Should I offend her feelings and convictions, or forget my own character and office? I thought it kinder to her and to her pupils, and better and safer for myself, to retire.

Netten (1974) relates the following on Bishop Feild and his importance to Newfoundland education (p. 92).

He had left a collegiate school for boys, a secondary school for girls, and a revitalized and flourishing theological college through which his ideas had been widely disseminated. In addition, his impact on education had also been felt in the public sphere. Feild's consistent stand on Church of England schools for Church of England children had their effect in contributing to denominational separation in secondary education. They had also moved public opinion ever closer to the view that division along denominational lines was the only workable way in which public education could be provided. The Bishop had lived to see his church with its own system of school, leaving Newfoundland with a legacy of a fully denominational system, and an established connection between religion and education.

More views on the topic of subdivision were gathering in the local newspapers of the time. In the Newfoundlander, the Hon. R. Thorburn speaking in the Legislature believed the

following about the issue (Legislative Council, 1874, May 8, p. 1).

Further subdivision of the grant would be productive of no good:...there was a grave error committed in the first place when the whole grant was divided between the Roman Catholic and Protestant boards according to population... By further splitting up the grant into so many small fragments which will have the effect of reducing the number and lessening the efficiency of schools, the evil of subdivision will be augmented.

Again in the Newfoundlander, it was cited that the Hon. J. Clift concurred with the views of Thorburn, (Legislative Council, 1874, May 8, p. 1). Clift believed that besides lessening the efficiency of the schools of the outports, subdivision would engender a spirit of “dislike and hostility.” Thorburn went on to state in the Newfoundlander that he belonged to one of the religious bodies mentioned in the subdivision issue and suggested that the laity of both the Scottish churches were altogether opposed to the principle of the bill and preferred the grant remain undivided (Legislative Council, 1874, May 12, p. 2).

Their clergymen think the proposed subdivision will be productive of evil instead of good, particularly in the outports, where in some cases one good school will as a consequence of this measure be divided into two or more inefficient ones. It will also tend to foster a spirit of division and jealousy amongst children of different denominations.

The Hon. Dr. Winter fully concurred with the views of Clift and Thorburn. Speaking in the Assembly and as documented in the Times newspaper, Winter suggested that the grant for education should not in the first place have been divided between the Protestants and Roman Catholic (Legislative Council, 1874, May 16, p. 1).

...the present imperfect system of education in the colony will be rendered worse after the enactment of such a measure, in consequence of the small amounts that will be available for teachers under the religious bodies amongst whom the subdivision of the grant is proposed.

It was reported in the Times again that the Hon. N. Stabb, speaking in the House of Assembly, was regretful that any necessity should ever have arisen to introduce such a measure that was now before the House. Stabb could not believe how the educational interests of the country could be promoted with a measure like this (Legislative Council, 1874, May 16, p. 1).

It was a pity that Christians living together in one community could not manage to work out the education of their children in peace and good will. The effect of this measure will be to damage the schools and seriously injure the future interests of the education of the Colony.

However, in contrast to his earlier statements, the Hon. J. Clift seems to have had second thoughts on the issue of the subdivision of the Protestant grant. Clift had favoured the division for over twenty years. He felt that the Wesleyans and the Protestants could not satisfactorily unite to carry out the Act. As a member of the Church of England, Clift felt it his duty to give the subdivision his advocacy and respect his superior clergy. He stated the following in the Times with regard to the clergy of the Church of England. "These Reverend gentlemen had in a great measure the oversight of the education of the children belonging to their church in the outports, and were therefore best fitted to say what would most advantage it" (Legislative Council, 1874, May 16, p. 1).

Rowe (1964) stressed the favourable views of each church toward denominational

education and suggested that the public and the clergy of all persuasions were pleased with the school structure after 1874. With reaction to the Education Act of 1874 by the Roman Catholics and their desire for suitable education for their children, and Dr. William Pilot and the Anglicans' view that education and religion were indivisible, Rowe saw the educational arrangement of 1874 as having an ecclesiastical basis, although Rowe also suggested that governmental attempts at creating an undenominational system for the Protestants had deteriorated due to the ecclesiastical leader's failure to cooperate.

Netten (1980) notes the tendency of the denominations to decide their own aims. He asserts that while other parts of North America were addressing the notion of free public elementary education, curriculum structures, and the ideals of equality of educational opportunity and universal literacy, initiatives in Newfoundland were being "dissipated over questions of denominational control, perhaps delaying consideration of some educational aims to a later period" (pp. 38-39).

Further disagreement regarding denominational education is apparent in the application of the 1874 Act in the years following. These reactions will be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE APPLICATION OF THE 1874 ACT OF EDUCATION UNDER THREE SEPARATE DENOMINATIONS

Burke (1914) suggested that denominational education worked well in that it brought forth “educational peace and harmony, and had been a blessing to the land and its people” (p. 59). Some people might find this statement problematic and controversial to say the least. Spurred on by other evidence an opponent of this point of view might provide substantial proof that there was indeed no religious compatibility in education at this time. Frecker (1957) gives criticism in pointing out that multiplication of schools and proliferation of religious denominations and the ensuing complexity of educational policy weakened the system (p. 64).

Roman Catholic, Church of England, and Methodist Superintendent’s Reports have been examined with particular references to attitudes towards denominationalism. Statistics, tables, attendance information, branches of instruction, financial statements, and district subdivision were all given attention in annual reports. However, the reports have been viewed to see their reaction to the application of the 1874 Act and the subdivision of the Protestant grant.

Under the Methodist school board, questions and reservations, as given by Superintendents’ Reports, about the system of denominational education set up by the Act of 1874, are very noticeable, while the application of the same Act under the Roman Catholic and Church of England School Boards, shown in their respective Reports, shows acceptance

and support, further entrenching denominationalism.

Application of the 1874 Act Under the Church of England School Board

Canon William Pilot, the first Church of England Superintendent, furnished accounts of various aspects of education throughout his thirty-two Annual Reports running from 1876-1908. Pilot made various recommendations on teachers and school boards, and gave many statistical reports of inspection and visitation. His name throughout the colony was said to have been “synonymous with all that was hearty, cheerful, and agreeable” (Mott, 1894, p. 131).

When one appraises the educational system secured under his tutelage indications are that much has been accomplished. Attendance had increased over 100% over a twenty year period, teacher pay increased, and new schools had been erected. Dr. Pilot was a proposer of twenty-one amendments to educational legislation, implemented innovative strategies for teachers and curriculum, and was influential in the Council of Higher Education. The Council, set up in 1893, standardized the educational curriculum, established examinations, and adjusted grading certificates for pupils and pupil teachers (Handcock, 1963, p. 12.)

In 1877, Pilot was encouraged by the educational progress within denominational parameters. His Report, of the same year, recommended that the Boards of Education assist teachers in improving themselves for examinations. Pilot applauded the work the Academy had done with female teachers and his approval of denominationalism was shown when he praised the grant of money the Church of England was using for training pupil teachers.

Moreover, Pilot was happy with the Amendment of the Education Act of 1879 which required satisfactory qualifications and compulsory examination of teachers. Pilot asserted in his Report of Public Schools of 1879 that this amendment would (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1880, App., p. 240):

...ensure in stimulating those already employed to render themselves duly qualified, and hereafter in securing the engagement of those whose talents and acquirements will ensure greater public confidence in the momentous work entrusted to them.

Even though Newfoundland's economic situation did not improve during Dr. Pilot's term, salaries of teachers doubled. Teacher training programmes were also instituted and denominational education was promoted by Pilot's views on educational and spiritual development. Regarding the atmosphere of education in 1881, Pilot stated in his Superintendent's Report that, "gratifying results have characterized the work of education in almost every branch of our school service" (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1882, App., p. 83).

In 1883, 1884, and 1885, Pilot was delighted with the headway that was being made in the Colony and reiterated good progress in education in all Reports. In 1897, he continued with the same theme and declared that fifty-eight pupil teachers and teachers wanting to qualify for higher grades of certificate benefitted from the grant for training purposes. For Pilot, the numbers were encouraging as he felt that young people, when thrown upon their own resources, often failed as teachers (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1897, p. xii-xiii).

Qualifications that were acting as a stimulus were given continued attention. The following resolutions were impressed upon the candidates (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1897, p. xiii).

(1). No teacher shall receive a certificate of qualification from the Board, other than one of Third Grade, until he or she shall have taught a school to the satisfaction of the Board for a period of twelve months from his or her first employment as a teacher in any Church of England school.

(2). If at the end of twelve months any Second Grade teacher shall satisfy this Board that he has kept a school for that period to the satisfaction of the Board employing him, the Board of Examiners will, if such teacher has passed in subjects qualifying for Second Grade, grant to him a certificate of Second Grade.

(3). If at the end of twelve months any Second Grade teacher shall satisfy this Board that he has kept a school for that period to the satisfaction of the Board, the Board of Examiners will grant to him a certificate of First Grade on his further passing in subjects prescribed for that Grade.

Pilot's views on the Newfoundland Teachers' Association and compulsory education were before their time and, although compulsory education was not realized until 1943, Pilot's reports of 1889-1906 called for such, as noted (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1898, p. vii).

I am aware that this attendance question is a difficult one; but I submit that if we are to make any further strides in this direction it is a question that must be faced. To leave it alone is to leave thousands to grow up in utter ignorance, and to force the country to pay for schools which, by being poorly attended, are deprived of half their intended value to the labouring classes in the country... We are a few people, and if we are to hold our own among those similarly situated, we must make up for the smallness of the few, by increasing the intelligence of the few, and of each individual of that few.

For Pilot, this intelligence would be acquired if a compulsory attendance clause was enacted by the Legislature. Pilot wanted to see every healthy child between the ages of seven and fourteen and living within two miles of a school frequent class one hundred days a year. With respect to compulsory attendance Pilot reasoned that people of intelligence must lead and not wait to be moved by others.

It is only reasonable that higher standards and better teachers were wanted for the early Newfoundland educational system. The obtaining of better-prepared pupil teachers and teachers was left entirely to the different denominations. With greater funding to facilitate better educational practices the Church of England Superintendent found it eminently satisfactory and very convenient to bring back to their denominational College those teachers who had shown an aptitude for, and a skill in their studies, to once again upgrade or assist in teaching duties. In all, over the thirty-two years of his term of office, the first Church of England Superintendent felt that the denominational arrangement was working out well. It appeared to him that satisfactory progress was being made in many educational aspects.

Application of the 1874 Act Under the Roman Catholic School Board

Roman Catholic Superintendent John Kelley reported that in 1877 there were over one hundred and forty school houses, although Kelley related that fifteen of these school houses were stationed either in the teachers' home or in the vestry of a chapel. As educational funding was now being allocated to the denominations independently, Kelley observed that the Roman Catholics were looking forward to happy results that must follow from a "prompt

and judicious expenditure" (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1877, App., p. 677).

Again, in 1880, the newly appointed Roman Catholic Superintendent Maurice Fenelon, who succeeded Kelley, emphasized that the denominational arrangement was proficient and went as far as to circulate to teachers, sections I, II, and III of the Amendment of the Education Act of 1876, dealing with syllabus for grading of teachers. The years 1881-1885 saw Fenelon finding schools' conditions prospering under his superintendence and he stated that educational circumstances were "more satisfactory" than his initial inspections (Newfoundland. Legislative Council, 1881, App., p. 157).

Fenelon, reporting in 1881 to his Honour Sir Frederic B. T. Carter, the Administrator of the Government of Newfoundland, stated that progress in the educational system after the Education Act of 1874 was met with enormous success (Newfoundland, Legislative Council, 1882, App., p. 223). Notwithstanding, Fenelon sought an enlargement in the monetary subsidy from the government, as did Church of England Superintendent Pilot. Pilot and Fenelon argued that an increase in the distribution of money was justified by the acceleration of colonization in Newfoundland. Since 1876, the Legislative vote for educational funding in St. John's had been a fixed factor while the population had steadily increased to 30,000. Pilot and Fenelon inferred that an increase in population should prompt a concomitant increase in the total educational expenditure. Funding for educational purposes was of importance to the Superintendents, for the Church of England and Roman Catholic Church believed financial support was the cure for incompatibilities that were present within the denominational framework and not a reorganization of the system's religious basis as was to

be espoused by the Methodists.

Maurice Fenelon retired in July, 1886 and was succeeded as Roman Catholic Superintendent of Schools for Newfoundland by James J. Wickham. Wickham, as all denominational superintendents did previously, immediately concerned himself with finances and teacher certification. He was pleased with the denominational organization that increased both funding and the number of certified teachers, particularly the teachers of the Catholic faith (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1886, pp. vi-vii).

Bishop Flynn of the Archdiocese of St. John's was later to express the Roman Catholic perspective on certified Catholic teachers and denominational education when he implied that in every country in the world the Church advocates Catholic schools under Catholic control where Catholic teachers dispense Catholic education. The Church felt that only such schools with fully Catholic surroundings could properly train children to be worthy Catholic citizens of their country (Rowe, 1964, p. 96).

In 1891, the Roman Catholic Superintendent, at the request of the Government and in conjunction with other superintendents, gave considerable attention to the distribution of educational grants and to a bill for the consolidation and amendment of the Education Acts, which became the Act of 1892. In that year, Wickham reported that he had visited 135 schools, held examinations for teachers and pupil teachers that involved the preparation of over sixty sets of questions, marked over 12,000 examination papers, wrote over nine hundred letters, and mailed nearly two thousand circulars and forms of schedules. He

indentured pupil teachers, certified quarterly payments, arranged for the payment of teachers' bonuses and supplements, and compiled his Annual Report. With travel being restricted in winter and boating the only means of transportation in the summer, it is of no wonder that some schools were often overlooked. Therefore, due to his heavy workload Wickham lobbied for the appointment of assistants to aid the superintendents in inspection and visitation of all schools under their jurisdiction (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1892, p. xvi).

In 1892, Wickham, commended the denominational system when his Report of that year, recounted the increases in school attendance and recognized the improved management of school property. Wickham acknowledged and extolled the increase in the educational disbursement that allowed for assignment of assistant superintendents, and for pupil teachers. The Act of 1892 preserved in its entirety the subdivision of the Protestant grant and the denominational system as established in 1874 and 1876. Wickham was pleased with newly added features of the Act (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1892, p. viii).

(1) The appropriation of \$400 per annum for the employment of competent persons to assist the Superintendents in the visitation and inspection of the schools of their respective denominations (section 9).

(2) The establishment of the Teachers' Pension Fund by which provision is made for the retirement of certificated male teachers on a pension of \$100 per annum, and females \$80 per annum, upon their reaching the age of 60 years (section 14 & 64).

(3) The appropriation of \$600 per annum to provide for the proper lodging and maintenance of Roman Catholic pupil teachers in St. John's, one half the

amount to be applied for the purposes of males and the remainder towards the establishment of a Home for Females.

With the financial arrangements of the 1892 Education Act, Wickham was gladdened that under the denominational system, an increase in money was allocated to the Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic grant had risen from \$52,027.77 to \$54,648.07. Wickham expressed his concern over the ability of the superintendent to inspect, efficiently and regularly, all schools throughout the country. This was perhaps possible in the early inspection years when school numbers were relatively small, school boards and teachers of smaller units, and administrative work less, but now, such efficient and regular inspection was unattainable. Because of this, Wickham was pleased and delighted to find that the educational developments under the denominational system were advancing as the Education Act of 1892 provided for an extra annual grant of \$400 for each of the three leading denominations to help with superintendent assistance. With this, and the assistance of the board of examiners, the denominations were better able to inspect schools and conduct examinations for teachers and pupil teachers (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1892, p. xv).

Further justification of the appropriation for superintendents' assistants, which in itself helped to advance denominational education, suggests that the amount levied for such inspection was not unreasonably large in that it embraced only 3.66% of the total educational expenditure. The cost of administering public schools in New Brunswick was nearly \$12,000, more than 5% of the Government expenditure and in Nova Scotia, \$18,500 or 5.66% was

disbursed. In spite of the traveling difficulties within Newfoundland, the superintendent was paid \$1,620 per annum. Superintendents' pay in the neighbouring provinces was even higher: Nova Scotia, \$2,400, with \$400 traveling expenses; New Brunswick, \$2,000, with \$400 traveling expenses; and in P. E. I., \$1,800 per annum (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1892, p. xvii).

However, adding largely to the burdens of the office of the superintendent were adjustments made to supplement grants such as the teachers' pension fund and the method of expenditure prescribed in the Act of Education. Presenting standings of these funds and claims to them, showing the half-yearly payments of premiums, and keeping a run of vouchers and cheques, resulted in an increased workload for all superintendents and justified the hiring of an assistant.

Although the population of the Colony from 1874-1892 had increased from 196,085 to 200,652, the Roman Catholic proportions had fallen from 76,254 to 72,696, or from about 38.33% in the 1884 population census to about 36.25% in the 1891 census. The result could have been a cutback of \$3,000 if the Roman Catholic's share of the grant was reduced accordingly to \$52,027.77 from \$55,116.57 as based on population returns. However, this did not occur (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1892, p. xiii).

James Wickham was encouraged with the work of the Christian Brothers in education. The growth of the Brothers' work during the period of 1875-1892 looked promising as the Order had two well-equipped schools, with nine teachers, exclusive of monitors. There was

nearly a 90% participation rate in attendance (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1892, p. ix). Because of the Brothers success in St. John's, a new facility was established at Riverhead. A site was purchased at a cost of \$1,600 and a structure was erected at a cost of \$7,500. In the two schools under the Christian Brothers, there was an average enrolment in 1891 of 698 pupils with an average daily attendance of 629, while the whole number in attendance within the year increased to 838 (see Appendix E).

Still, the office of the superintendent was often misconceived as the superintendent was not frequently in contact with the public. Some people thought that the official was overpaid and traveled where ever there might be pleasure. Some citizens judged the official and hinted that he relaxed in the summer and enjoyed life leisurely in the winter by writing a simple Report. Wickham suggested that these ideas were not strictly of the ignorant, instead, men of education seemed to have held similar opinions and even more discredibly, they did not hesitate to relate incidents to the press. Although writings on the subject could have been due to plain ignorance, Wickham believed that many of the statements that appeared were so "extravagant and unfair that only malice or deep design could have inspired them" (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1892, p. xv).

Some of the criticism of the office of superintendent, in Wickham's opinion, came from hostility to denominational schooling. He further defended the process of schooling and the superintendent's position within denominational education. He commented on criticisms by an unnamed source, that (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman

Catholic Boards, 1892) “some self-advertising politician, whose aim is the overthrow of the denominational system of education, thinks he can best advance his object by assailing the superintendents and belittling the work of their office” (p. xv). For Wickham, the position he had the honour of holding was no educational saunter. There was more than enough work in the role of the superintendent as delineated by the Department of Education than one man could hope to accomplish.

In the denominational framework, particulars such as the Teachers’ Pension Fund, were often of concern. Wickham was troubled with aged teachers that were “passed their labour” and voiced his concerns regarding retirement support. He observed that older teachers were struggling and proposed that schools under their jurisdiction that were steadily “retrograding,” be considered for a pension fund. Wickham desired ageing teachers not become a burden on society and therefore pressed the issues surrounding a subsidy for old teachers (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1892, p. xvii)

With Wickham’s retirement, in 1899, Vincent Burke became the new Superintendent for Roman Catholic Schools. Speaking in reference to a Teacher’s Association Convention held in St. John’s in 1899, Burke acknowledged the educational papers read and the emphasis on religion. Religious teaching in the schools was important to Superintendent Burke. He was anxious to equip Catholic pupils for various positions in life and impart to them the words of the “Divine Teacher.” Vaunting the success of the Preliminary grades at St. Bonaventure’s school the Roman Catholic Superintendent took an opportunity to commend pupils that were

listed as honour students. He made mention of the distinctions for arithmetic, Latin, French, shorthand and geometrical drawing (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1901, p. xv).

The Catholic Church continued to defend the system of denominationalism in the fulfilling of the mission of the Church, as the recording of an "Altar Boys Society" section in the 1902 Report indicates. Another section recognizing the religious appreciation of past students mentions that graduates of Catholic schools had "embraced the religious state" and were "ministering at the altar of God" (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1902, p. 12).

In regard to visitation and inspection from 1901-1903 much pleasure was felt by Burke when he saw improvements with the Catholic school structure, particularly at the Presentation Convent School. Other schools were opening as well, with more teachers being employed and higher student enrolments in schools increasing total attendance. Burke also favoured the denominational system and its educational funding as it pertained to the promotion of technical schools or 'school industry' such as Mount Cashel (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1902, p. 13).

For the Catholic Superintendent, religious instruction was to permeate the whole educational process to train Catholics to become "virtuous citizens," because as Burke declared, "what doth it profit a man to gain the whole world if he lose his own soul?" (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, 1901, p. xv).

Application of the 1874 Act Under The Methodist School Board

The Reports of the Roman Catholic Superintendent were in general agreement with the Reports of the Church of England Board. However, although the Methodists agreed with educational funding and certain legislative policies aimed at improving the instructional process, their support for the denominational organization was considerably more qualified, as they had reservations toward the system of schooling that had developed in Newfoundland along denominational lines. The Methodists had been in ardent opposition to the subdivision of the Protestant grant and the Methodist superintendents were to declare this feeling of opposition in their reports on education.

The first Methodist superintendent, George S. Milligan, believed in an educational system that included spiritual instruction. He believed that sound education and higher understanding would be nurtured by religious education. Milligan worked with his colleagues to achieve progress for the Methodists. Charles Lench (1901, January) of Bird Island Cove spoke of the importance of Milligan when he stated (pp. 2-3): "if there is one Minister above others for whom our Colonial Methodism has abundant reasons to be thankful to the great Head of the Church, that minister is Rev. Dr. Milligan." However, Milligan, in spite of his support for religious education, did not support denominational division.

In his 1877 Report, Milligan made references to the Education Acts of 1874 and 1876, as well as to the denominational division and how the selection of teachers was very limited under that division. Hiring a teacher of similar denominational background was often trying when qualifications were raised. Hesitancies over the system of denominationalism fluctuated

somewhat as in his 1880 report, when Milligan saw progress in the operation of the educational programmes, whereas a year later he stated that “great difficulties and discouragements lie in the way of the educational process in this Island” (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1881, p. vi).

In 1882, Milligan again acknowledged that education was “steadily maintained” and that in 1884 it was “satisfactory and encouraging.” However, in 1883, 1885, and 1886, Milligan questioned the denominational situation, particularly funding. He wanted more financial help from the Legislature for a consideration of additional appropriations to strengthen what was weak and perfect what was incomplete (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1886, p. 5).

Milligan saw the scope of the superintendent’s responsibility as “wide, the work comprehensive and detailed,” and considered that the job demanded “much time and careful attention.” He suggested that the addressing of the increase of work could only be accomplished by a subdivision of superintendent’s duties by the Legislature. Milligan had called for the appointment of district inspectors, a competent clerk, and a publication of a “Joint Report of Superintendents,” instead of the application of the 1874 Education Act that saw three separate reports based on denomination (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1890, p. 3). The Methodists did not want different reports as the reports were said to be too repetitive, instead, they desired that the legislature initiate a unilateral report. This may be seen as a further indication of the Methodist’s dislike of denominational separation and of their desire to reduce the effects of separation through

denominational cooperation.

Notwithstanding the Methodists earlier inimical view to denominationalism and the subdivision of the education grant, Milligan was nonetheless optimistic with respect to the dispensation of funds following the Census of 1891. The grants made to the different denominations and several Boards of management were based on the *per capita* principle. For Milligan, this represented a “judicious and liberal” effort to amend the Act for the Encouragement of Education. The act to consolidate and amend the Education Act of 1892 was seen by Milligan as tactful, and appropriate (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1892, p. 3).

...(the Act) put education largely on the vantage ground, particularly by securing better maintenance for teachers during their active term of public service, and by guaranteeing for at least the great majority of them... valuable aid will, ...prove an incalculable blessing to themselves ...and preserve the respectability of an office.

However, the advancement of education with a denominational setting was not what Milligan had in mind. In his following report of 1893, Milligan appears to be less interested in the denominational organization that was a consequence of the subdivision of the Protestant grant. Although concerned with the Methodist Boards’ progress in affecting the “vitality and efficiency” of the educational process, Milligan questioned, as an educationalist, the denominational system which was endorsed by the Legislature. He wanted to eliminate diversities and have the educational process serve its original function of delivering instructive aims. He suggested that the system of education was “settled” and hoped the Roman Catholic

and Church of England denominations, which made up the larger part of the population, did not petition the Legislature to make changes (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1893, p. 3).

I deem it best to strive to secure practicable reform, wherever and to whatever extent possible, and without prejudice to recognize progress, effectual and going forward in so many directions. In any case improved education means increased and growing intelligence among the people; and must be helpful in securing sole and beneficial legislation in the future.

Further reservation on the part of the Methodist School Superintendent is detected in succeeding reports. Before Milligan moved to discuss the technicalities of his annual report of public schools under his tutelage in 1897, he asked that the public have restored confidence in the education system. He alluded to the disenchantment amongst all denominations that had been caused by the reduction of grants. The origin of the reduction was the great "Bank Crash" of 1894 that saw the two commercial banks of Newfoundland, the Union Bank and the Commercial Bank, close their doors on December 10, never to re-open (*Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, p. 120). The Methodists alone lost nearly \$8,000, and implied that cooperation between all religious parties was particularly important when considering and enacting educational amendments. Milligan was particularly concerned about the limitations imposed by the existence of a number of very small schools, and one for each denomination in small communities. Milligan wanted well defined regulations and conditions that would secure, "by denominational cooperation," amalgamated schools where the total population was below fifty. (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards,

1897, p. 4). In correspondence with the Newfoundland Methodist Conference, Milligan issued a Circular in November of 1896 asking the Chairmen of the Methodist Boards of Education to submit the population of the area on their circuit without sufficient schooling needs and to point out what small communities would “recommend a combination of the denominations as advisable” (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1897, p. 4).

Milligan noted in his report that in some small settlements where schools had been established the educational income only provided for operation for part of the year. On the *per capita* basis of financial distribution the large centres fared well as they received the bulk of the funding appropriations. The small settlement problem continued to be exacerbated as the amount of money available for such areas was minimal, and the Methodists called for an adjustment of funding. To ensure educational opportunity to students, irrespective of circumstances, Milligan emphasized the importance of re-establishing and better equipping small schools in rural areas. However, due to problems in educational funding and denominational obstacles, Milligan believed that little in regard to education had been accomplished by 1897 for small schools. As a diplomatic gesture, in order not to disrupt the prevailing system, Milligan again recommended a school combination idea which would not prejudice denominational foundations. A proposed coalition of trustees would seek legislative grants in support of elementary schools in smaller communities that were not as well equipped for equal work. The trustees were also to endorse the following (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1897, p. 5).

(A) ...hope for enlarged legislative appropriation, specifically for... small and poor settlements.

(B) ...recommend Boards of different denominations to practice charity, in avoiding needless collision, in arranging appointments of teachers, and in accommodating, so far as possible, children of each other in their respective schools, when in operation.

Such an amendment to correct the small school dilemma was seen by Milligan as significant. In order to further safeguard equity in the school system as far as educational funding went, Milligan proposed the collection of fees from students.

The other denominational superintendents were cognizant of the small school dilemma at this time yet questioned the system less than Milligan. The Roman Catholic and Anglican Superintendents saw the schooling process as an arena where progress was being made on all sides, while in the Methodist Superintendents' view, the educational system of Newfoundland was still far from satisfactory.

For Milligan, competent and efficient teachers, that were to be prime movers in educational progress, were critically important. Milligan suggested that not only was the position of the teacher changing in the small community but so, too, was the duty of the superintendent transforming. Originally employed to organize public schools and awaken the public's attention to the need for education, the superintendent now tested the proficiency of instruction. This led Milligan to suggest "there is still ample and excellent opportunity to strengthen weak spots in our system, and by counsel, to stir up the indifferent or careless to determine to reach a more satisfactory condition" (Report of the Public Schools of

Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1898, p. 16).

At the beginning of the Methodist Conference in 1899, Dr. Milligan, through deteriorating health, had to resign as Superintendent of Methodist Schools. Again speaking about Milligan and the system of denominational education in which he had been involved, Lench (1901, January) stated that Milligan arduously worked for the cause of Methodism to improve the present denominational system that was "not a perfect thing." He stated pointedly, with respect to denominational schools, that "Methodists did not seek the division of the Protestant grant, but having it thrust upon them, they sought to improve their opportunity as far as possible" (p. 3).

Dr. Milligan was succeeded by Reverend Levi Curtis in 1899. In his report of 1899 to Colonial Secretary J. A. Robinson, Superintendent Curtis, as did his predecessor Milligan, called for an amalgamation of schooling facilities. He hinted at a complete public school system with total Government financing to help rid educational practices of inconsistencies within the denominational establishment. He further stated that a comprehensive elementary educational system was having difficulty being realized, perhaps due to the present system of education (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1900, p. 8).

Levi Curtis suggested that some progress in education was occurring in colonial Newfoundland yet cooperation was still not an actuality. Encouraging indications mentioned by Curtis included the following (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1901, p. 4).

(1.) Increased desire for schools in several places, as shown by a determination on the part of the people to meet the expenses themselves, rather than have the teacher withdrawn, and the school closed.

(2.) Increased desire for better and more suitable school buildings. In several places strenuous effort has been, and is being made to erect such buildings in which to train the young people for their life work. In some instances this has been done entirely by the people; in others, available help from grants has been accepted. It is only necessary to name Tilt Cove, Wesleyville, New Town, Greenspond, Bonavista, Catalina, and Harbour Grace, as up-to-date illustrations of this most commendable spirit.

(3.) More widespread desire for improved educational advantages. In some places this is manifest in a demand for higher grade teachers, in others for Superior Schools. The fact that such improvement will mean additional financial obligations is not allowed to stand in the way of progress.

(4.) A higher standard of efficiency in the work of schools.

(5.) The increase in attendance at school from year to year, and the increase in the amount paid as fees, all of which help to swell the accumulative signs of encouragement.

Curtis, however, felt that the school system also included many undesirable features which had been introduced through rash legislation. These included (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1901, p. 5).

(1.) Too many divisions of Educational grants; so that in smaller places, instead of all the children, or, at any rate, all the Protestant children, attending one efficient school, two or three schools are struggling for existence; and efficiency is out of the question. And as the number of religious sects increases, this evil becomes worse and worse. It is difficult to use moderate terms in dealing with folly so fatuous as is exhibited in our present method of training our young people. To have these boys and girls - the men and women of a few years hence - cursed with ignorance all their days, because their fathers and mothers are pleased to worship at different altars, can be justified by no principle of reason or common sense.

(2.) Partly as a result of these divisions, and partly of sparse population, and in some instances of both combined, schools are small, and open for but short periods, and devoid of everything hope-inspiring.

(3.) Indifference of parents as seen in the numbers who never attend school, or of those who attend for a short season of the year only, and of those whose attendance is very irregular, and not only fail to do much themselves, but interfere with the progress of the school.

With respect to the schools that were classified as “Schools other than Superior” Curtis suggested that much could have been done to improve the nature of these. In some instances the conditions were due to the parent’s indifference over the importance of education. In some situations teachers with low grades were often in charge of schools. An unprepared teacher was seen by Curtis as an adversary of the system. Schools in small settlements that had teachers not sufficiently qualified prevented effective work from materializing. These teachers were not the type that received high sounding tributes of praise, instead, they were often people with a license, the most basic form of teacher certificate, operating a school for a limited time. Typical of Curtis’ criticisms are these, taken from his report of 1901 (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1901, p. 7):

...(schools) some are very elementary in every respect; ...Some are in charge of teachers with low grades, or in a few instances a license only, ...with some a struggling existence of a few months in each year, or perhaps in two or three years, is afforded -due in part to our unfortunate denominational system of education, and in part to a too scattered population;... A visit to some leaves the inspector sick at head, not only because of what they now are but also, and especially, because of the far remote promise or prospect of any improvement.

When a small settlement had the majority of the population belonging to one denomination, grants and provisions to education could be focused on one school with the hopes of securing effective instruction. But Curtis (1902) believed that the outlook for education was virtually desperate as limited resources were often divided between different denominations in the same small settlement. In 1899, data showed that conditions of schools were far from acceptable. In areas that had very few inhabitants an insignificant grant was usually given allowing for only part time employment of an inexperienced teacher. For Curtis, such places that were lacking the incentive of a qualified teacher were in danger of not realizing the value of education and irregular and inadequate schools were found in the same educational district because local circumstances allowed differences in the process of schooling (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1899, p. 4).

“An insufficient educational program does not prepare one for the duties of life nor benefit the welfare of a country,” according to Curtis. Curtis wanted the people of the small settlements to consolidate with respect to school affairs in order to accomplish improved educational results and better prepare the students for life. Curtis believed that a union of Church and state resources would ensure improvement, and render it possible for students to acquire at least an “elementary education” (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1902, p. 7).

Essentially, Methodist Superintendent Curtis’ attitude toward education had many

reservations. Curtis' superintendent reports did not parallel the reports of the Roman Catholic or Church of England boards support of denominational education. The Methodists agreed in principle with certain educational policies that solicited funding, increased attendance, and improved curriculum, but their reservations toward the system were deeply rooted. They sought refuge in the Council of Higher Education whose focus was to improve the "unfortunate denominational system of education" (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1901, p. 7).

The Council of Higher Education and How it Came About

By the early 1890's the denominational system had been in effect in Newfoundland for over fifteen years, and proposals for its improvement were being discussed. In part, this discussion was being generated by the fact that the Salvation army, which had not been a factor in the Act of 1874, had become a sufficiently numerous group to be granted denominational education status. This situation now raised the prospect of four school systems in the Colony. At this point the legislature appointed a Select Committee to examine the school system and make recommendations for its improvement.

In order to solicit suggestions for improvements to the school system, the Select Committee set up a competition which invited the submission of essays on how the school system might be improved. Approximately forty essays were presented indicating ways of improving and extending the educational facilities of the Colony. Of the forty presented, fourteen favoured denominational education while sixteen opposed it, with the others taking

no stand. The proposal for a new body to be called the Council of Higher Education (see Appendix F) was adopted from an essay submitted by a Rev. Brother J. L. Slattery, President of St. Bonaventure's Catholic College and one of the leading educationalists on the Island. Slattery modeled his view after Oxford and Cambridge Universities in England, particularly, the different grading systems: primary (elementary); preliminary (junior high); intermediate (senior high); and associate of arts (university).

The principal terms of the Council of Higher Education Act of 1893 included the following powers, duties, and functions (Education Acts of Newfoundland, 1979, p. 24).

- (1.) To promote sound learning, and to advance the interests of higher education by holding examination, and by awarding diplomas, prizes and scholarships to successful candidates at such examination.
- (2.) To encourage teachers in the preparation of candidates for examinations prescribed by the Council, by awarding premiums to such teachers: Provided, that teachers in the institutions established under sections seventy-four and seventy-five of the "Education Act, 1892," shall not receive premiums under the provisions of this section.
- (3.) To prescribe the subjects, manner, time and place of examinations, and to make such rules, regulations and bye-laws, as may be necessary in connection therewith, or with the awarding of diplomas, prizes, premiums and scholarships. Rules, regulations and bye-laws made by the Council, under this subsection, shall be subject to the approval of the Governor in Council.
- (4.) To nominate and appoint examiners, and such other officers as may be necessary, for the purposes of this Act, or for the management of the affairs of the Council.

Essentially, this ordinance created a Public Board of Examiners which would bring about some degree of formal standardization as Boards would be governed by representatives

of each denomination. This board would have the responsibility of arranging for the holding of examinations for various certificates.

The Act also provided for augmented teachers salaries, based on their own level of education. This CHE feature of an augmented income is noteworthy as teacher's salaries improved considerably, particularly in the years after the grant when bonus and supplemental grants were included (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1901, p. 12).

Importance of Council of Higher Education

The Council of Higher Education had importance to the overall scheme of education. It stimulated, to some extent, the work of the larger educational institutions in St. John's, particularly the denominational colleges, and encouraged some students in outport communities to continue their education in order to complete a higher education. It did create a spirit of competition between the different schools of each denomination and between them and the schools of other denominations. The configuration was particularly important to the Methodists as they favoured any arrangements which allowed for denominational cooperation in education.

With the creation of the Council of Higher Education came government policy that set public requirements for examinations and for the attainment of certificates attesting to various levels of education. Inevitably, these requirements led to some degree of standardization in curriculum across denominations, and to the grading of teachers. If not for

the establishment of a collective syllabus and unvarying curriculum implemented by the CHE standardization would not have come into the education in Newfoundland. In the different grades a syllabus was presented with various subjects for selection that would in turn act as a suitable foundation for the superstructure of education for years to come.

The establishment of examinations to promote “sound learning” had with it some peculiarities. Frecker (1957) saw the syllabus of external examinations dominating the curriculum and the achievement in the public examinations a “controlling preoccupation” (p. 15). As Netten (1980) suggests the examinations were not the means by which a person’s educational accomplishments could be evaluated, instead, “the examinations came to be the means by which the aims were to be achieved” (p. 29).

Unlike the Methodists, the Church of England was not totally in favour of the CHE. Although the Church of England schools passed 114 in Primary (elementary school), 73 in Preliminary (junior high school), 43 in Intermediate (senior high school) and 10 in Associate Arts (university) in 1900, it was suggested that the examinations and the preparation time that preceded them had their drawbacks as they were “not recognized as qualifications for entering any of the learned professions, or any branch of Government service” (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1900, p. xxii).

The Church of England College wanted to develop a syllabus broader and more comprehensive in detail than what the CHE required. The College did not want to concentrate teaching powers too largely on the preparation of examinations nor develop only the faculties of students pursuing the tests. Instead, it wanted all Church of England students to receive

a complete and satisfactory education that considered moral, intellectual, and religious values. The College did not want a teacher to “cram” a few to the neglect of the many in order to receive a high number of examination passes, nor did the College want a teacher to boast about passing candidates. The true test should be the number passed, in proportion to the total attendance in a school. The Church of England Superintendent implied that difficulties with the system should be adjusted to synchronize with the following (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1897, p. xix).

1. That in consideration of the very liberal subsidy given by the Legislature to colleges referred to in the Education Act of 1895, these Institutions shall be required to send up for examination of the Council all pupils in the three first classes.
2. That teachers holding First Grade Certificates, or the A. A. of the Council of Higher Education, shall be required to present at least one-fourth of their pupils for examination of the Council, provided the fourth does not go below twelve, and that their bonus and supplemental grants shall be paid on this condition.
3. To prevent picked pupils from being presented, the Council should be required to insist that no school shall be allowed to present for examination fewer than one-fourth of the pupils in average attendance, and that this fourth shall not fall below twelve.

Pilot advised that the examination was not the “end” of work, but a “test” only and that he was making these recommendations not in a contemptuous fashion of the work of the CHE, but only as a warning to teachers who might spend considerable time in preparation of the “enriched students” for the examination and forget the “less clever” and the broader based program of studies that was to be implemented (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1897, p. xix).

Methodist Superintendent Curtis' request for the methods of the CHE to persist was very strong. This was not, it was claimed, because the profits of scholarship were favouring the Methodists; rather it was due to the system's communal organization and the certainty that all denominations were responsible to it. For Curtis, cooperation was an important aspect of the schooling process in Newfoundland. Ironically though, the Methodists, who were against the subdivision of the Protestant grant and opposed the denominational system, frequently fared the best in the amounts distributed in prizes and scholarship by the Council of Higher Education. An example is shown by the results of 1901.

Table 6: Synopsis of Amounts Distributed in Prizes and Scholarships by the Council of Higher Education in 1901

Total Amount Distributed	\$1069 00
Amount Competed for by all Colleges and Schools	769 00
Amount open to Outport Schools only	300 00
Portion of the \$769 won by Methodist Institutions	476 00
Portion of the \$300 won by Methodist Outport Schools	300 00
Total Amount won by Methodist Institutions	776 00
Total Amount won by all others combined	293 00

Source: Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, (1901). St. John's, Newfoundland, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, George S. Milligan Printers. p. xiv.

For the Methodists, the CHE offered some improvements to the system of education without interfering in any way with the principle of denominational education which was established by law in the Colony. The CHE (see Appendix G) compelled the different denominations, based on examinations, to strive for similar educational accomplishments. This in turn brought the Boards of Education into a cooperative agreement in terms of

syllabus and curriculum approach.

For the Methodists, teacher qualification, teacher salary, and curriculum modification were addressed. In speaking about educational succession and in relation to the CHE and the idea of promoting elementary schools, Charles Lench (1901, February) noted the following (p. 2).

...where nothing existed before, good elementary schools exist to-day, while the burning feelings and misrepresentations arising from bigotry, partiality and other causes, have been relegated to a past generation; each denomination is vying with its contemporary to show the best results.

Methodist Superintendent Levi Curtis saw the Council of Higher Education as having a very stimulating effect on the entire system of education in Newfoundland as it laid the foundation for an amalgamation movement and served as a catalyst creating an atmosphere of sound competition between denominations particularly in the smaller centres where denominational contact was initially non-existent. Curtis suggested that the CHE created a healthy rivalry between the schools of equal standing, fostered refinement in teacher qualification, and it placed before students a “definite object for which to work” (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Methodist Boards, 1900, p. 17).

The Education Act of 1903

The 1893 Act was the first legislation involving denominational cooperation by all religious bodies since the Act 1876 and this cooperation continued with the Education Act

of 1903. The Education Act of 1903 (see Appendix H) was more egalitarian to the neglected students in outports where numbers did not guarantee a separate school. The Act allowed for amalgamated schools, which the Methodists had been requesting for some time, but only under carefully stipulated conditions (Education Acts of Newfoundland, 1979, p. 99).

The Governor in Council may from time to time, upon the recommendation of the Boards of Education concerned, and with the concurrence of the Superintendents of Education, authorize the establishment of amalgamated schools in sparsely populated settlements where the number of children will not warrant the establishment of separated schools.

When the Board of Superintendents wanted to distribute a portion of the allocated funds for the purpose of amalgamated schools, they could have the Board of Education of the denomination having the majority of population in a small settlement, receive the funds for the operation of a school. Egalitarian in nature, the proposal allowed for any Board of Education to withdraw from the arrangement provided that a six month notice was given by its Chairman to the Colonial Secretary. As well, the teachers for the amalgamated schools were to be judiciously selected by competitive examinations administered by a Board made up of inspectors of various denominations. The inspection of schools could be made by any one of the inspectors of consenting denominations with information and statistics being embodied in all inspectors' reports. The amalgamation act of 1903 was seen by the Methodists as an advantageous factor for the educational system in Newfoundland.

As the Act improved provisions for smaller schools incompetent of sustaining themselves, the Methodists agreed very much with it. They believed such legislation would

decrease the dissension amongst denominations and helped ameliorate the small school dilemma. Further acknowledging the Act's forbidding of the inclusion of religious subjects in CHE examinations, the Methodists believed there was now no basis for direct denominational conflict.

However, the Act did support the progress of religious and moral development even though it prevented religious examinations in CHE testing. Taken from the Act of 1903, a special arrangement advanced the importance of moral and religious education (Education Acts of Newfoundland, 1979, p. 99).

The teachers of such amalgamated schools may, either after or before school hours, or during recess, teach religious doctrine to the pupils of their own denomination or to any others who, with their parents' consent, may be willing to remain. Arrangements shall also be made by which the children of the other denominations may have the use of the school-house, outside of the school hours, for receiving religious instructions by some respectable person of the respectable denomination, appointed by the clergyman.

However, not all people have seen the Act of 1903 as appropriate. L. Parsons (1964) believed it would have been easier to have set up denominational schools and suggested that the legislation of 1903 was 'weak' (pp. 36-37).

(a) The act was impractical. The district boards had already been organized along denominational lines and schools had already been established, therefore, it was difficult to have amalgamated schools without amalgamated boards which were not practical in "sparsely populated areas."

(b) The proposal for amalgamated schools had to come from the boards concerned. With chairmen of Boards responsible for many "hamlets" or "outposts" in his district, it wasn't likely that he would recommend further complications.

(c) The concurrence of Supts. (superintendents) Of Ed. for the appropriate denominations was necessary. And the approval of the Supts. depended on the attitudes of the particular churches which they represented.

(d) Established boards permitted children of other denominations to attend their schools, but were unwilling to change the denominational composition of the boards. Boards of education had become jealous and proud of their denomination affiliation.

Nevertheless, Church of England Superintendent, William Pilot, viewed the educational system after 1903 as working well. He was pleased with the teachers under his supervision. He stated that the teachers working for Church of England Schools were intelligent and earnest in their work, and, in many cases, rendered themselves capable instructors (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1903, p. ix).

Pilot went on to further state that the amalgamation of some schools might benefit certain regions (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1903, p. xxi).

In my notes on inspection I have indicated several places, in which amalgamated schools might with advantage be established. The Chairman of the Church of England Board of Education, for Petty Harbor, after consultation with me is now in communication with the Chairman of Roman Catholic Board of Education for Ferryland, with a view of pooling all education grants for one school in Ferryland. The Chairman of the Church of England Board of Education, Salvage, writing for information upon this head has been advised to write to Boards interested in Gooseberry Island, with a view to establish one common school for that place. From Glenwood application has been made by a committee chosen to run a school there, for the Church of England per caput grant for that place. I have replied, recommending the application of the Act to this place. I understand that Rev. Dr. Curtis has replied to a similar request in a similar way.

In the same report of 1903, Canon William Pilot continues with remarks to the public, especially the parents and their need to address educational concerns to cope with the changing society of the Colony (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1903, p. xxii).

In concluding this, my thirtieth report upon these schools, I have to record my conviction that no striking record of educational progress will be made in Newfoundland until its people have themselves realized the value of education, and learned to consider that it is their primary duty to educate their children for the struggle and competition which the altered circumstances of the Colony are fast bringing about.

Pilot's barrage on the public's attitude towards education seems to have stimulated something in some communities as his report of the following year suggested that education had improved. Pilot felt there was a keener, more widespread interest in education in private, in public, on the streets, and in the Churches. At the session of the Church of England Synod of 1904, Pilot suggested that education was the absorbing topic of conversation. The Synod wished action be taken on the following (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1904, p. xxii).

- (1) That in the opinion of this Synod a large increase in the public grants for Education is essential to the welfare of the Colony.
- (2) That such increase should be sufficient to provide an addition to the Grant for Elementary Schools equal to 25 cents per head of the population.
- (3) That the Grants for Superior Schools be doubled.
- (4) That the Grants to Colleges be increased 25 per cent.

(5) That it be an instruction to the Executive Committee to lay before the Government of this colony at the earliest opportune time, in the name of the Synod, a request for the amounts aforesaid, and to obtain if possible from the Government a definite promise that the Legislature will at its next Session be asked to vote the amount, and to present to the Legislature a petition embodying the effect of these resolutions, and praying that a suitable amount be given.

In his 1904 report, Pilot mentioned that, as a superintendent of schools, he could make suggestions as how to improve the education system of the Colony. He asked the Legislature to consider a department of Civil Service for the Colony to be called the "Education Department." Pilot explained that the present system of administration and management of educational affairs was more complicated than the previous years when forms of operation were "simple, elementary, and tentative." Pilot believed this new department should have the following powers (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1904, pp. xxiii-xxiv).

- (1) To appoint such officers as may be necessary from time to time to examine schools, having regard to denominational interests, and to fix their salaries.
- (2) To prescribe a course of instruction:
 - (a) For elementary schools.
 - (b) For superior schools.
 - (c) For Colleges
- (3) To prescribe syllabus for teachers in training and to examine them for certificates of qualification according to their merits, 1, 2, 3.
- (4) To pay all orders of chairman of boards of Education (a) for salaries amounting to a specific percentage of their entire grant; and (b) such other orders for school purposes in their respective districts up to the limit of their full allocation.

(5) To write annually and present to the Legislature one Report upon all school operations coming within the sphere of their notice.

(6) To prescribe method of providing, for poor and sparsely settled places.

Pilot also suggested that under this department an Advisory Board consisting of the members of the CHE be included to give the department a more recognized position. Pilot believed that this status would better establish the department as an education agency and bring things into an alliance with the education of the Colony. Pilot's suggestions were, however, well ahead of their time (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1904, p. xxiv).

For Methodist Superintendent Levi Curtis, an amalgamation and cooperation of denominations of any sort was beneficial. The Act of 1903 that supported amalgamation of schools was essential for Curtis as it would secure the cooperative manner that they believed was needed amongst denominations to improve schooling procedures, better student outcomes, and achieve the aims of the educational system. For Curtis the possibility of an amalgamated school system was important as he saw it as being cost effective. In his 1905 report, Curtis wrote (Rowe, 1964, p 100):

But when everything possible had been said in favour of the work that is being and will be accomplished, it is impossible not to entertain the opinion that the educational outlook would be more hopeful had we a different system. The fact is we have in Newfoundland denominationalism run to weeds. Take as an illustration the grant for Manual training. The total vote of \$3,000 is subdivided on the per caput basis, as follows: Roman Catholics, \$1,038.07; Church of England, \$998.35; Methodist, \$838.61; Salvation Army, \$90.08; Presbyterian, \$20.45; Congregational, \$13.03; and others, \$2.41; and so with regard to every grant, large or small, made for any department of educational

work. And the tendency is to increase the number.

Curtis goes on to state in his 1905 report (Rowe, 1964, p 100):

Now from the standpoint of educational efficiency can anything be more absurd? And yet, this is the foundation upon which Newfoundland is trying to erect an educational structure in the twentieth century! The weakness resulting from these manifold divisions is felt to some extent throughout the entire system.

From the inception of denominational education in 1874 until 1903, each denomination was acting as a separate identity. Each superintendent had written his own report upon various educational aspects of his own system. The isolated reports appeared to be very monotonous as each denomination existed apart from others year in and year out, yet had many problems in common. The only real communicating that took place over this time period amongst denominations was when financial concerns were addressed. The system of education until this time had no authoritative figure. Even Pilot suggested (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1904, p. xxiii), "there is no system and no head to the system. We have in practice as many systems, as many heads, as many mouthpieces, though some are silent, as there are denominations in the country; and each one follows its own devices."

Three denominations were all doing the same thing, in relatively the same fashion. However, each superintendent dealt with finances, instruction, supervision, and reporting, on an individual basis. The superintendents were of equal status and could impress upon the legislature their intended educational desires. Yet, the denominations did not have a figure

head to be accountable to or a department that gave specific directions. To remedy this disjointed system, the denominations were beginning to call for some cohesion. Curtis wanted amalgamation and Pilot wanted simply an Education Department. The overall notion was to have a single body to secure consistency in the direction of education for all denominations. Pilot stated the following with regard to amalgamation, in his case, referring to an education department (Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards, 1904, p. xxiv).

The advantage I conceive to result from this amalgamation of forces would be to have a "body fitly framed together," instead of one now disjointed or many-jointed. It would secure uniformity of action by all denominations, economy in administration, advance the cause of education more generally, and remove the imputation sometimes hurled at the present system, that the building up of a denomination is the chief thing aimed at, and not the advancement of the cause of education.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Origins of education in Newfoundland are in some ways similar to the educational origins in the other British North American colonies. Newfoundland's educational beginnings were made under the auspices of the church. This is similar to other British North American colonies that had church organizations, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, administer early educational aims, curriculums, and methods of instruction. The SPG was the earliest society that spread the Gospel and education to all parts of the North American continent, particularly Newfoundland. Many of the inhabitants of colonial America were to be administered 'true Protestant' religion through the work of the SPG. A percentage of the population of colonial America could not read the Gospel and thus the missionaries began teaching the rudiments of reading and writing.

As a part of the established Church of England, the SPG originally intended to send teachers and missionaries from London to the American colonies. However, the governing body of the SPG found it difficult to persuade teachers to come out to British North America because of the uncertainties that went with pioneering life. The aims of the SPG schools were primarily religious in all parts of British North America with the advancement of education to the poor in order to assist in scripture reading. Missionaries distributed text books and reading materials to colonists and promoted educational opportunity.

The origins of Catholic educational activity in Newfoundland had similarities to the educational origins in other British North American colonies. The Catholic Church was

adamant that it always wanted their own schools for their own people. In the British colonies, the number of Catholic schools was not large as there was not a large Catholic population. Civil limitations placed on Catholics were similar in most British colonies. One limitation was that Catholics were limited with respect to their religious freedom until the late eighteenth century. This made early educational advancement in the new world impossible as Catholic education was primarily in the hands of the Catholic Church.

Other church-based schools appeared in Newfoundland. The Benevolent Irish Society, initially a non-denominational school, eventually aligned itself completely with the Catholic Church. It was very humanitarian in its effort to curtail the economic plight of the lower classes and poor, and established a basic school system. Similarly, the Society for Improving the Conditions of the poor in St. John's attempted to alleviate the problems of the sick, orphaned, widowed, and poor, and established a basic school system. The Wesleyan Methodists also opened a number of small schools in Newfoundland with their attempt at educating the public with traditional Sunday and Day schools.

Newfoundland's early education has some differences from other parts of British North America. Some of these differences are the results of demographic, economic, political, and even climatic change. In the early 18th century, Newfoundland's population growth was extremely slow. In order to protect the fishing monopoly of the English merchants, the British government deliberately impeded permanent settlement. By not allowing early settlement in Newfoundland, the British authorities encumbered the development of early educational structures in the Colony. With the scattered nature of the population it was difficult to gather

children together for schooling, and with the population being spread out along a long coastline, Newfoundland had a small and static number of schools.

Newfoundland had a greater degree of poverty compared to the other British North American colonies because of its slow erratic settlement. Social institutions that were to help ward off the deficiencies of the poor were slow to evolve. Economically, Newfoundland was at the mercy of the West Country Merchants and their political control of the fishing enterprise. Because of this, the early settlers of Newfoundland were not in a position to lobby the English Parliament to offset the great degree of poverty. Newfoundland experienced a late emergence of legislative government. It was not until January 1, 1832, that an elected House of Assembly and an appointed Council were established. Newfoundland's early educational needs were not addressed by a government committee until 1836. The committee reported that the voluntary school system close to St. John's worked well and that legislative grants should be given to several societies and individuals who direct and govern schools which already existed.

Even climatic change in Newfoundland affected the Island's early educational development and depicts a difference from other parts of British North America. Newfoundland's climate was extremely harsh and the living conditions extremely discouraging. The physical arrangements of Newfoundland were often intimidating to settlers. With a coastline of thousands of miles, uncertain weather conditions, and rough geographical attributes that were uncommon to the rest of British North America, Newfoundlanders experienced isolation with limited habitation and little communication.

It is easy to conceptualize the origins of early educational activity in British North America outside Newfoundland when a demographic, economic, politic, and even a climatic comparison is made. The other British colonies had a larger population base from which to draw support for educational beginnings from. Unlike Newfoundland, mainland colonies experienced a rapid growth rate with the influx of early immigrants and eager settlers. Populations were often more concentrated and regionally based with settlement being deliberately encouraged by British government policy. Such was exemplified in Nova Scotia where Protestant settlement was intentionally stimulated to counteract the Catholic and French influence in the early 18th century.

Economically, there were no unwanted restrictions placed on the subjects of British North America that hampered development as were placed on the subjects of Newfoundland, such as the fishing monopoly of the West Country Merchants. Politically, a comparison of Newfoundland with other parts of British North America shows a major point of interest: the latter's early arrival at legislative government. Nova Scotia had an elected House of Assembly in 1758, seventy four years before Newfoundland. Even a climatic comparison shows that colonial America outside Newfoundland experienced kinder weather patterns and better living conditions.

Though the early education system in Newfoundland was limited economically, hindered geographically, and restricted politically and economically, it looked to England for example of past laws. In 1833, England established a school system *via* an Education Act that saw a sincere attempt of reducing illiterates and educating the poor. Newfoundland's initial

Education Act followed three years later in 1836. England, in 1870, established another Act that was followed in Newfoundland with another Act, this time in 1874. Within three or four years of England's Acts, it can be said that Newfoundland subsequently undertook political action, in affinity with learning. This early legislation was partly due to the situation in Europe and partly because of the educational convictions of the immigrants that landed in Newfoundland from Europe. These immigrants were influenced by the countries they left. Therefore, it is not surprising that Newfoundland's Education Acts are structured similarly to England's.

Nevertheless, it is the late arrival of government involvement in the support of education in Newfoundland that is of particular interest. Education was left in the hands of church groups for a longer period of time in Newfoundland as compared to other parts of colonial America. In particular, with the lack of public support for education in Newfoundland, the Newfoundland School Society had the opportunity to take hold and open schools and expand itself with its relatively sophisticated teacher training, methodology, and curriculum. This allowed church-based education a longer period of time to become an accepted part of the educational landscape in Newfoundland.

Newfoundland's first education legislation did not occur until 1836, when the first act for the encouragement of education was passed. This act was very unique as it tried to support two discrete forms of education at the same time. The intentions were in support of voluntary organizations, essentially church schools such as the Benevolent Irish Society, Newfoundland School Society, and Presentation Sisters, and also, in support of the creation

of new non-denominational public schools to operate under boards. The act was also unique in its lack of success. The entertainment of religious contestation, in view of educational development, by the Catholic and Protestants, continued. Disagreement by both parties over representation on boards and the use of the Bible in schools led to an amendment of the 1836 Act in 1838. However, this amendment had little success.

In 1843, a new act designed by Legislative member William Barnes was proposed to ameliorate the problems created by different educational views of Catholics and Protestants. A dual system of education was created with the division of the grant for education into two equal parts and the creation of two separate sets of boards and schools for each district. What followed was a period of disagreement between the Church of England and the Methodists over whether the Protestant half of the educational grant should be subdivided between the two main groups, creating a set of Church of England and Methodist schools. The demand for subdivision was led by Bishop Feild, who through his long episcopate, consistently demanded an Anglican school system of schools similar to the Catholic one.

Although strongly desired by the Anglicans, the subdivision was strongly opposed by the Methodists. The Methodists felt that their smaller numbers would lead to their having a smaller and weaker school system, and that an increase in the number of overall schools would impair educational growth. They saw no religious or philosophical reason for having a denominational school system.

The subdivision of the Protestant grant was finally made in 1874, thus creating a fully denominational school system. The Act of 1874 was the culmination of a long debate between

those favouring denominational schools and those opposing. This thesis suggests that this debate was not confined to the period before the creation of the denominational schools but continued unabated after the Act of 1874, and that this form of education was never fully accepted by a significant body of Newfoundlanders.

Subsequent to the subdivision of 1874, the Catholics continued to desire their own schools for their own people, and were well satisfied with the control which they had over their own education. The Church of England achieved what they had been seeking in the legislation of 1874, and continued to be satisfied with these educational arrangements. Essentially, the Catholics and Protestants had achieved their educational goals and, although the Methodists acquiesced in the subdivision created in 1874, which gave them their own schools, the denominational system continued to be unacceptable to them and received their consistent opposition.

The Reverend Milligan, who had participated in the division of school property in 1875, required by the Act, had expressed opposition from the beginning. During the long period of his term as Methodist Superintendent of Education, Milligan continued consistently to oppose denominational schools, as is shown in repeated comments in his annual superintendent reports. Levi Curtis, Milligan's successor, continued opposition on the same grounds.

Although full denominational education had been achieved, the attitudes which had preceded its coming did not change. The Methodists found themselves with a set of schools, the creation of which they had opposed, and which they did not want. They saw no need for

such a set of schools and considered them to be inefficient and economically wasteful.

While denominationalism and the 1874 Education Act were less problematic for the Church of England and Roman Catholic School Boards, the Methodists held different views on denominational education and saw the application of the Act of 1874 inhibiting the educational system. The Methodists looked for new directions by way of the Council of Higher Education of 1893 and the Education Act of 1903. Proponents of an amalgamated schooling system, the Methodists wanted to relieve colonial Newfoundland of what they perceived as educational limitations.

The opposition of the Methodists therefore remained, and although the debate of non-denominational schools might have been thought to have been settled in 1874, the passing of the act of that year, in fact, achieved no final settlement. The debate simply continued, foreshadowing in the late nineteenth century the debate which is still taking place in the late twentieth century.

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APPENDICES**APPENDIX A (#)****The Education Act of 1836**

6th WILLIAM IV

CAP. XIII

AN ACT FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF EDUCATION IN THIS COLONY[6th May, 1836]**Preamble:-**

WHEREAS, for the encouragement of Education it is expedient that the following sums of Money should be granted for the establishment and support of Elementary Schools throughout this Island, and the Regulations should be made concerning the same:-

1.- Be it therefore enacted, by the Governor, Council and Assembly of Newfoundland, that, for the purposes of this Act, from and out of such Monies as shall from time to time be and remain in the hands of the Treasurer of this Island, and not appropriated, there shall be granted and paid to His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, annually for the period of Five Years from and after the passing of this Act, the sum of Two Thousand and One Hundred Pounds Sterling which said sum of Money shall be annually distributed and applied in the following manner and proportions, that is to say -Towards the support of the Schools established in this Island by the Newfoundland and British North America School Society, the sum of Three Hundred Pounds, in aid of the Orphan Asylum School of St. John's, the sum of One Hundred Pounds; in aid of the Presentation Convent School at Saint John's, the sum of One Hundred Pounds; and in aid of the Saint Patrick's Free School at Harbour Grace, the sum of One Hundred Pounds; on which said sums of Money shall be paid to and applied under the directions of the superintendent for the time being, of the Newfoundland and British North America School Society, and of the respective Trustees or Committees of management for

the time being, of the said other Schools:- And towards the establishment and support of Elementary Schools throughout the Island, to be applied and expended under the superintendence of Boards of Education, to be appointed in the several Electoral Districts in the manner hereafter provided, the sums following, respectively, that is to say- For the District of Saint John's, Two Hundred Pounds; the District of Conception Bay, Four Hundred Pounds; the District of Ferryland, One Hundred and Twenty-five Pounds; the District of Placentia and Saint Mary's, Two Hundred Pounds; the District of Burin, One Hundred Pounds; the District of Fortune Bay, One Hundred and Twenty-five Pounds; the District of Bonavista, One Hundred Pounds; the District of Trinity, One Hundred Pounds; the District of Fogo, One Hundred and Twenty-five Pounds.

2.- And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the Governor or Administrator of the Government for the time being, immediately upon the passing of this Act, by Warrants under his Hand and Seal, to nominate and appoint, in each of the Nine electoral districts of the island, thirteen persons, who shall be a board of Education for every such district; in which boards shall be included the senior or superior clergy of each of the several religious denominations, being actual resident within the district; and such boards of education shall, respectively, have full power and authority, so soon after their appointment as may be, from time to time to meet and assemble together, in their respective districts, for the purpose of making bye-laws, rules, and regulations, for the establishment and management of schools within their respective Districts, and the appointment and distribution of the respective sums of Money hereby granted for the purposes of Education in their respective Districts, and of such further sums as may from time to time be granted towards the maintenance of such Schools, Provided always, that Seven at least of such Persons shall be present at such meetings, and that Five at least of the Members of each Board shall consent and agree to such By-Laws, Rules and Regulations, which shall be forthwith transmitted to His Excellency the Governor for approval

3.- And be it further enacted, That an annual meeting of each respective Board shall be holden on the first Wednesday in July in each year, for the purpose of choosing Chairmen and other officers, auditing Accounts, and transacting all other business connected with their respective Institutions, and that the Chairmen of the said Boards of Education respectively shall, as soon thereafter as may be, transmit to His Excellency the Governor, or the Administrator of the Government for the time being, for the information of the Legislature, a Report of their proceedings and a detailed account of the number of Schools and Scholars, and the cost and expenditure attending the same.

4.- And be it further enacted, That the annual and general meetings of the said Boards of Education shall be holden at the following places, that is to say -at the Town of Saint John's, for the District of Saint John's; at Harbour Grace, for the District of Conception Bay; at Trinity, for the District of Trinity; at Bonavista for the District of Bonavista; at Twillingate, for the District of Fogo; at Ferryland for the District of Ferryland; at Great Placentia for the District of Placentia and St. Mary's; at Burin, for the District of Burin; and at Harbour Britain for the district of Fortune Bay; and that general Meetings of the said Boards of Education may be held at any time on the requisition of Three or more Members of the respective Board.

5.- And be it further enacted, That the sum of Money hereby granted shall be paid by the Treasurer of the Colony in discharge of such Warrant or Warrants as shall from time to time be issued by the governor or Administrator of the Government, in favour of any person or persons to be applied to the purposes of this Act.

(#) Source: Education acts of Newfoundland and related legislation. 1979. St. John's, Newfoundland, Compiled by the legislative library. Because of its length and to acknowledge the importance of Newfoundland's original Education Act, the Act of 1836, is presented in its entirety.

APPENDIX B (#)**Selected Sections of the Education Act of 1874****37TH VICTORIA
CAP. V**

An Act to amend the Acts for the Encouragement of Education, and to provide for the Denominational Subdivision of the Monies appropriated for Protestant Educational purposes.

SECTIONS		
1. Denominational allowances other than for Commercial or Training School.	8. Wesleyan Boards to be appointed.	15. Inspection expenses.
2. Denominational allowance for Commercial Schools.	9. District-Free Kirk and Congregationalists.	16. Special allowance to Protestants and Roman Catholics.
3. Denominational allowance for Training Schools.	10. Kirk of Scotland, one District.	17. Special allowance other Churches.
4. Appropriation for Repairs; Apportionment.	11. Provisions for former Acts when applicable to be in force.	18. Provision for Higher Schools.
5. Property in School Houses, Provisions.	12. Provision for Continental Church Society Schools.	19. Provision of former Acts repealed.
6. Settlement of one denomination School Property vest.	13. Provision for Wesleyan Schools.	20. Commencement of Act.
7. Church of England Boards to be appointed.	14. Inspectors.	21. Cap. 74, Consolidate Statutes, amended.

(#)Source: Education acts of Newfoundland and related legislation. 1979. St. John's, Newfoundland, Compiled by the legislative library. p. 89.

APPENDIX C (#)

Religious Distribution Figures of 1857 and 1869

DISTRICT	1857		1869	
	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Protestant
St. John's East	11,867	5,485	11,247	5,957
St. John's West	10,003	3,091	8,760	2,886
Harbour Main	4,153	1,233	4,982	1,560
Harbour Grace	3,390	6,677	4,153	8,587
Brigus and Port de Grave	1,637	4,852	1,910	5,636
Bay de Verds	1,583	4,638	1,731	5,326
Carbonear	2,582	2,651	2,368	3,265
Trinity Bay	1,253	9,483	1,384	12,433
Bonavista Bay	2,030	6,820	2,420	9,140
Twillingate and Fogo	1,442	8,275	1,961	11,106
Placentia and St. Mary's	7,156	1,178	7,390	1,404
Ferryland	5,093	135	5,817	174
Burin	2,354	3,175	2,546	4,185
Fortune Bay	647	2,846	1,290	3,943
Burgeo and La Poile	89	3,456	142	4,977
French Shore	1,586	1,748	2,466	2,921
Labrador	319	1,331	483	1,996
TOTAL	57,214	65,743	61,050	85,496

(#)Source: Newfoundland. House of Assembly. (1870). Journal. Census Abstract. App., pp. 672-675.

APPENDIX D (#)

1874 Population Distribution of Roman Catholic and Protestant Denominations

DISTRICT	ROMAN CATHOLIC	PROTESTANT
St. John's East	11,200	6,611
St. John's West	8,746	3,998
Harbour Main	5,361	1,813
Harbour Grace	4,013	9,042
Brigus and Port de Grave	2,002	5,917
Bay de Verds	1,775	5,659
Carbonear	2,189	3,299
Trinity Bay	1,583	14,094
Bonavista Bay	2,599	10,008
Twillingate and Fogo	1,956	13,179
Placentia and St. Mary's	8,254	1,603
Ferryland	6,246	173
Burin	2,689	5,004
Fortune Bay	1,387	4,401
Burgeo and La Poile	125	4,973
French Shore	3,716	4,938
TOTAL	63,841	94,712

(#) **Source:** Newfoundland. House of Assembly. (1870). Journal. Census Abstract. App., pp. 672-675.

APPENDIX E (#)

Roman Catholic School Enrolment Statistics of 1890-1891 and 1891-1892

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE	1890-'91	1891-'92	Increase	Decrease
Board Schools	8,587	9,132	545	...
Convent Schools	3,243	3,153	...	90
Colleges, Academies' & Grade Schools	377	392	15	...
Christian Brothers' Schools	...	838	838	...
TOTALS.....	12,207	13,515	1,398	90

(#)Source: Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Roman Catholic Boards, (1892). St. John's, Newfoundland, Public Reference Library, Devine & O'Mara Printers, p. xii.

APPENDIX F (#)**Selected Sections of An Act to Provide for Higher Education****CAP. VII.****An Act to Provide for Higher Education.**

[Passed 24th, May, 1893.]

Be it enacted by the Governor, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, in Legislative Session convened, as follows:-

1.- The Governor in Council shall appoint a Board consisting of twenty-three members, of whom the three Superintendents of Education and the Headmasters of the Colleges mentioned in section thirteen of "The Education Act 1892," shall be members *ex officio*, and the remaining sixteen members of said Board shall hold office for three years only, but may be re-appointed. The said Board shall be known as, and called "The Council of Higher Education," and hereinafter in this Act called the "Council."

2.- The Council shall be a body corporate and politic, by the said name of "The Council of Higher Education," and shall have a common seal, with full power to make, alter and change the same, and shall have perpetual succession and full power to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto in all the Courts in this Colony, and to do and execute all such other matter as to the Council may appertain.

3.- The powers, duties, and functions of the Council are:

(1.) To promote sound learning, and to advance the interests of higher education by holding examination, and by awarding diplomas, prizes and scholarships to successful candidates at such examination.

(2.) To encourage teachers in the preparation of candidates for examinations prescribed by the Council, by awarding premiums to such teachers: Provided, that teachers in the institutions established under sections seventy-four and seventy-five of the "Education Act, 1892," shall not receive premiums under the provisions of this section.

(3.) To prescribe the subjects, manner, time and place for examinations, and to make such rules, regulations and bye-laws, as may be necessary in connection therewith, or with the awarding of diplomas, prizes, premiums and scholarships. Rules, regulations and bye-laws made by the Council, under this sub-section, shall be subject to the approval of the Governor in Council.

(4.) To nominate and appoint examiners, and such other officers as may be necessary, for the purposes of this Act, or for the management of the affairs of the Council.

4.- There shall be a President and two Vice-Presidents of the Council, who shall be elected by the Council at the annual meeting thereof in every year.

5.- The annual meeting of the Council shall be held in the month of June in every year, but special meetings may be called at any time by the President upon the requisition of any three members of the Council.

6.- Nine members of the Council, of whom five shall be nominated members, present at any meeting, shall be a quorum for the transaction of business.

7.- An annual report of the proceedings of the Council, together with a statement of its accounts, shall, every year, be laid upon the table of both branches of the Legislature, within one month of the opening thereof.

8.- The Council shall keep a register, in which shall be recorded the names and additions of all candidates and teachers to whom diplomas, prizes, premiums or scholarships shall have been awarded.

9.- The rules and bye-laws of the Council, and the syllabus of subjects for examination, shall be published in the Royal Gazette for a period of at least six months before every such examination.

10.- Pupil teachers obtaining diplomas under the provisions of this Act shall, on presenting themselves for Certificates of Grade under "The Education Act, 1892," be exempted from examination in those subjects mentioned in their diplomas.

11.- The Receiver-General is hereby authorized to pay to the Council, out of the funds of the Colony, the sum of four thousand dollars, annually, commencing on the first day of July next, to be expended by the Council for the purposes of this Act, in prizes, premiums and scholarships, and other matters incidental to examinations.

12.- The Jubilee Scholarship, provided by section 85 of "The Education Act, 1892," shall be subject to such regulations, in addition to those already prescribed in the aforesaid section of the aforesaid Act, as the Council shall think fit, and the said scholarship shall not be awarded to any person who shall not have complied with the regulations made therefor by the Council, and should the said scholarship at any time lapse for want of a holder thereof, the sum provided therefor shall be paid to the Council for the purposes of the Act.

(#)Source: Education Acts of Newfoundland and Related Legislation, (1979). St. John's, Newfoundland, Compiled by the Legislative Library. p. 27.

APPENDIX G (#)

**Candidates, Passes and Failures in Connection with the
Council of Higher Education Examinations for 1906**

Grades	Number Entered	Number Withdrawn	Number Examined	Number Passed	Number Failed
Associate in Arts	45	10	35	15	20
Intermediate	367	56	311	215	96
Preliminary	930	150	780	447	333
Primary	1,089	216	873	504	369
TOTALS.....	2,431	432	1,999	1,181	818

(#) **Source:** Report of the public schools of Newfoundland under Methodist boards, (1906).
St. John's, Newfoundland, United Church Archives, George S. Milligan Printers, p. x.

APPENDIX H (#)**Selected Sections of The Education Act of 1903****3rd EDWARD VII****CAP. X.****An Act Representing Education.**

[Passed 20th, May, 1903.]

104.- The Governor in Council may from time to time, upon the recommendation of the Boards of Education concerned, and with the concurrence of the Superintendents of Education, authorize the establishment of amalgamated schools in sparsely populated settlements where the number of children will not warrant the establishment of separated schools. In such cases the Boards of Superintendents consenting to such arrangement may allot a portion of the funds accruing to their respective Boards for the purpose of such schools, and such funds shall be paid to the Board of Education of the denomination having the majority of population in such settlement, and such Board of Education shall have the management of said School: Provided that should any one of such Boards of Education desire at any time to withdraw from such arrangement, it may do so by giving six months' notice through its Chairman to the Colonial Secretary, and the funds of the withdrawing Board shall from the date of the expiry of such notice cease to be paid to such managing Board and shall revert to the Board so withdrawing.

105.- The teachers for such amalgamated schools shall be respected by concurrence or competitive examination (oral or written) and the Inspectors of the various denominations shall be the Board for the carrying out of such examinations.

There shall be no religious subject included in such examinations. They shall be open to candidates of all denominations; but the Inspector to whose denomination any candidate

may belong, shall satisfy himself as to the good character of such candidate.

The teachers of such amalgamated schools may, either after or before school hours, or during recess, teach religious doctrine to the pupils of their own denomination or to any others who, with their parents' consent, may be willing to remain. Arrangements shall also be made by which the children of the other denominations may have the use of the school-house, outside of the school hours, for receiving religious instructions by some respectable person of the respectable denomination, appointed by the clergyman.

(#) **Source:** Education Acts of Newfoundland and Related Legislation, (1979). St. John's, Newfoundland, Compiled by the Legislative Library. p. 48. Only applicable and related sections of the Act are outlined.



