AN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN NEWFOUNDLAND, 1703-1850

JAMES B. HEALEY

AN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN NEWFOUNDLAND, 1703 - 1850

by

James B. Healey

A thesis submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Education

Department of Educational Foundations
Memorial University of Newfoundland

October, 1994

St. John's Newfoundland

ISBN 0-612-01864-4

Canada

Memorial
University of Newfoundland

This is to authorize the Dean of Graduate Studies to deposit two copies of my thesis/report entitled

An Educational History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Newfoundland, 1703 - 1850.

in the University Library, on the following conditions. I understand that I may choose only ONE of the Options here listed, and may not afterwards apply for any additional restriction. I further understand that the University will not grant any restriction on the publication of thesis/report abstracts.

(After reading the explanatory notes at the foot of this form, delete TWO of (a), (b) and (c), whichever are inapplicable.)

The conditions of deposit are:

(a) that two copies are to be made available to users at the discretion of their custodians,

OR

(b) that access to, and quotation from, this thesis/report is to be granted only with my written permission for a period of one year from the date on which the thesis/report, after the approval of the award of a degree, is entrusted to the care of the University, namely, October 31, 19 95, after which time the two copies are to be made available to users at the discretion of their custodians,

OR

(c) that access to, and quotation from, this thesis/report is to be granted only with my written permission for a period of _____ years from the date on which the thesis/report, after approval for the award of a degree, is entrusted to the care of the University; namely, _____, 19 ____; after which time two copies are to be made available to users at the discretion of their custodians.

Date October 29/94

Signed James B. Healey

Witnessed by Maureen Kent

Dean of Graduate Studies

NOTES

1. *Restriction (b) will be granted on application, without reason given.*

   However, applications for restriction (c) must be accompanied with a detailed explanation, indicating why the restriction is thought to be necessary and justifying the length of time requested. Restrictions required on the grounds that the thesis is being prepared for publication, or that patents are awaited, will not be permitted to exceed **three** *years.*

   Restriction (c) can be permitted only by a Committee entrusted by the university with the task of examining such applications, and will be granted only in exceptional circumstances.

2. *Thesis writers are reminded that, if they have been engaged in contractual research, they may have already agreed to restrict access to their thesis until the terms of the contract have been fulfilled.*

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge the contribution of Dr. John Netten, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, for his assistance and advice.

As well, special thanks go to the staff at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies and the library of Queen's College at Memorial University for their excellent and courteous service in providing important material.

Finally, the author wishes to record his gratitude to Ms. Heather Ivany for her valued contribution in the typing and editing of this manuscript.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the author's father, J. Brendan Healey, whose love for learning and especially for Newfoundland, is much admired and appreciated.

Abstract

This thesis is entitled An Educational History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Newfoundland, 1703 - 1850. Its purpose is to provide - as far as possible - a detailed history of the educational work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) while it was active in Newfoundland throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The S.P.G. was founded in London, England, in 1701 and served as the educational arm of the Church of England for many years, directing most of its efforts to missionary and pedagogical concerns throughout the British Empire. Its association with Newfoundland began in 1703 and continued well into the next century when, for all intents and purposes, its educational endeavours ended around 1850 with a brief foray into Labrador. Since records indicate that the Society greatly reduced its operations after 1833 and eventually withdrew from the Newfoundland educational scene by the eighteen fifties, it seems appropriate to end this account of the Society's activities at the mid-nineteenth century.

Largely through the use of primary sources, this thesis elaborates on the following topics:

(i) the establishment and early history of the Society;

(ii) the stated goals and objectives of the Society;

(iii) social, economic and educational conditions in Newfoundland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as political events and their effects on the Society's operations;

(iv) involvement of the Society in Newfoundland, including the assistance to and establishment of schools in several communities;

(v) the work of specific missionaries and teachers as indicated in the primary sources;

(vi) the gradual decline of the Society's operations in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century and factors pertaining to the decline; and

(vii) an evaluation of the Society's work and effectiveness.

This paper focuses on the pedagogical, as opposed to the spiritual, work of the S.P.G., although no description would be complete without some mention of the religious side of this organization, an aspect that, for the most part, is dealt with in the introductory chapters.

The author hopes that, in the final analysis, this thesis will provide a concise, convenient record of a heretofore little-known era in Newfoundland's educational and cultural history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements i

Dedication ii

Abstract iii

Introduction 1

Chapter One: Social Conditions in Newfoundland Prior to and During the Eighteenth Century/Foundation of the S.P.G. in England, 1701 5

Chapter Two: Society Rules and Orders/Henry Jones and his School in Bonavista 12

Chapter Three: Early Educational Activity - the Work of William Peaseley, Edward Langman and Benjamin Lindsay, 1730 - 1763 19

Chapter Four: The S.P.G. in the Late Eighteenth Century/The Work of James Balfour, Lawrence Coughlan and Others, 1764 - 1793 27

Chapter Five: Around the Turn of the Century - Establishing a Network of Schools Throughout Newfoundland, 1791 - 1810 45

Chapter Six: Further Expansion/The Work of John Leigh/The First Woman Schoolteacher/Introduction of the Madras System/Emergence of the Newfoundland School Society/Investigation and Assessment, 1811 - 1828 55

Chapter Seven: Teacher Training/Growth of the Newfoundland School Society/Edward Wix/Cutbacks and the Decision to Close Schools, 1829 - 1833 71

Chapter Eight: Cutbacks and Effects/Early Development of the Theological Institution/Bishop Spencer/Bishop Feild/Downsizing of Operations/Foray into Labrador, 1832 - 1850 82

Chapter Nine: An Evaluation of the Society's Work 89

Endnotes 94

Bibliography 107

Introduction

At a time when research into the history of Newfoundland and Labrador has reached unprecedented levels and the number of publications concerning the political, economic and social history of this part of the world has grown so substantially, it is somewhat baffling to learn that there have been few attempts to compose a comprehensive study of education in Newfoundland as it existed prior to this century. Although some excellent work exists regarding the history of government legislation and its effect on education, little has been done to discover what was specifically being carried out in Newfoundland's many outport communities. Any treatment of education prior to 1901 has tended to be rather vague, with only the occasional publication or thesis concentrating on the grassroots efforts of educators.

Today, the public has access to materials detailing the work of a few organizations, mostly religious in nature, that contributed - and in some cases still contribute - enormously to the cause of education in Newfoundland and helped to foster a keen interest in learning among many people. These organizations include: the Sisters of Mercy; the Newfoundland School Society; the Presentation Sisters; and the Irish Christian Brothers.

There was, however, one organization that sent educators here long before any of those listed above, and has yet to have its history properly set down for posterity, at least as far as its contributions to Newfoundland are concerned. The Society for the Propagation

of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) was formed in London, England, in 1701 and served as the educational branch of the Church of England for many years, directing many of its efforts to missionary and pedagogical work in British colonies all over the world. In the words of Arthur Barnes, one of Newfoundland's best-known educators, "It is to this venerable society that Newfoundland is indebted for the establishment of her first schools."[1] Indeed, the oldest record available concerning the creation of schools in Newfoundland can be found in the Journals of the Society dating from 1726.

The purpose of this thesis is to provide, as far as possible, a detailed history of the educational work of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland from 1703 - the date of the first recorded S.P.G. Journal entry relating to Newfoundland - to 1850, when, for all intents and purposes, the Society concluded its pedagogical endeavours in this region with an all-too-brief foray into Labrador. Since records indicate that the Society greatly reduced its operations after 1833 and eventually withdrew entirely from the Newfoundland educational scene in the 1850s, it would seem appropriate to end this account of the Society's activities at the mid-nineteenth century.

Largely through the use of primary sources - specifically, the Journals and Annual Reports of the S.P.G. - this thesis will attempt to elaborate on the following:

(i) the establishment and early history of the Society;

(ii) the stated goals and objectives of the Society;

(iii) the social, economic and educational conditions of Newfoundland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries;

(iv) early involvement of the Society in Newfoundland prior to 1726;

(v) events surrounding the establishment of the first school in Newfoundland with S.P.G. support in 1726;

(vi) the expansion of operations by the Society across Newfoundland after 1726, including the establishment of schools in several communities;

(vii) specific work of the missionaries and schoolmasters as indicated in the Society's Journals, reports and available correspondence;

(viii) political, economic and social events of the period and their effects, individually and collectively, on the Society's operations;

(ix) the gradual decline of S.P.G. operations in Newfoundland in the first half of the nineteenth century and the factors pertaining to this decline, including the involvement of the governments of Newfoundland and Britain; and

(x) in conclusion, an assessment of the work of the Society in Newfoundland with some comparison of Newfoundland's educational circumstances to those of other locales.

Although the chronological scope of this thesis is rather wide - 1703 to 1850 - it is necessary to cover such an extensive period because of large gaps and inconsistencies in the main sources. Specifically, there are several segments and reports which contain little

or no mention of developments in Newfoundland. A good example of this is the Society's Journal entries for the years 1706 to 1725 which contain absolutely no information on Newfoundland, while for other years, the material is often sparse and completely lacking in detail.

Material from the nineteenth century is fairly extensive, especially as it deals with the work of individual clergymen and teachers. This paper will restrict its focus to the pedagogical, as opposed to the spiritual, work of the Society's personnel, although no description would be complete without at least some mention of the religious side of this organization, an aspect that will, for the most part, be dealt with in the introductory sections.

Finally, it is hoped that this thesis will provide a convenient record of an interesting chapter in Newfoundland's educational history. The story of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and its substantial contributions should not be overlooked and rightly deserves to be recognized alongside the accomplishments of other groups and individuals who have contributed so much and so long to the educational development of the people of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Chapter One: Social Conditions in Newfoundland Prior to and During the Eighteenth Century/Foundation of the S.P.G. in England, 1701

To really understand the early educational history of Newfoundland, it is necessary to have at least some knowledge of the social, economic and political circumstances surrounding what was considered, for so many years, as Britain's oldest colony. As everyone here knows, Newfoundland was discovered - with apologies to the Vikings - in 1497 by the Italian explorer John Cabot and, for the next few centuries, was little more than a "stopping off station" for European fishermen who harvested the bountiful waters off her coast every spring and summer, before returning to Europe in the autumn. Any notion to settle or develop the land was roundly and sometimes forcibly discouraged, with those desiring to live here being treated none too kindly, lest they intrude on what had come to be regarded as "England's Merchandise."[2]

In fact, there were many attempts to settle the "New Founde Land" in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but these were faced with several obstacles, including religious persecution, war, economic hardship and, especially, the attitude of English merchants, who saw any resident population as a threat to their control over the highly lucrative fishery. Nevertheless, isolated groups left behind by the fishing fleets were living year-round as early as 1600, and in spite of all the declarations, ordinances, laws and lobbying in London against it, settlement did occur and flourish, albeit at a haphazard pace.[3]

Because of its uncertain status - was it a fishing station, colony or something else? - no real efforts were made to improve social conditions in Newfoundland. In this regard, the merchants were especially guilty.

> Their interests and those of the people were never identical. They were but transitory residents, adventurers struggling to make fortunes, and then leave the country, and among the hundreds who left the island with millions in money, not even one was found to leave any permanent mark of his residence in endowed schools, hospitals or other benevolent institutions.[4]

As the population grew, the British government gradually changed its view of Newfoundland's political status. By implementing a practise of appointing naval governors who would come out to the island in the spring and return to England in the fall, they began to acknowledge Newfoundland's position as a "de facto" colony. However, it would be several years before the government in London would give the island the same attention and assistance given to the "official" colonies elsewhere in the British Empire. Settlers suffered from lack of schools, churches and other institutions, while isolation, the harsh climate, unemployment and the availability and mass consumption of cheap rum contributed to the general social malaise. Conditions were usually so bad that inhabitants only concerned themselves with acquiring basic necessities while struggling to eke out some sort of livelihood. Things like education, medical care and spiritual well-being were, out of necessity, viewed as unimportant, at least until the problems of survival were overcome.[5]

Therefore, it can be stated with some certainty that early social standards in Newfoundland were not very conducive to the development of any reliable system of education. In fact, Governor James Gambier, just before departing for England, felt compelled to beg the local magistrates to

> enforce with the utmost rigor the laws made against Blasphemy, Profaneness, Adultery, Fornication, Polygamy, Profanation of the Lord's Day, Swearing, Drunkenness and Immorality.[6]

Because of the British government's insistence that the island not be colonized, the people who decided to settle here were not exactly among the most prosperous or law-abiding of the King's subjects. Some were escaping from the "press gang" - that is, forcible recruitment into the British navy - or from debtor's prison, while others were left stranded and, because they were poor, had no way of acquiring passage back to the mother country. Stories abound in folklore about stowaways on European vessels coming to Newfoundland, possessing only the clothes they wore, in a desperate attempt to escape the tough penal system in Britain.[7]

It is interesting to note that, at this juncture, not everyone has seen the prevailing lawlessness in Newfoundland as being a detriment to the development of education. Dr. Cyril F. Poole, in a 1971 article, suggested that

> without our wickedness, this island race might still be ignorant of arithmetic and denied the blessings of reading and writing. For there can be no doubt that when ... teachers were rushed to Newfoundland, they

> were sent as reinforcements to catechists and preachers and thrown into the breach to save our souls and teach us to read the Word. Reading and even mental arithmetic were regarded as a necessary means to the salvation of our souls.[8]

Newfoundland's situation was, in fact, not unlike that of the working class poor of England who also had a difficult time providing for, or even understanding or appreciating, the educational needs of their children which they, not surprisingly, viewed as an indulgence of the rich. For their part, many of those who had money felt absolutely no obligation to assist those with little or none.[9]

Fortunately, there were some individuals who did not share this attitude and were blessed with both wealth and a social conscience. Many of them were responsible for the creation of philanthropic institutions designed to assist any number of worthwhile causes, including the establishment of schools for the poor. One of the first organizations to set up "charity schools," as they were known, was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), formed in London in 1698. The S.P.C.K. built, maintained and equipped a large number of schools throughout England during the early eighteenth century and placed special emphasis on providing religious and moral education, as well as instruction in the three "Rs" of reading, writing and arithmetic.[10]

Shortly after the founding of the S.P.C.K., one of its members, Dr. Thomas Bray,

travelled throughout North America to assess the state of religion in the several British colonies of that region. His report, released in 1700, included a brief section on Newfoundland. Although his information was received secondhand, he nonetheless asserted that the people there "suffered to live as those, who know no God in the World" and recommended that missionaries be sent as soon as possible to minister to both the permanent and temporary residents.[11]

In 1701, Dr. Bray was instrumental in creating a sister organization to the S.P.C.K. called the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.). Its primary aim was to send missionaries of the Church of England to those colonies of the British Empire where the residents were unable to raise enough funds to support their own clergy. The Society held its inaugural meeting on June 27, 1701, at Lambeth Palace in London and elected the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison, as its first president.[12]

King William III granted a Royal Charter to the new organization, which promised to provide service to those "plantations, colonies and factories beyond the seas" where

> many of the King's subjects wanted the administration of God's Word and Sacrament, and seemed to be abandoned to atheism and infidelity, and others of them to Popish superstitions and idolatry.[13]

Dr. Bray's mention of Newfoundland in his report was, in essence, the first connection

between the island and the new Society. However, the first direct involvement of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland was somewhat more complicated.

In 1698, Bray was involved with the distribution of religious literature for the S.P.C.K. One of his most important contacts in this venture was the Reverend John Jackson, who had served as a naval chaplain in St. John's from 1696 to 1697. Upon his return to England, Jackson was approached by a private citizen and offered a salary of fifty pounds a year to continue his ministry in St. John's. He returned to Newfoundland in 1701 as a missionary and chaplain of the local garrison and took several volumes of S.P.C.K. books which he distributed among the populations of several settlements along the eastern coast.[14] In 1703, his fifty pounds per annum contract expired so Bray urged the S.P.G. to come to Jackson's financial rescue. The very first item relating to Newfoundland in the Society's official Journal, dated April 16, 1703, dealt with this issue.

> ... moved that some consideration might be had of the deplorable condition of Mr. Jackson, a Minister in Newfoundland and his eight children who went over into those Parts under the Encouragement of a private Benefaction - Subscription of fifty pounds per annum for three years which is now ended ... Agreed that this matter be referred to the ... Committee and particularly that the Lord Bishop of London be consulted therein.[15]

The Committee - or executive - of the Society moved quickly to alleviate Jackson of his "deplorable condition." About a month later, on May 21, it was

> Resolved that thirty pounds by way of Benevolence be remitted immediately for his present relief, and that fifty pounds per annum be ascertained to him for three years following.[16]

Along with the S.P.G. funding, Jackson was also promised a sizeable amount of fish each year by a few of the settlers for as long as he remained in St. John's.[17] His presence made him the first missionary of the Church of England to minister continuously in what is now Canada and he was also responsible for the construction of the first Anglican church in Newfoundland.[18]

Chapter Two: Society Rules and Orders/Henry Jones and his School in Bonavista

The small but significant financial contributions of the S.P.G. to Reverend Jackson laid an all-important foundation for the Church in Newfoundland, and this was an impressive milestone to be sure, but the Society in its formative years seemed preoccupied with just spreading the Gospel as opposed to pursuing other - say, pedagogical - concerns. It soon realized, however, that no gospel - Christian or otherwise - could be propagated as long as whole sections of the population were uneducated, and religious rituals and observances could never be carried out satisfactorily while congregations were largely illiterate. Therefore, missionaries were ordered to teach their flocks, especially children, to read and write.[19] Several managed to get out of this responsibility by persuading the Society or the local inhabitants to assist in providing a salary for a separate schoolmaster and this in turn led to the creation of several "Rules and Orders for the qualification and conduct of Schoolmasters."[20]

These Rules and Orders, officially set down and approved by the Committee on February 15, 1712, actually came in two separate lists: one dealing with "qualifications," and the other having to do with specific tasks in the classroom, as well as personal and professional conduct. As the following examples indicate, the rules for qualification and the rules of conduct occasionally overlapped.[21]

The list of necessary qualifications included these items.

1. That no person be admitted as Schoolmaster till he bring Certificates of the following particulars:

    1. his age
    2. his condition of life whether single or married
    3. his temper
    4. his prudence
    5. his learning
    6. his sober and pious Conversation
    7. his zeal for the Christian Religion and diligence in his calling
    8. his affection to the present government
    9. his conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

2. That no person shall be employed as a Schoolmaster by the Society till he has been tried and approved by three members appointed by the Society ... who shall testify by word or writing his ability to teach reading, writing and the Catechism of the Church of England and such exposition there of as the Society shall order ...

4. That no Testimonial shall be allowed of, but such as are signed by the respective minister of the parish; and where that is not practicable, by some other person of Credit and note, three at least of the Communion of the Church of England where one of shall be a Clergyman, and such as shall be well known to some of the members of the Society ...

7 That all Schoolmasters sent over to the plantations by the Society, being married men, be obliged to take their wives with them, unless they can offer such reasons as shall induce the Society to dispense therewith.

8. That the Salary of every Schoolmaster who is not dismissed the service for some misdemeanor shall continue one year, and no longer, after the Society have resolved ... to dismiss such Persons from their service.[22]

Schoolmasters' rules of conduct were very specific and, in the light of modern times, occasionally amusing.

1. That they will consider the end for which they are employed by the Society, viz. The instructing and disposing children to believe and live as Christians.

2. In order to this end, that they teach them truly and distinctly, that they may be capable of reading the Holy Scriptures, and other pious and useful Books, for informing their understandings, and regulating their manners.

3. That they instruct them thoroughly in the Church - Catechism; teach them first to read it distinctly and exactly, then to learn it perfectly by Heart; endeavouring to make them understand the Sense and Meaning of it, by the help of such Expositions as the Society shall send over.

4. That they teach them to write a plain and legible hand in order to the fitting them for useful employments; with as much arithmetic as shall be necessary to the same purpose.

5. That they be industrious and give constant attendance at proper School-Hours.

6. That they daily use, Morning and Evening, the Prayers composed for their use ... with their Scholars in the School, and teach them the Prayers and Graces composed for their use at home.

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

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

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

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

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

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

13. That they send to the secretary of the Society, once in every six months an account of their respective rules, and the number of their scholars, with the methods and success of their teaching.[23]

As far as can be ascertained, Reverend Jackson and his successor, Jacob Rice, made no effort to establish anything along educational lines while they were in Newfoundland. Reverend Rice ministered in St. John's from 1705 to 1712 and later served in Placentia. During that time, he received the occasional stipend from the Society and apparently spent a great deal of effort soliciting funds to help build or repair local churches, as well as struggling to deal with the prevailing vices of the local garrison and citizenry.[24]

The Society's first educational foray in Newfoundland actually began with a letter from a Reverend Henry Jones in Bonavista to the Lord Bishop of London, dated sometime in late 1725. At the Society's regular monthly meeting on January 21, 1726, it was recorded that

> A Letter from the Reverend Mr. Jones at Newfoundland to the Lord Bishop of London was read signifying that he teaches the children there to read, and performs Divine Service there: Agreed that it may be proper for the Society to make him a Gratuity of Thirty pounds, and that upon his informing the Society of the Success he meets with for settling a School there, and sending over proper Certificates thereof the Society will take his case into further consideration and agreed that five pounds worth of Common Prayers, Catechisms, and Expositions thereof be sent to him.[25]

It is clear from the above reference that Reverend Jones, and not the S.P.G., was responsible for the establishment of educational services to the people of Bonavista and it is quite possible he did so prior to 1725. Some historians, including Dr. Frederick Rowe, have mentioned 1722 and 1723 as possible starting dates but no one has been able to verify one way or another.[26]

Indeed, the circumstances surrounding the creation of Jones' school in Bonavista is somewhat shrouded in mystery. It appears that Jones was enticed to go there via negotiations between him and the local settlers and - as his letter to the Bishop of London indicated - he started teaching on his own initiative.[27]

Once established in Bonavista, Jones exhibited foresight and sound judgement to develop a successful mission. He managed to secure a vacant building for his home and have it later rebuilt by some of the inhabitants so that it could be used for religious services when the church was too cold or damp. His plans also included establishing services for

the poor and disabled and securing the support of wealthy men in the community for poor children so they could attend a charity school. Jones strongly believed that education was the way to break the cycle of poverty and backwardness he saw around him, and he clearly had this in mind when he wrote to the Bishop on that faraway day in 1725. He even wrote to the S.P.C.K. in an attempt to secure funds for a schoolmistress.[28]

On February 17, 1726, the Society noted

> A Letter from Mr. Henry Jones ... was read, setting forth that the People [of Bonavista] are willing ... to contribute towards ... a Charity School but that most of them are very poor ... wherefore he prays the Society to assist him in such manner as they think proper and to allow him some Bibles, Testaments and Spelling books for the use of the Poor People and children there: Agreed that a Gratuity of forty pounds be given him and that three dozen of Bibles, three dozen Testaments and five dozen spelling books be put into his hands to be distributed among the Poor People there.[29]

Jones' excellent planning and successful initiatives won him a great deal of support from the Society and throughout the remainder of his time in Newfoundland - he was in Bonavista from c.1722 to 1744 and at Trinity Bay from 1745 to 1749 - the S.P.G. sent him a regular salary, occasional gratuities and many books.[30] He also had the generous support of many of his parishioners in Bonavista and was so successful in his pedagogical endeavours that he actually established a second school sometime around 1735.[31] Unfortunately, there is little, if any, information available about fellow teachers who must have assisted him during that time.

After almost thirty years of excellent service in Newfoundland, Jones requested and got a transfer to a milder climate because his advancing age made it harder for him to endure the island's harsh winters. He was originally scheduled to go to the Moskito Indian mission in Central America but ended up spending most of his final years in Jamaica, a richly deserved reward in light of his many contributions to Newfoundland.[32]

Chapter Three: Early Educational Activity - the Work of William Peaseley, Edward Langman and Benjamin Lindsay, 1730 - 1763

Henry Jones was by no means the only S.P.G. missionary in Newfoundland during his twenty-seven year tenure. In 1730, he was joined by the Reverend John Fordyce who was assigned to St. John's and the Reverend Robert Killpatrick, who was placed in Trinity Bay. Neither man found Newfoundland much to his liking. Soon after arriving, both requested transfers to more southerly colonies, which the Society granted. Fordyce spent most of his missionary life in South Carolina and remained there until his death in 1751. Killpatrick, on the other hand, returned to Newfoundland after spending a couple of years in New York, which be found to be even more disagreeable than Trinity Bay where, after eleven years as missionary, he died in 1741. Neither was credited with any pedagogical work during their stay on the island, although Killpatrick did spend some time distributing Prayer Books, Bibles and other religious materials to those who could read. After his death, his replacement in Trinity was none other than Henry Jones.[33]

Reverend Fordyce's situation in St. John's was not a happy one and, given the circumstances, he could hardly be blamed for demanding a transfer. When he set forth from England in 1730, the Society promised him a quintal of merchantable - that is, saleable - fish from each fishing boat as well as a small salary. Unfortunately, most of the fishermen reneged on this promise and those who did not usually handed over fish of poorer quality, and probably not very saleable either. Fordyce put up with this

treatment for about five years and, when he returned to England, was in desperate straits, nearly destitute and deeply in debt. The Society gave him a gratuity of thirty pounds for his efforts and then shipped him off to sunnier climes, and happier circumstances, in the Carolinas.[34]

This incident involving John Fordyce does not, on the surface at least, appear to be very noteworthy, until one considers that the Society did not deign to send another missionary to St. John's for almost ten years afterwards.[35] It may have been because of limited resources - of the Society or the inhabitants of St. John's or both - but, in all likelihood, it was largely because of the less-than-hospitable response usually given to clergymen at that time in the Ancient Colony. Given the squalor and disreputable moral attitudes of the period, such a situation seems hardly surprising.

Indeed, the circumstances in St. John's actually led to a sort of small-scale investigation in 1742 when the Reverend Thomas Walbank, chaplain of a British naval vessel, wrote to the Lord Bishop of Chester outlining the "Religious State" of Newfoundland generally and St. John's in particular. Although he maintained the people were "very ignorant" and greatly in need of a minister "to Establish Christianity" within the town, he also described, in rather glowing terms, a church "Built of Fir and Spruce wood" which had been built in the centre of town sometime around 1720 and contained a "decent Altar, Font and Pulpit, and the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer handsomely written

over the Communion Table."[36]

Judging from the tone and context of this letter, Reverend Walbank seemed certain that a successful ministry could be established in St. John's. The members of the Society, however, were hesitant. They felt a new mission was not feasible until certain conditions could be guaranteed, such as a new house for any clergyman who desired to live there. Clearly, they did not want another situation on their hands like the one involving Reverend Fordyce.[37]

Shortly thereafter, the clerical void in St. John's was filled by a Reverend William Peaseley who had actually spent the first few months of his missionary life in Bonavista as a replacement for Henry Jones. He arrived in St. John's in October, 1744, after being especially active with the children of Bonavista in teaching them to read.[38] Because his income there was less than sufficient, he begged to be assigned to another mission. At about the same time, the Society received a petition from a number of leading citizens in St. John's asking for a missionary. Together, the requests were acceded.[39]

In a letter to the Society, dated December 6, 1744, Peaseley reported that several children in the town were attending a Roman Catholic school and, therefore, felt it was imperative he be allowed to establish an Anglican one in order to offset what he called "Corruptions of Popery."[40] This reference to a Catholic school is actually rather curious

because Roman Catholics in Newfoundland were not an organized body at that time. In fact, Catholics throughout the British Empire had no religious freedom at all until well into the next century. Whether the school in question was a private concern created for the purpose of providing Catholic education for the local populace or one where the teacher just happened to be Catholic, it is not known.[41]

At any rate, the Society decided to grant Peaseley forty pounds a year as an embellishment to his salary which was largely made up of local donations, or "subscriptions" as they were known. They also sent over several copies of prayer books and catechisms to assist him in teaching and an additional ten pounds which would serve as his schoolmaster's salary.[42] Thus Peaseley became the first S.P.G. missionary in Newfoundland to be officially employed as a schoolmaster.

During his stay in St. John's, Peaseley also provided occasional services in nearby Petty Harbour and briefly served as chaplain of the garrison. His school was highly successful if the frequent requests for bibles, primers and horn books are any indication. But by 1750, he was decidedly unhappy in his mission, having expressed much discontent over the weather, the high cost of living and the objectionable behaviour of a couple of merchants named Ballard and Keen who, for reasons not stated, were giving Peaseley a rather hard time.[43] In that year, he left St. John's for England and was given a transfer to a mission in South Carolina where he lived from 1751 to 1756.[44] He never returned

to Newfoundland.

The Society quickly replaced Peaseley by hiring the Reverend Edward Langman, an Oxford-educated missionary, who had already lived in Newfoundland for a few years. Langman took up his new post sometime in 1752.[45] Just prior to his appointment, the Reverend Benjamin Lindsay was assigned to Trinity Bay as a replacement for Henry Jones who, by this time, was in Jamaica.[46]

Little is actually known of Lindsay, mainly because he did not correspond very often with the Society while in Newfoundland. It is known that he lived in Trinity for ten years and arranged for the distribution of a large number of books while he was there, especially primers and spelling books.[47] One suspects, however, that he did not follow Henry Jones' lead in maintaining a school, although the following Journal entry from December 21, 1753, does suggest otherwise.

> He has had a great Demand this year for Books, especially for Bibles, and Common Prayer Books, and for Spelling Books for the Children, the Parents generally taking care to have their Children taught to read, and learn the Catechism, and most of them can repeat it very well ....[48]

In his letters, Lindsay continually outlined his clerical efforts - performing liturgical services, baptisms and the like - but never mentioned **anything** concerning schools or teaching by him or anyone else. [49] Although there were at least a few people in the area

who could read - Killpatrick confirmed this in his correspondence - it would be interesting to know just exactly who did the teaching in Trinity Bay in the mid-eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the answer may never be known.

In contrast to Lindsay, we know a great deal about Edward Langman. Born in Devonshire, England, in 1716, educated at Oxford and ordained in Cornwall, he came to St. John's in 1750 and was appointed rector of the Anglican parish there in 1752, the same year he joined the S.P.G. In 1754, he became only the second clergyman - after Henry Jones - to be appointed a Justice of the Peace in Newfoundland. In his thirty-two years with the Society, he accomplished a great deal, especially by way of strengthening the presence and status of the Church of England within the region. [50]

Langman's efforts sometimes went above and beyond the call of duty. While most missionaries were unable or unwilling to minister in the more scattered and isolated communities along the coastline, Langman, with the Society's enthusiastic approval, devoted most of his summers to spreading the Gospel in the outports north and south of St. John's. Reaching these settlements usually required travelling in open boats since there were few, if any, roads. In 1759, he travelled to Placentia - which meant going two hundred miles by sea - and, in summers following, to Renews, Fermeuse, Ferryland, Bay Bulls and Witless Bay in the area known as the Southern Shore. In 1763, he visited Trinity Bay and Harbour Grace. In every location, he preached, baptized, performed

weddings, said prayers and distributed prayer books and other literature supplied by the Society.[51]

Arthur Barnes, in his 1917 doctoral dissertation on the history of education in Newfoundland, stated that Langman continued to operate the school in St. John's established by William Peaseley.[52] However, there is very little in Langman's extensive correspondence or in S.P.G. Journals to suggest he spent a great deal of time educating anyone except in matters of religion. A number of his letters contain requests for religious materials as well as primers and spelling books which the Society was always happy to send in large supply and there is little doubt Langman distributed these books to the eager multitudes wherever he went. But at no point in any of the numerous Journal entries, annual reports or letters to and from Reverend Langman is there any mention of his providing educational services unless it was to "catechizeth the Children" or preach - not teach - in a church or schoolhouse.[53]

Langman's pedagogical endeavours - or lack of them - point out the haphazard and non-standardized nature of education in eighteenth century Newfoundland and it is easy to dismiss such contributions as lacklustre or unimportant. But the distribution of books in isolated communities was an important service, especially when one considers how reading material of any sort was usually very hard to come by for most people living in what was considered the farthest reaches of civilization. Besides, Langman did have an

excuse or two for not doing more than he already had.

In June, 1762, French forces attacked and occupied St. John's in one of their final offensives of the Seven Years' War. The British regained the old port in September but the effects of the brief foreign occupation were devastating for Reverend Langman. His wife died in childbirth - the child was lost as well - and his house and personal belongings were plundered. He was also ill for several weeks and, to add insult to injury, four Catholic priests performed mass and other services in the Anglican church. Finally, the French, for good measure, deported a few of the town's Protestants, thereby undermining the foundation of the Anglican community which Langman had worked so hard to develop. The cumulative effects of war and military occupation were almost too much for the good minister to bear and he asked to be sent to another mission. However, after receiving a fifty pound gratuity from the Society along with guarantees of a regular salary as a reward for his faithful service, he decided to stay in St. John's where he remained until his death in 1784.[54]

Langman's thirty years of service to the Society in Newfoundland may have been of great value to the Church of England but there is no question it came at great personal cost. In addition to the calamities listed above, he also had to deal with the difficulties posed by privateers who stalked the coastline during the American Revolution.[55] For all his success as a missionary, Edward Langman certainly had an unusual run of bad luck.

Chapter Four: The S.P.G. in the Late Eighteenth Century/The Work of James Balfour, Lawrence Coughlan and Others, 1764 - 1793

For two-thirds of the eighteenth century, from 1701 to 1766, Newfoundland was never served by more than two missionaries from the S.P.G. In contrast, Nova Scotia had five missionaries, four schoolmasters and one assistant schoolmaster working for the Society in 1765 alone. Also, the Nova Scotia ministers were each making a salary of seventy pounds a year, while the missionaries in Newfoundland were taking in fifty pounds each.[56] In that same year, Edward Langman was, of course, in the middle of his eventful tenure as minister in St. John's. His Society colleague was James Balfour who had arrived in Trinity Bay the year before. Balfour was actually a replacement for a missionary named William Fotheringham who was assigned to Trinity in 1762. Unfortunately, Fotheringham died before he even had a chance to see his mission.[57]

The selection of Balfour to replace Fotheringham turned out to be a happy one for the Society, for Balfour and especially for the inhabitants of Trinity Bay. He adapted quickly to his new, rugged surroundings, undertaking several initiatives to improve the religious, moral and educational aspects of life in the region. Like Langman, he was an itinerant missionary, ministering periodically in communities like Bonavista, Heart's Content and Old Perlican, among others. He was willing to adjust his sermons so they could be easily understood by the ordinary fisherman and he provided materials for groups who expressed a desire to read church services on their own, whenever the minister was

unavailable; a widespread practise supported by many clergymen throughout British North America. Balfour, being a learned gentleman, also brought music and other examples of culture to the isolated communities. He even found time to raise money for church repairs and, more importantly, establish a school.[58]

When the Society received a letter from Balfour dated November 5, 1764, asserting that "a teacher of Youth is much wanted," it decided to have him investigate further and compose a report outlining the educational needs and inclinations of the young people of Trinity Bay, in the hope Balfour himself would start a school on his own initiative.[59] The information he sent back to London was very interesting and provided some fascinating insights into life in the outports over two hundred years ago.

> Rev'd Sir
>
> I received yours, Dated the 1st of March [1765], and according to the Orders contained therein, have visited the Families, and taken a view of the Children [who] are come of proper Age to attend school. In Trinity Harbour there are about sixty. In Old Perlican Seventy two. These are at leisure. But I cannot rely upon their Word, that they are all willing. A Teachers Business as well as every Ones must be in the Summer time: the Winter Season is so inclement and ghastly beyond any description that I can give of it, that it is each one's Care chiefly sometimes to preserve themselves from being burnt with Frost. The Families that remain During Winter Being Store-keepers, contain above fifty People in Each of hardy Men without either a Woman or Child among them. While Men, Women and Children are got into the Woods where they reside in little Hutts until Seasonable Weather.
>
> I shall in every thing as much as in my power Obey your Directions. But here it is plain from the Circumstances of things that I cannot ... For until they can all agree so far as to contribute a little Each Planter yearly, for

> a man's Support, to teach alternately at Trinity and Perlican; Such a Scheme can never take place in this Uncomfortable Part of the World, although at the same time it is much wanted ....[60]

Not long after this letter was written, an arrangement was made between Balfour and the settlers whereby children could obtain free schooling from Balfour during the summer months. Details of what he specifically taught are sketchy, but it is known he used primers, catechisms and bibles extensively in his efforts to teach reading.[61]

In December, 1766, a certain gentleman visited the Society's headquarters at Lambeth Palace in London carrying with him a petition on behalf of the people of Harbour Grace and Carbonear. It outlined a request from the said inhabitants that the bearer of the petition - Lawrence Coughlan - be assigned as missionary to those two communities.[62] The Society quickly approved the application and, with that, began one of the most interesting chapters in the history of religion and education on the island. Coughlan proved to be a colourful addition to the S.P.G. and was, as it were, "cut from a different cloth" in more ways than one.

His appointment, first of all, had the somewhat startling effect of introducing Methodism to Newfoundland and, indeed, he is seen today by many as the founder of the Methodist Church in eastern North America. Officially, Coughlan was an Anglican and remained so throughout his life, but he nonetheless became part of the movement established by

John Wesley in England. Before coming to Harbour Grace, he actually served as one of Wesley's travelling preachers.[63]

Little is known of his early life, but we do know he was born in Ireland and appointed a lay preacher in 1755. It was in England where he met John Wesley who was impressed with the young Irishman's enthusiasm and ability to attract a large number of people to the Methodist cause. At the same time though, Wesley considered his brash, feisty disciple to be uneducated and lacking in faith. Although the two men did not see eye to eye on all matters, their friendship was a lengthy one and they maintained correspondence over several years.[64]

The Church of England was well aware of Coughlan's Methodist leanings but when he travelled to Newfoundland, it was done with the blessing of the Bishop of London. When the townsfolk of Harbour Grace and Carbonear fell short of the monetary subscriptions promised to Coughlan, he appealed to the Society for assistance, which was granted in the sum of fifty pounds a year. Firmly believing in a duty to preach to everyone in his constituency, he persuaded Irish Roman Catholics to attend his services and usually addressed them in Irish Gaelic. Efforts such as these made him very popular; he had a large number of communicants - that is, those who regularly received the sacrament of Communion at church services - and his congregation always seemed to be bigger than that of any other missionary on the island.[65]

In 1767, Coughlan opened a school at Harbour Grace. Because of the demands of his ministry, he was unable to teach the children - over ninety of them according to one account - so he

> engaged a very proper person to undertake to teach the poor Children to read and write ... The young man's name is John Jenner, whom he hopes the Society will consider as their Schoolmaster.[66]

The Society did indeed consider Mr. Jenner and he became the first employee of the S.P.G. in Newfoundland to officially hold the title of "Schoolmaster."[67] He was awarded a gratuity of ten pounds for his services, but by the autumn of 1768 had been replaced by a gentleman named Thurney whom Coughlan described as "an exceeding good School-Master."[68] Little else is known of Thurney, but if S.P.G. Journals are accurate, he was certainly energetic. After the settlers built a schoolhouse - in February, 1768 - for the forty or so students who regularly attended, the hours of instruction were listed as six a.m. to twelve p.m. and one to six p.m. in the summer and eight thirty a.m. to three thirty p.m. in winter. Students were taught reading, writing, Catechism and even singing.[69]

But Thurney, like Jenner, only lasted about a year as schoolmaster because he was not content with the small salary and - one suspects - the prospect of teaching twelve hours a day to over forty students.[70] It is not known whether this idea to teach such long hours in the summer came from Coughlan or Thurney or if it was a universally accepted

practise, but given the sheer zeal he was known to bring to every task, chances are it was Coughlan who insisted on having long school days.

In fact, it was his zeal and enthusiasm for his calling which often got Coughlan into difficulty with certain persons of note in his parish. While he remained popular with fishermen and ordinary townsfolk, he was definitely less so with members of the merchant class. At one point, Coughlan served as a Justice of the Peace and, as such, would often deal with individuals whose moral and religious practises were decidedly different from his own. One example of this involved a merchant named Roberts who took out a libel suit against Coughlan, accusing the minister of accosting him in front of a large group of people on a Sunday afternoon while Roberts was walking with a married female friend. After Coughlan finished his tirade - with the words "you scum of the earth, are you not ashamed to be walking with another man's wife?" - and spat on the ground at Roberts' feet as a sign of his contempt, he walked into the church and ordered the congregation to shun the "monster and brute Roberts, the lump of iniquity" and have no dealings with him whatsoever.[71] Roberts also accused Coughlan of hurting his business and accepting bribes in return for remitting sentences. In response, Coughlan denied the allegations of bribery but admitted - without apology - his guilt on some of the other charges outlined in Roberts' petition, which was co-signed by a dozen Harbour Grace merchants. No legal action was taken on the matter, but the Governor of Newfoundland did eventually withdraw Coughlan's commission as Justice of the Peace.[72] Unfortunately,

the Irishman's enthusiasm and "holier-than-thou" attitude sometimes got the better of his judgement.

In the meantime, Coughlan was successful in hiring another gentleman to serve as schoolmaster in Harbour Grace. His name was John Griggs and he lasted about five years before his removal in 1776.[73] Griggs, like his predecessor, worked long days in both summer and winter and always managed to have about forty students in his charge, instructing them in reading, writing and arithmetic.[74] Like others before him, he also faced his share of adversity: the schoolhouse fell into disrepair, a Catholic teacher arrived and openly competed with Griggs to acquire students, and the unstable economic climate affected people's ability to adequately support their young teacher.[75]

Through it all, Reverend Coughlan was there to provide at least moral support for his embattled schoolmaster until 1773, when he resigned his post and returned to his native Ireland. James Balfour took over the position vacated by Coughlan, closed down his Trinity Bay mission and moved to Harbour Grace in 1774. His work there was similar to that in his previous locale, but he faced considerable opposition from several supporters of Coughlan. Balfour considered the Wesleyan a potential rebel against the British government - a serious charge considering the political climate at the time, on the brink of the American Revolution.[76] He also reported that the people of Harbour Grace were "unfriendly to our civil Government, and would probably resemble the

Americans, had they any enterprising men to head them."[77]

With the intent to "soften," as he put it, the inhabitants from their rebellious inclinations, not to mention religious dissension, Balfour set out to strengthen the position of the Church of England in the area. In what was possibly a step towards that end, he arranged to have John Griggs dismissed as schoolmaster, accusing him of neglecting his position. No concrete evidence has ever been found to verify this allegation, but the Society was apparently quite willing to accept Balfour's assertions as the truth. Griggs was officially released from the Society's employ on July 19, 1776. [78]

Balfour later managed to acquire another schoolmaster - one Edward Freeman - and, in an attempt to strictly regulate and control religious activity, secured an order from the Governor requiring magistrates to prohibit unlicensed individuals from performing religious services unless they were approved by Balfour himself. In the end, his efforts were not very successful; Coughlan had managed to give Methodism a very strong foothold in Newfoundland and this movement would continue to grow in both numbers and influence.[79]

Edward Freeman served as the Society's schoolmaster in Harbour Grace for about a year when he abruptly resigned in November, 1779. Balfour tried as best he could to fill the void created by Freeman's departure, but circumstances made it extremely difficult. By

now, the revolt in the thirteen American colonies was in full force and "Yankee privateers" were successfully blockading the Newfoundland coast in an attempt to starve the people into submission. At one point, Balfour reported burying nine persons "which have died of mere hunger."[80] By this time, the Society had passed a regulation stating that, wherever possible, a missionary should not take on the role of schoolmaster as it would take too much time away from clerical duties.[81] Reverend Balfour eventually found a new schoolmaster but it took him almost four years to do so, in 1783 after the American war ended. George Fullilove was the new appointee but - like the others before him - found the circumstances too taxing. Partly because of the unwillingness of the townspeople to repair the schoolhouse, Fullilove resigned sometime in 1785.[82]

Balfour realized the lack of any long-term commitment to teaching by people like Freeman and Fullilove was detrimental to the settlers under his charge. The hazards of colonial life made it difficult to recruit qualified individuals, and it would sometimes take years to find a suitable candidate to replace an outgoing teacher. In several cases, the new teachers hired were, in fact, hardly qualified. Education was still seen generally as an indulgence of the wealthy classes and teacher training was virtually non-existent, even in such "civilized" countries as England and France. Still, the good missionary felt compelled to try something, so he pushed a proposal that any future schoolmaster in Harbour Grace would have to promise to stay in that position for at least three years. In this way, at least some degree of continuity would be maintained and, in Balfour's

words, "make an established matter" of the cause of education in the community. [83]

In January, 1784, the Reverend Walter Price was appointed as the Society's new missionary in St. John's, replacing Edward Langman. While his predecessor was largely responsible for a positive upsurge in public perception towards the Anglican Church, Price witnessed the emancipation of Roman Catholics - who had been persecuted for years throughout the Empire - and the formal establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland. That same year, the Reverend Louis O'Donel was appointed Prefect Apostolic, becoming the first Catholic clergyman to have official sanction to practise on the island.[84]

It is clear from Price's letters that this breakthrough in religious tolerance did not sit well with him. The following Journal entry gives some indication of the speed and breadth of the Catholic church's actions once its emancipation had taken effect.

> From the Rev'd Mr. Price, dated St. John's in Newfoundland, 25th October, 1784 acquainting the Society that the Roman Catholics ... had been but too successful in recommending their religion. In June last, an Apostolical Vicar arrived ... He has delegated an inferior Priest to Harbour Grace and brought with him a Schoolmaster to St. John's. There are sundry Popish Schools in the Harbour, and Tracts and Catechisms of that Church are very plentifully disposed among the People ... Mr. Price has endeavoured to prevent the ill consequences of such indulgences by the most gentle and effectual means in his power.[85]

One of these endeavours included a charity school for poor children which Reverend Price operated for a brief time before he left Newfoundland in 1790.[86]

Now, for the first time, the Society had "official" competition, as it were, in the fields of religion and education. The Catholic and Methodist churches no longer had to use surreptitious measures to spread their influence. While it is widely accepted that non-Anglican clergymen and teachers had, in reality, been working quietly for years, their presence had also been extremely sporadic, much more so than those of the Church of England, whose record in this matter was by no means impressive. The next several years would see a gradual but noticeable improvement in religious and educational access for the people of Newfoundland, and the Society was determined to play a leading role in the increased availability of these basic social institutions.

It was perhaps this sense of competition which led the S.P.G. to seek out qualified missionaries and schoolmasters from fairly unusual sources. Such was the case involving John Clinch, best known as a medical practitioner and who, today, continues to hold a special place in the history of medicine in Newfoundland, having been the first doctor in the New World to administer the smallpox vaccine. The discoverer of this vaccine, Edward Jenner, was a childhood friend of Clinch's, and they maintained correspondence with each other throughout their medical careers.[87]

Clinch came to Newfoundland in 1775 with the intent of providing medical services for the settlers. He was, strictly speaking, not an M.D. because doctors usually did not have degrees in those days. After eight years in Bonavista, he moved to Trinity and married a young woman, Hannah Hart, from nearby English Harbour, in 1784.[88] About a year later, the inhabitants of the Trinity Bay area petitioned the Society to have Clinch ordained as their minister, citing his "abilities, his propriety of conduct, his being married and having long resided among them" as favourable attributes.[89] The petition was accepted and, within a couple of years, Clinch headed to London where he was ordained by that city's bishop. On his return to Trinity, he served as that community's doctor and minister until his death in 1819. He also served at various times as a Justice of the Peace, land surveyor and customs officer.[90]

There is no record to indicate whether Clinch was involved in education, at least in the conventional sense, although he arguably made a noteworthy contribution, specifically in the fields of anthropology and linguistics. Around the year 1800, he managed to collect a brief, but significant, vocabulary of the Beothuk language. The Beothuks were the native people of the island of Newfoundland, who would eventually and tragically become extinct by the mid-nineteenth century. Clinch obtained this valuable information through conversations with a Beothuk girl named Oubee, although it was widely believed he got it from a man referred to as "John August" by his British captors.[91]

Clinch's work in preserving the Beothuk language and culture was by no means a solitary venture. He would be followed approximately twenty years later by a young man named John Leigh who would also collect Beothuk vocabulary while working as an S.P.G. missionary. Leigh's efforts will be described more fully in a later chapter.

At about the same time that Clinch began his association with the Society, there was another gentleman in Harbour Grace who started what would become a rather noteworthy career as schoolmaster. In October of 1785, Reverend Balfour reported success in acquiring a teacher who, as Balfour had insisted, was willing to remain in both that occupation and community for at least three years.[92] As things turned out, Balfour ended up getting a lot more than he bargained for. William Lampen proved to be not only an excellent schoolmaster but a tireless one too; he would teach for over thirty-five years and become something of a local legend around Conception Bay. He would also be at the centre of a heated controversy between himself and Balfour which would take almost five years to resolve. Fortunately, both men did manage to survive the ordeal with their reputations fairly intact.

Lampen was, without question, a dedicated professional. In a typical school year, he would teach well over seventy children of various ages and abilities all by himself. In 1788, he opened an Evening School for adults which operated during the winter months and later helped to establish one of the first Sunday schools in Newfoundland.[93] S.P.G.

Journals and Annual Reports abound with references to Lampen's diligence and excellent teaching, especially in reading and catechism. It appears he put special emphasis on religious study. He helped prepare many children for public catechizing, an exercise in which the students would read prayers and answer questions on Anglican teachings from their minister, usually performed in church before a large congregation.[94]

Balfour probably felt a sense of relief and gratitude, at least initially, when Lampen proved his excellence as a teacher, especially in religious studies. Prior to Lampen's appointment, Balfour experienced a few more frustrations - other than those already noted - in his attempts to procure schoolmasters. In the mid-seventeen seventies, a gentleman named John Hoskins came to Newfoundland and met Balfour, who encouraged him to go to the community of Old Perlican where there was no teacher and the minister could only occasionally visit. Hoskins had taught school throughout parts of England for almost thirty years when he arrived on the island and Balfour must have thought he had acquired a real find with such an experienced educator.[95] Hoskins dutifully set up a school in Old Perlican, but as he reported in 1779:

> the people desired me not only to teach their children but to read prayers and to preach to them on Sundays, and to show them the way to salvation, which I did according to my powers ....[96]

Unfortunately - as far as Balfour was concerned - this matter of Hoskins preaching on Sundays was rather problematic. Hoskins was a Methodist and therefore unsuitable,

especially when he started reading Wesleyan hymns and prayers, besides Anglican ones, to his congregation. He later organized a Methodist Society in Old Perlican. Because he was not a minister, the people there petitioned the Society requesting he be ordained so that the sacrament of Holy Communion and other forms of worship could be celebrated. Hoskins - like that famous Wesleyan before him, Lawrence Coughlan - personally delivered the petition to S.P.G. headquarters in London but it was never acted upon, no doubt because of his Methodist sympathies and possibly some "anti-lobbying" by Balfour. Hoskins returned to Old Perlican and continued to educate and preach but without any kind of support from the Society. He then faded into history; available records do not indicate how long he stayed in Newfoundland or even the time or place of his death.[97]

Then, in the winter of 1790, there was the case of William Chauncey, a resident of Carbonear, whom Balfour had reportedly examined and found capable of teaching the children of that town. Problems arose when Balfour ordered Chauncey to "give a specimen" of his teaching ability, whereupon Chauncey refused and insisted on opening his school in the middle of the upcoming summer.[98] Balfour, in turn, insisted that any school must be opened and maintained "under proper regulations" and decided to have nothing more to do with Chauncey.[99] For their part, the people of Carbonear - supported by local magistrates - signed a petition recommending Chauncey as their schoolmaster, arguing they could not "get a proper person to undertake a School in the winter season from the severity of the weather."[100] In the end, the Society decided not to comply with

the people's request and although several spelling books and prayer books were sent to the community, the school situation there would remain desperate for several years.[101]

But any argument or misunderstanding between Balfour and Chauncey - or Hoskins or even Coughlan - could not have prepared the embattled minister for what would eventually come to pass between him and William Lampen. Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect about this rift was that it was precipitated by an act of Lampen's which had the noblest of intentions. In February, 1792, the Society received a letter from Lampen in Harbour Grace, dated November 20, 1791. In it, he gave his usual information about the number of children he had taught the previous year, as well as how many of those were catechized by Reverend Balfour.[102] The Journal entry recording the details of this letter went on to state:

> That, in Mr. Balfour's absence last Winter at St. John's, Mr. Lampen read prayers and a sermon when the weather would permit. He also buried and baptized, when necessity required; and did every duty till his return, for which he had neither fee nor reward. [Mr. Balfour] came to Mr. Lampen in an intoxicated state, demanded his sermons, and swore Mr. Lampen should never read a sermon of his again ....[103]

Lampen's account of Balfour's misbehaviour was supported by a petition of fourteen Harbour Grace residents "complaining of his frequent intoxication ... and requesting that he may be recalled."[104] The Society immediately decided to have the situation investigated and asked John Reeves, Chief Justice of Newfoundland, for assistance.[105]

However, the circumstances only got murkier when, about a month later, the Society received a letter from John Harries, the newly-appointed S.P.G. missionary to St. John's, dated November 4, 1791 - that is, more than two weeks **prior** to the date of Lampen's letter. Harries reported that Balfour sought redress for the "illiberal treatment" he received from a few of the Harbour Grace townsfolk and accused Lampen of having "taken a very blameable part, always appearing at the head of every party formed to the prejudice of the Minister."[106]

Dealing with conflicting reports about a controversy occurring an ocean away was not an easy proposition for the Society's executive, but a determination had to be made nevertheless. The Committee decided to relieve Balfour of his missionary duties and recalled him to England, where he would live out the rest of his life with the support of a pension from the Society. Lampen, on the other hand, was not treated as kindly. He was immediately dismissed from his teaching position, the Committee calling his conduct "highly reprehensible."[107]

Fortunately for Lampen, the story did not end there. In 1793, Reverend Harries sent a letter to the Society outlining further inquiries about the controversy and discovered that a group of Methodists conspired to have Balfour removed from his mission. At the same time, he learned how the people of Harbour Grace were, generally, very distressed at the news of Lampen's firing.[108] Later the Society heard from the Reverend John Jenner, the

man chosen to replace Balfour. Lampen asked the new missionary to write the S.P.G. on his behalf, in an attempt to get his old job back. In his letter, Jenner maintained that Lampen had "acted with great propriety" since his arrival in Harbour Grace and had the "general character of an honest, sober and industrious man."[109] He also noted

> And however blameable he might have been in his conduct towards Mr. Balfour, he performs the office of a Schoolmaster better than any other person .... [110]

This strong testimonial, along with Harries' discoveries, was enough to make the Society reverse its original decision. Lampen was reinstated as schoolmaster and placed once again on the Society's payroll on January 22, 1796, almost four years after his dismissal.[111]

Chapter Five: Around the Turn of the Century - Establishing a Network of Schools Throughout Newfoundland, 1791 - 1810

Throughout a very large part of the eighteenth century, there was never more than a handful of S.P.G. personnel working in Newfoundland. This situation began to change in the mid-seventeen nineties. The Society's Annual Report for 1793 indicated four missionaries and two schoolmasters on the island, the first time more than one schoolmaster was listed for this part of the British Empire. By the turn of the century, the number of Society schoolmasters had jumped to half a dozen, an encouraging sign but still well behind the numbers in neighbouring colonies like Nova Scotia.[112]

Those six schoolmasters included the aforementioned William Lampen in Harbour Grace, as well as George Bemister in Bonavista, Peter Saunders in Burin, John Tucker in Port de Grave, Lionel Chancey in St. John's and John Thomas at Silly Cove - now Winterton - in Trinity Bay.[113] A glance at the map will show how widespread these communities were, especially considering the almost complete absence of roads at that time and the constant dangers inherent in travelling by boat over unpredictable waters. Clearly, the Society was on its way to establishing a substantial and reasonably stable network of schools in Newfoundland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This network would dramatically increase in the next thirty years until external forces would precipitate a noticeable decline by the century's midway point.

But while the number of teachers under the Society's aegis increased, the method of selecting them did not change. For the most part, they continued to be recruited by local missionaries or prominent citizens in a given community. Many schoolmasters on the salary rolls of the Society had been teaching independently for a few years beforehand, but outside of a few comments provided in correspondence between the missionaries and S.P.G. headquarters, there is very little material available on the subject of teacher evaluation. Sister Mary A. Dunphy, in a 1956 thesis on the history of teacher training in Newfoundland, contended that Society employees "were as academically qualified as their contemporaries in ... Britain [but] had no professional training whatsoever."[114] The lack of evaluation and training must have had some consequence on the quality of education offered. Unfortunately, the effects of teacher training - or in this case, the lack thereof - during this period in history are virtually impossible to assess.

Perhaps under the circumstances, it is unfair to confine the true worth of these pioneering instructors to what may or may not have been accomplished within classroom walls. In the words of the late Dr. Vincent Burke:

> The teachers of these schools with their civilizing habits and Christian character, the indirect influence for good of their daily life in uplifting the people, cannot be reckoned of less value than what was accomplished by direct instruction in school and in church.[115]

Indeed, it was around this time when, out of necessity, more and more schoolmasters

were encouraged - if not required - to provide services of a religious nature on top of their regular teaching duties. William Lampen, as mentioned, consistently presided over church services in Harbour Grace when the minister was otherwise engaged. In 1796, John Thomas became one of the first S.P.G. employees in Newfoundland to hold the dual position of Schoolmaster/Catechist.[116] Thomas' double appointment initiated a brief but noteworthy trend within the Society, whereby schoolmasters were often called upon to provide some, if not all, religious services in the absence of an ordained minister. Prayer meetings, bible readings, the delivery of sermons and the catechizing of children all fell within the parameters of the catechist's function; baptisms, burials and marriages generally did not, except under extraordinary circumstances and only after permission had been granted by a minister.[117]

The following S.P.G. Journal entry provides a fairly typical description of the work of a Schoolmaster - Catechist.

> From Mr. Thomas ... at Silly Cove ... dated October 28, 1799 ... he has 26 scholars whom he teaches gratis, and instructs them in their duty to God and man in the best manner he can and he has the pleasure to say they improve very fast. He continues to read the Church Service and a Sermon every Lord's Day and catechizes the children after Evening Service.[118]

Reports to the Society from teachers around this time frequently included references to instruction in reading, writing and religion, a slight variation of the three "Rs."

Unfortunately, the vast majority of these reports said very little about what went on in the classroom, other than that these subjects and maybe one or two others were being taught.

The only S.P.G. schoolmaster who provided detailed accounts of his teaching activities with any degree of consistency was William Lampen. Because he was a dedicated professional and - one suspects - because he felt he had something to prove in the wake of the controversy surrounding him and James Balfour, Lampen provided many details about classroom activities and occasionally outlined some of his instructional methods as the following Journal entry illustrates.

> From Mr. Lampen ... dated October 22, 1798. By which it appears that he has taught in the year preceding 21 scholars, by day, on winter evenings, 13 ... and 8 on the Society's Bounty ... He taught them ... from the monosyllables, and so on, till they were able to read out of a psalter. They came again last winter, and retaining what they had before learned, he carried them to the Testament, in which they read very well, and before they left School made a considerable progress in writing. Four more he taught to spell, two he taught to write, and four others to cypher ... That he has been particularly careful of the eight children on the Society's bounty, whom he constantly catechizes twice every week by themselves, and once in rotation with the day scholars.[119]

Students "on the Society's Bounty" generally came from the poorest families and therefore received their education at no cost. Most other families were expected to make regular contributions in money or food or even firewood towards the upkeep of their schoolmaster. Teachers' salaries paid by the Society rarely exceeded fifteen pounds a

year, making local contributions very important.[120]

Very shortly after the beginning of the nineteenth century, the still somewhat tenuous position of education in Newfoundland was strengthened with the establishment of the island's first Sunday schools. Based on the ideas of an Englishman named Robert Raikes, the purpose of these schools - backed wholeheartedly by the Church of England - was to contribute to the advancement of the Anglican faith through the teaching of Church Catechism, prayers, reading of Scripture, Bible instruction and hymn singing.[121]

The driving force behind many of the first Sunday schools in Newfoundland was the Reverend Lewis Amadeus Anspach, who was born in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1770. After living much of his life in England, Anspach came to Newfoundland in 1799 to become superintendent of a "grammar school" in St. John's. When his contract expired in 1802, he applied for and acquired the position of S.P.G. missionary for Harbour Grace, succeeding John Jenner who had left that community some time before. In 1803, he put together a plan for developing Sunday schools which would primarily emphasize reading and catechism after discovering that, because of the demands of the fishery, Sunday was often the only day of the week when young people had time to attend classes on a consistent basis.[122]

Anspach's plan, endorsed by the leading citizens of Harbour Grace and by the executive

officers of the Society, was simple in design if not in implementation. It called for the development of Sunday schools not only in Harbour Grace but also in the most populous areas of Conception Bay and elsewhere, if possible. Bibles, prayer books and religious tracts would be distributed to all areas and schoolmasters would be placed "in every Harbour," their efforts supervised by Anspach himself.[123]

Actually, Lionel Chancey, the Society's schoolmaster in St. John's and John Thomas, in Silly Cove, were both operating "Sunday schools" - before the term was used in Newfoundland - for at least a year prior to Anspach's endeavours. In a letter dated October 22, 1801, Thomas mentioned thirty-two students of his who attended school daily and were "catechized after Evening Prayer on Sundays."[124] Chancey, for his part, wrote to the Society on December 10, 1802, and revealed a plan to "assemble the scholars on Sundays early and continue till church time in reading the Scriptures and ... catechism" while encouraging other children who did not normally attend his school to participate as well. [125]

Of course, Anspach was not directly involved in any teaching during his missionary tenure in Harbour Grace. That was left to William Lampen who was already quite busy with his regular day school and evening school. The townsfolk made it known they were very appreciative of Lampen's efforts. When a new schoolhouse was needed, sixty-five pounds was quickly raised towards its construction, a not unsubstantial sum for a small

community. Because the lumber was supplied at no cost, only twenty-five pounds more was required to finish the edifice, which the Society graciously donated.[126]

In his History of Newfoundland and Labrador, Frederick W. Rowe provided several specific details relating to the operation of the early Sunday schools. Children were assembled at a given location - home, church or school house - usually at seven a.m. in the summer and nine a.m. in winter. Students who could read spent their time going through scriptures and catechism while those who could not were taught. School would continue until the early evening with time set aside for attendance at church services in the morning and afternoon. Students who attended day school often continued with lessons learned earlier in the week, while those who could only attend on Sundays were given basic instruction in reading and writing as well as the mandatory religious training. On occasion - no reason was given - students were separated according to gender.[127]

The contributions of Reverend Anspach to Newfoundland were not restricted to the field of religious education. He, like a few other S.P.G. missionaries, was also a Justice of the Peace and was said to have greatly improved the efficiency of the justice system in the Conception Bay area. In 1810, he was promoted to the position of Surrogate Judge as a reward for his efforts to improve the quality of life in the region. He assisted the people of Portugal Cove and Brigus in the establishment of schools for those towns and also wrote A History of the Island of Newfoundland: Containing a Description of the

Island, the Banks, the Fisheries and Trade of Newfoundland and the Coast of Labrador. Published in 1819, it is one of the oldest known historical works about the Ancient Colony.[128]

After thirteen highly productive years, Anspach left Newfoundland in 1812 and returned to England where he remained until his death in 1823. His contributions to Newfoundland education, fortunately, did not die with him, as Sunday Schools continued to flourish through the efforts of S.P.G. schoolmasters and catechists.[129]

Many letters and reports to the Society during this period indicated the great success of these schools. In fact, at no point was anything found even approximating a negative comment. The following passage neatly encapsulates the importance of the Sunday school in many communities.

> ... it is productive of much good - first to those many children whose parents are really poor, who have the means of learning their Catechism and Reading, - next to those who are able, but not willing, to bear the expense of schooling - and lastly, to those children who during the fishing season from May till October, are sent as soon as they can handle a line to the Bay Fishery, and are at home only on Sundays, when it is a great advantage to them to find a School opened for their reception ... It is therefore a very useful Institution ....[130]

The Society's pedagogical success contributed to an enhanced profile for itself throughout the island. This, in turn, led to a kind of "spin-off effect" when independent teachers,

who were not part of any larger educational organization, either applied for placement under the Society's umbrella or appealed to local S.P.G. members for assistance in the form of books and instructional materials. Correspondence addressed to S.P.G. headquarters during this time abounded with items similar to the following provided by Lewis Anspach.

> The unprecedented demand for the purchase of Bibles, Prayer Books and Spelling Books, which now prevails from every part of the Bay, is proof that Providence has wrought a blessed change in the dispositions of the inhabitants. [Reverend Anspach] begs leave to mention in particular a worthy young woman ... settled at Portugal Cove ... where a small stock of Books from Mr. Anspach has enabled her to open a School, intended to be permanent, which ... is in a flourishing condition, there having been at no period less than 25 children ... He also mentions with pleasure ... a lady Mrs. Burrows ... who lately applied to him for a supply of Books with the charitable intention of opening a School there this winter ... a request with which he very readily complied as far as his present stock would enable him ... Agreed that a supply of Books and Tracts be sent to Mr. Anspach.[131]

The Society, now associated with Newfoundland for almost a century, was clearly a familiar and well-established institution, having contributed - as far as resources would permit - to the quality of life in several communities. Unfortunately, it had to do so with virtually no help from the so-called "government" on the island, led by naval officers who knew little or nothing about administering to the needs of a civilian population. Although its attitude had improved somewhat during the previous century, the British government still did not wish to look upon Newfoundland as an "official" colony. It was still just a fishing station and, therefore, still did not merit the attention given to

recognized colonies elsewhere in North America. However, changes - massive changes - were just around the corner.

Chapter Six: Further Expansion/The Work of John Leigh/The First Woman Schoolteacher/Introduction of the Madras System/Emergence of the Newfoundland School Society/Investigation and Assessment, 1811 - 1828

In the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, Britain's involvement in several wars had a profound impact on Newfoundland. Difficult circumstances, especially in naval defense and the monitoring of vessels off the coast, led to a noticeable relaxation of laws against colonization. In the early eighteen hundreds, the offshore fishery declined and a rapidly developing inshore fishery created opportunities for the permanent - though technically illegal - inhabitants. The prosperity of the inshore fishery attracted a huge number of immigrants, mostly from Ireland, who arrived in 1814 and 1815. At about the same time, a new industry in the harvesting of seals off the northern coast was firmly established, providing gainful employment during the winter months.[132]

Along with these changes locally, there was also a progressive shift in British policy. The argument that Newfoundland was merely "a great ship moored for the convenience of the British fishery" and a training ground for British seamen, lost support, not to mention validity.[133]

These developments, in turn, led to major challenges against the governmental system. The first came in 1812 when Doctor William Carson, a native of Scotland, demanded

civil government and a colonial legislature for the island. He argued that Newfoundland could support a sizable population with no ill effects to the fishing industry. Carson's efforts laid the groundwork for an influential reform movement which gained credibility when Patrick Morris, a colourful and articulate Irish merchant, took up the cause.[134]

The efforts of Carson and Morris, along with a few timely and fortuitous events which highlighted the inequities of the naval authoritarian system, led to the granting of official colonial status for Newfoundland in 1824. The so-called "Palliser's Act" of 1775, which essentially forbade permanent settlement, was repealed and three new Acts - the Judicature Act, the Marriage Act and the Fisheries Act - were implemented, acknowledging the colony's new political standing. In 1825, a Council was established to advise the governor on local concerns but, to the reformers, this was not enough. What they really wanted was total self-government which would, at the time, put Newfoundland on a par with the other major colonies of the British Empire.[135]

Major changes would also occur for the S.P.G. in Newfoundland. The sharp increase in population led to the creation of more schools in several centres and many more schoolmasters and catechists were hired than at any other time. The rising popularity of a novel teaching method known as the "National System" - also called the "Madras System," "Monitorial System" and "Bell System" - provided fresh challenges for educators. Also, the establishment of new charitable organizations like the Benevolent

Irish Society and the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in St. John's provided some competition for the S.P.G. in the area of educational services for the needy.[136]

It was precisely during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century when the Society made its greatest strides in providing education for Newfoundlanders. The year 1812 saw the first small phase of expansion when Thomas Plumleigh was appointed the Society's schoolmaster for the town of Brigus.[137] New schoolmasters were hired to replace outgoing teachers in St. John's and Burin and a year later, in 1813, Edward Mullaby, who had been operating a school in Bonavista for almost four years, was given approval to take up duties as the Society's new schoolmaster in that town, replacing George Bemister.[138] Mullaby was, to say the least, something of a rarity in S.P.G. circles; he was a Roman Catholic, probably the first of that persuasion to work for the Society in the colony. By promising to teach - according to the Society's Journals - only the principles "of the Established Church," he managed to procure and maintain the S.P.G.'s approval.[139]

Other firsts were achieved three years later. Thomas Walley was appointed schoolmaster for Greenspond and - in a historic move - the Society hired its first female teacher in Newfoundland. On December 20, 1816, the secretary in London recorded the following.

> As Mr. Mullaby has vacated his office of Schoolmaster at Bonavista,

> [Reverend John] Clinch recommends to the Society Mrs. Hosier, a Widow. She is fully Qualified to undertake the task. And as she has a large family dependent upon her for support the salary will be to her in the True sense of the word a Charity.
>
> Agreed to recommend ... that on the resignation of Mr. Mullaby and on the recommendation of Mr. Clinch, Mrs. Hosier be appointed schoolmaster at Bonavista.
>
> Agreed with the Committee.[140]

Mrs. Hosier's appointment was not the only significant event in local educational circles in 1816. In June, the Society selected a young man named John Leigh as its new missionary in Twillingate, where he arrived on October 3.[141] Sadly, Leigh would live a short life, dying at the age of thirty-four, but he certainly made the most of his time on this earth, especially in the service of others. He was ordained an Anglican minister in 1813 and became Twillingate's first resident clergyman. During the winter of 1819-20, he moved to Harbour Grace. Despite suffering from the ravages of scurvy, he accepted an appointment from the Bishop of Nova Scotia to become Newfoundland's first Ecclesiastical Commissary responsible for overseeing the Church of England's missionary efforts locally.[142] It was during his service as commissary that Leigh took the opportunity to visit many areas of the island where he could observe firsthand the state of religious and educational affairs in many communities. Of course, the education system - such as it was - still suffered from lack of teachers, materials and facilities in every town and village, and government support was only a pipe dream. Leigh decided to formulate a

plan whereby a few of these "loose ends" would be "tightened up," as it were, in a series of resolutions designed to improve the availability and continuity of education in any given place with S.P.G. support.

In the Society's Annual Report of 1822, which described activities for most of the 1821 calendar year, John Leigh's recommendations were given prominent display.

> On the representation of [Mr. John Leigh], the Society adopted the following resolutions which are now published, in the expectation of deriving considerable benefit from their promulgation:
>
> 1. That in the several out-harbours, where any considerable number of Protestant Episcopalian Inhabitants are resident, Catechists or Schoolmasters be appointed, under the protection of the Society.
>
> 2. That each Catechist or Schoolmaster be under the direction of the missionary in whose district he resides, and that he make a report to the Missionary of the state of the School before he draws for his yearly stipend.
>
> 3. That each Catechist or Schoolmaster shall assemble the inhabitants of the place in which he resides, on the Sunday, and read to them the service of the Established Church, and no other, and a sermon, from some book of sermons to be furnished by the Society, or the Missionary of the district.
>
> 4. That each Catechist or Schoolmaster shall open a Sunday School, and shall instruct the children of the poor gratuitously.
>
> 5. That as it frequently happens that an opportunity of appointing a Schoolmaster is lost, from the time that must necessarily elapse before a communication can be had with the Board, the Ecclesiastical Commissary is empowered to appoint such, subject to the approbation of the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Society.[143]

Further recom: .endations dealt with the raising of salaries, visits to isolated communities on a periodic basis and the use of church-approved sermons at all times.[144]

All of Leigh's suggestions were approved and steps were immediately taken to put them into effect, the most notable of which was the appointment of new schoolmasters in communities which, heretofore, had been outside the Society's sphere of influence. During 1822 and 1823, seven new schoolmaster/catechists were hired, an increase of almost monumental proportions considering the total number of S.P.G. personnel up to that point. They were: Joseph Saunders, King's Cove; James Sheldon, Salvage; William Oaks, Change Island; Joseph Sarrell, Bareneed; Mr. Wills, Island Cove; Mr. Bell, Fogo; and Mr. Bulley, Ferryland.[145] In the four years immediately **prior** to these appointments, other schoolmasters hired included: George Williams, Bay Roberts; Mr. Thompson, Bonaventure; William Loader, Carbonear; and John Curtis, Portugal Cove. Along with the more established schools in St. John's, Harbour Grace, Silly Cove, Greenspond, Brigus, Bonavista and Burin, the Society could now boast of as many as eighteen teachers in Newfoundland.[146] The number would have been higher except for the dismissal of John Tucker, a teacher in Conception Bay who, in 1820, was unceremoniously removed from his post for performing marriage services without the Church's permission, and the resignations of missionaries in Twillingate and Trinity.[147]

John Leigh was also responsible for encouraging the use of the Monitorial System of

teaching in Newfoundland.[148] Commonly known as the "National System" in British North America, this method of imparting knowledge was very mechanical and relied on repetitive drill and a heavy emphasis on memorization. Older students who had mastered the basic elements of the three "Rs" taught these to the younger children and, therefore, were known as "monitors."[149] This system was extremely popular throughout much of the nineteenth century, but eventually fell out of favour with the development of newer, more enlightened methodologies.

Somehow, Leigh managed to put in some valuable work as a lexicographer as well. During his all-too-brief tenure in Newfoundland, he was able to befriend one of the last surviving Beothuks, the now-extinct aboriginal race which had existed on the island for centuries. The Beothuk in question was the woman known as Demasduit - or "Mary March" by her captors - and through several conversations with her, Leigh managed to compile a vocabulary of about two hundred Beothuk words. In 1819, he served on a committee which tried to return Demasduit to her tribe and to befriend the remaining members of her race in a valiant - but sadly, hopeless - attempt to save Newfoundland's only indigenous people from extinction. Three years later, in 1822, Leigh moved to Bonavista to serve as the missionary there, but his failing health, partly due to overwork, only deteriorated further and he died on August 17, 1823, in St. John's.[150]

The Society continued to use Leigh's Schoolmaster/Catechist plan after his death. In

1824, five more teachers were hired although only one of them, Mr. Hoskins in Grates Cove, actually ran a regular day school. The other four, located in Trinity, New Harbour, Heart's Delight and Heart's Content, operated Sunday schools only and were each paid five pounds annually for their efforts. Hoskins received the regular schoolmaster's salary of fifteen pounds.[151]

1824 also saw something of an unusual first. William Tulk, the Society's teacher in Burin, decided to move to the community of Greater St. Lawrence, a few miles away. Declining numbers of students, along with a corresponding decline in revenue, precipitated Tulk's move. Also, Greater St. Lawrence - known today simply as St. Lawrence - apparently had a burgeoning population and offered better opportunities for long-term financial stability, such as they were back then in rural Newfoundland. The community's expressed wish for a teacher only further enhanced Tulk's desire to go there. After he explained his situation, the Society raised no objection to his transfer.[152]

As previously mentioned, the first decade of the eighteen hundreds saw the establishment of some new charitable organizations on the island, each of which was designed to provide some kind of educational service for the needy. Clearly, the Society was in no position to minister to the needs of the entire population in spite of its best efforts. On the other hand, there is little doubt the Society served as a kind of trail blazer, inspiring other organizations and individuals to make worthwhile contributions to their

communities.

The first of these organizations was formed in 1803. The Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in St. John's attempted to assist poor children through its two charity schools - one for Roman Catholics and one for Protestants. The curriculum attempted to go somewhat beyond the basics of just reading and writing, and students were actually taught how to sew and knit - an excellent innovation considering the almost constant need for warm clothing, especially during the long, cold winters.[153]

Three years later, in 1806, the Benevolent Irish Society (B.I.S.) was formed. Initially concerned strictly with the dispensing of charity, this now-famous organization - still in existence in Newfoundland - later broadened its mandate to include education. The B.I.S. school was intended to be non-denominational but it eventually became known, not surprisingly, as a Roman Catholic institution.[154]

In 1823, another group calling itself "The Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland" was added to the growing list of pedagogical concerns. Although the name of this organization would change frequently over the one hundred years of its existence, it became best known as, simply, the Newfoundland School Society (N.S.S.). Founded by a wealthy English merchant named Samuel Codner, this new society gained immediate success largely because of its extensive use of the popular Monitorial System,

careful selection of teachers trained in the application of that system and the generous support of the British government, which provided title to land set aside for school buildings and financial aid for school construction and teachers' salaries. The government also provided transportation across the Atlantic Ocean for those in Britain who volunteered to teach in Newfoundland.[155]

The Newfoundland School Society quickly overshadowed the S.P.G. because of the former's more extensive efforts to provide services in isolated communities. The N.S.S. even came up with a way to successfully combat the chronic shortage of teachers by implementing a scheme which, in a sense, resembled the Monitorial System. Trained teachers were placed in larger communities and were required - on top of their normal teaching duties - to instruct local personnel who, shortly thereafter, were expected to open branch schools in nearby settlements.[156]

The use of this original, but highly effective, plan enabled the N.S.S. to actually surpass the S.P.G. in total numbers of schools and teachers within a fairly brief period of time. In fact, the numbers for S.P.G. Schools started to decline rapidly after the mid-eighteen thirties while the N.S.S. experienced continuous growth, until 1846 when the damage caused by a major fire in St. John's and a fierce hurricane across the island forced the closure of several schools.[157]

There were other fundamental differences between the two societies. Although they both had their roots firmly grounded in the traditions of the Anglican Church, the Newfoundland School Society never hesitated to seek assistance from those of other faiths and invariably enjoyed some interdenominational support, a claim which the S.P.G. could never make. The N.S.S. also made a point of always concerning itself with the quality of the teachers it hired.[158] To be fair, the S.P.G. tried to do the same, but teacher shortages and the problems of distance and isolation often did not allow for "quality control checks," as it were.

The S. P. G., in one of its annual reports compiled in the late eighteen twenties, showed that it was very much aware of this problem but, nevertheless, tried to put on a brave face.

> It has been found impracticable, except in the few principal places of the island, to collect any large number of children together for the purposes of instruction; the consequence of which has been, that persons of less qualifications, perhaps, than would have been desirable, have been necessarily employed as schoolmasters.
>
> Inadequate however as the means of education have confessedly been, and small as the number of missionaries still are ... there exists as much, if not more attachment to the institutions of the parent country in these secluded shores, than is to be found in many of the more favoured portions of his Majesty's colonies.[159]

The Reverend George Coster, appointed Ecclesiastical Commissary for Newfoundland in 1825, succeeding John Leigh, travelled extensively across the island for much of the

following year.[160] In a letter to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, John Inglis, he included a brief mention on the state of S.P.G. schools.

> The daily schools attached to the Established Church and in part supported by our Society, have not hitherto attained, generally speaking, a very prosperous state. We have been under a disadvantage in having no Central School in the Island, in which the Teachers we employ might be instructed in the Madras System.[161]

The problems concerning S.P.G. schools were, of course, nothing new to the hierarchy of either the Society or the Church of England. But the rapid success of the Newfoundland School Society only appeared to accentuate the S.P.G.'s problems. For the first time, real comparison could be made between different schools, and it was the S.P.G. which always seemed to come up short.

The situation came to a head in 1827 when the Bishop of London announced he had heard from a reliable source - the name of this source was never given - that "the Schools of the Society ... were so ineffectual as to be merely nominal."[162] He then proceeded to order Bishop Inglis - whose diocese included Newfoundland - to travel throughout the island and compose an accurate, in-depth report on the precise state of Society schools in the colony.[163] Inglis arrived in St. John's during the late spring or early summer of 1827 and later that year released his findings in a brief volume entitled An Account of the State of the Schools in the Island of Newfoundland Established or Assisted by the S.P.G. in Foreign Parts. This report, all fourteen pages of it, was

published in London by C. and J. Rivington.

Inglis' visit to the colony was probably the first ever by an Anglican bishop and its emphasis on educational, as opposed to pastoral, concerns made it all the more unique, although not really surprising. Charles Inglis, John's father and predecessor as Bishop, was instrumental in introducing the Monitorial System to his diocese and he passed on his interest in education to his son who helped to further its cause by establishing schools throughout the Atlantic region. He also arranged to have Halifax chosen as the site for a Central Training School to instruct teachers on the proper use of the Monitorial System. By the early eighteen thirties, several teachers from Newfoundland had attended this school, funded in large measure by the Society.[164] Bishop Inglis' report, the first of its kind relating to Newfoundland, provided a very clear, open and sometimes brutally honest account of S.P.G. schools and schoolmasters. While several were warmly praised for their efforts - especially Joseph Beacon in St. John's, William Bray in Harbour Grace, James Bell in Fogo and James Sheldon in Salvage - others were not looked upon so benevolently.[165] The following excerpts are gleaned from different sections of the report.

> At Carbonear ... the Society [assists] a school taught by W. Loader, who reads to the congregation (but is not very well qualified for either office) ... At Bay Roberts ... Mr. Williams is aged, and not very efficient ... At Bonavista, a daily school ... was taught for many years by Mr. Gayler, a most exemplary person, but with moderate attainments.[166]

Of the twenty teachers mentioned, less than half were accorded unqualified praise. Some

were seen as either unqualified, inefficient, old, infirm or some combination thereof. A few others were perceived to be underutilized; these were individuals who taught only in Sunday schools. Bishop Inglis firmly believed that the communities where these gentlemen worked - places like Bird Island Cove and Moreton's Harbour - needed regular day schools.[167]

In the report, Inglis did not provide an overall summary of the state of the Society's schools, but he did write a letter to Sir Thomas Cochrane, the Governor of Newfoundland, on September 10, 1827, which gave a broad but accurate outline of education in the colony.

> Sir,
>
> ... On the Subject of Schools. I beg to trouble Your Excellency, with the result of much inquiry and attention.
>
> The want of them in some places were marked by a deplorable ignorance as can be imagined, while in other places the benefit was equally prominent and delightful, where Instruction has been regularly afforded for any considerable period.
>
> ... The Society P.G.F. have assisted many Schools, but their limited means have not allowed them to afford the help that was requisite ... many of the Schools have disappointed the expectations of the Society ...
>
> To supply all of the Schools that are required in Newfoundland ... is impossible. Several ... Schools have been established in useful places, but where instruction of a more limited character could be obtained as at Harbour Grace and Bonavista; while other places much more in want of instruction and entirely without the means of obtaining it as New Harbour, Ferryland, etc. are left without any provision ...

> If Government would grant from £40 to £50 [for each school, then this] would be amply sufficient for the places where they are established ...
>
> Signed,
> John Nova Scotia[168]

Bishop Inglis' report was, on the whole, very evenhanded. Praise was given where merited but was by no means lavish. Likewise, criticism was meted out in the same manner but was never overly harsh. The Society's reaction, however, was one of almost unabashed delight, with the Committee deriving "the most satisfactory impressions" from the report which, it believed, refuted "in the fullest manner, those assertions which have been repeatedly made of the utter inefficiency of the Schools."[169] Nevertheless, it decided to pursue further research in an attempt to seek out ways to improve the situation in the colony. Archdeacon George Coster, as Ecclesiastical Commissary, was selected to perform this task. In September, 1827, he sent out a series of "Circular Letters" to the various missionaries, schoolmasters and catechists scattered across the island, requesting specific information on the state of education in the several communities serviced by the Society. Unfortunately, of the twenty-two teachers employed at that time, less than half sent back replies, indicating, perhaps, that the situation was not nearly as positive as the Society had wanted to believe.[170] Granted, many of the schools were in communities so isolated that maintaining any amount of correspondence was difficult even at the best of times, but the replies Reverend Coster managed to receive were peppered with bad tidings; the S.P.G. school in Bonavista was forced to close because of the presence of

the Newfoundland School Society which managed to lure every student in the community to its new school, and John Curtis, the S.P.G. schoolmaster in Portugal Cove, resigned his position to take up a similar posting with the Methodist Church.[171]

Not all the news was negative, however. Between 1826 and 1828, new schools were established and new schoolmasters hired in Bird Island Cove, Keels, Exploits Island, Salmon Cove, Torbay and Manuels.[172] At about the same time, two women were hired to work as schoolmistresses; Jemima Rennell was appointed to work with Joseph Beacon at the Society's school in St. John's and a Mrs. Coulman took on the position in Ferryland. They became the second and third women hired by the S.P.G. in Newfoundland, after the previously mentioned Mrs. Hosier in Bonavista.[173] Schoolmaster Thomas Walley transferred to New Harbour from Greenspond in 1828, thereby bringing his services to a larger community.[174]

Chapter Seven: Teacher Training/Growth of the Newfoundland School Society/Edward Wix/Cutbacks and the Decision to Close Schools, 1829 - 1833

Over many years, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel managed to compile a great wealth of material concerning education throughout the British Empire, mostly through correspondence with its missionaries and teachers. However, there was little information ever given about what specifically went on in classrooms, except for listings of subjects taught and the numbers of students.

In his excellent volume about the history of St. John's, A Seaport Legacy, Paul O'Neill included a chapter about education. It contained a brief but interesting section about classroom life in the first half of the nineteenth century. Part of the section read as follows:

> There was not much to attract pupils to colonial classrooms. Equipment consisted of little except ink powder, a bell in the master's hand, and a clock on the wall. Slates arrived on the scene about 1815 and were common until the present century. Quill pens were in use until after 1850. There was no blackboard and little paper. For a copybook, sheets of wrapping paper were folded over and sewn together, with wallpaper used for a cover ... The job of the master seems to have been to hear reading, set sums, teach parsing, mend pens and thrash the disorderly.
>
> A well-behaved class was a silent body, seated on long benches in a cramped and badly ventilated room. Scholars were read and spelt twice a day and the rest of the time were busy keeping still. Every ten or fifteen minutes the master would pound his cane on the desk and its sound sent shivers through the hearts of those whose restless feet were threatening the silence of the room.

> Benches and desks were slabs of wood overlaid with jack-knife literature ... The girls were required to keep the place swept and dusted, while the boys were charged with looking after the wood supply, lighting the fire, and disposing of the ashes ... In winter pupils nearest to the stove sweltered, while children in the far corners of the room suffered chillblains.
>
> Despite the primitive conditions and the fact that ... teachers ... were very poorly paid, there were some who were born to the calling and loved their work so greatly that they were able to instill a love for learning in their pupils.[175]

The first half of the nineteenth century also saw the beginning of bona fide teacher training throughout much of the English-speaking world - i.e., the British Empire and the United States. In British North America, the first teacher training school was organized in Halifax in 1816 and was utilized to inculcate trainees in the proper use of the Monitorial method, briefly outlined in Chapter Six.[176] This was the system where older students acted as monitors to younger pupils under the teacher's direction. Its inventor was an eccentric Scottish clergyman named Andrew Bell who had lived in India and served, at one time, as an administrator of an orphanage in Madras. It was there he devised this unique procedure for teaching and, hence, it became widely known as the Madras System. Sometime later, a similar plan was developed by one Joseph Lancaster who ran his system along non-denominational lines, unlike Dr. Bell who insisted on the use of the Bible and the Church of England Catechism as the cornerstones of instruction.[177]

In British North America, the Monitorial or Madras method was called the "National System" but, regardless of the name, it became very popular and the S.P.G. jumped on the bandwagon early on by encouraging teachers to study the new method and assisting in the construction of National Training Schools throughout the empire. The Society also provided funding to teachers to defray costs incurred from travelling to these schools.[178]

According to available sources, it was the Newfoundland School Society that introduced the National System to Newfoundland in 1823. First mention of the use of this system by the S.P.G. in Newfoundland came a year later when, apparently after a few aborted attempts, Reverend George Coster reported on the progress of the Society's schoolmaster in St. John's, Joseph Beacon, "who conducts a Charity School ... for the introduction of the National System ...."[179]

There is some question as to whether Beacon actually received any formal methods training. A letter by Reverend Coster, dated Bonavista, July 21, 1827, mentioned a wish of Bishop John Inglis to have Beacon trained in Halifax and to have a training school erected in St. John's, but there is nothing to indicate that Beacon left Newfoundland at any time, even after Inglis secured a promise from the Committee in which the Society would cover Beacon's travel expenses.[180] It is possible that Beacon travelled to Halifax and got his training there while the Society never bothered to report it, or he learned the system through the use of "National School Books" which were textbooks expressly

written with the National System in mind and from the advice of Reverend Coster who, in 1824, "offered his services to Mr. Beacon ... for the introduction of the national system ...."[181] At any rate, by 1828, the school in St. John's, with Beacon and Jemima Rennell at the helm, was "extremely well conducted" according to Reverend Frederic Carrington, the Anglican minister there who further reported: "The National System of Education ... has been introduced and promises to be attended with desired success ...."[182]

To transport all S.P.G. teachers to Halifax for monitorial teacher training was neither practical nor economical, so the Society decided to send its schoolmasters to St. John's - each for a period of a few weeks - to get instruction from Joseph Beacon. Reverend Carrington, in a letter to the Society dated January 21, 1829, made mention of seven teachers from the outports who received National System training at various times in 1828. They included Thomas Walley, who "made good progress," William Loader, who "made but little progress," and a recently-hired schoolmistress named Sarah Wiseman who taught school in Heart's Delight.[183] The Society subsequently donated fifty pounds to defray the teachers' expenses for time spent in St. John's.[184]

At this point, the S.P.G. was trying to keep pace with the Newfoundland School Society in expanding services, but the latter continued to gain momentum especially when it started to hire readers already employed by the S.P.G. to teach regular day schools.

Since these readers were only paid for clerical duties, the Society was hardly in a position to object especially after it was given full sanction by the Governor of Newfoundland, Sir Thomas Cochrane.[185]

From 1829 to 1831, the Society experienced a rapid and substantial period of change. The introduction of the National System was by no means the only sign of transition. New schools were created in New Perlican and Pouch Cove.[186] Joseph Beacon and Jemima Rennell both resigned their positions in St. John's to be replaced by Susanna Hain and John Long.[187] New teachers were hired in New Harbour, St. Lawrence, Salmon Cove, Keels, Silly Cove, Grates Cove and Burin. Sadly, four schoolmasters died, including William Tulk and John Thomas. At the time of his death, Thomas had served with the S.P.G. in Silly Cove for fifty years.[188] But these changes would be minor compared to what the Society was about to experience beginning in 1832.

In the eighteen thirties, Britain was in the midst of major economic change. This change - brought about by the then unique process of massive industrialization - led to the destruction of rural handicraft trades, otherwise known as cottage industries, and created large numbers of surplus labourers who crowded into urban centres searching for employment. Many of these labourers were landless and semi-landless peasants who were forced to become paupers and rely on meagre government handouts via the infamous Poor Law system then in effect.[189] The subsequent increase in the government's financial

burden, combined with growing unrest in the cities, led to demands for a streamlining of handouts and a better, fairer, more equitable distribution of overall funding from the public purse. More specifically, there was a growing acceptance of the idea that public money, in the form of Parliamentary grants, should not be given to private concerns. Since its inception in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, undeniably a private organization, had enjoyed generous financial support from the British government in its efforts to spread Christianity - or at least the teachings of the Church of England - around the world. Now, all this would change. In January, 1832, the government announced substantial cutbacks in aid to private groups and the S.P.G. was placed in a position where it would be forced to dramatically alter its philosophy and strategies for maintaining its presence in the colonies.[190]

Until the Society decided about how to deal with its soon-to-be restricted funding, things remained unchanged in its enclaves throughout the empire, including Newfoundland. Edward Wix was the new Anglican Archdeacon, having replaced George Coster in 1830, and he, like his predecessor, made an effort to visit schools across the island and provide written assessments of facilities and teachers.[191]

Wix's devotion to the preservation of the principles of the Anglican Church occasionally bordered on the fanatical. Time and again he would raise the alarm against incursions by the Newfoundland School Society, especially when it appeared the N.S.S. might

somehow "become the organ of a particular sect" - i.e., the Methodists - who might behave "less cordially to the Church."[192]

Earlier in this chapter, it was mentioned how the N.S.S. would occasionally hire S.P.G. catechists and Sunday school teachers to run regular day schools. For its part, the Society made a few attempts to retaliate in kind, but these plans were sometimes thwarted by Wix and his rather heavy-handed religious zeal. In a letter dated October 3, 1831, he indicated his unyielding opposition to the appointment of an N.S.S. teacher, one Richard Brace, as Reader in Bareneed. In the same letter, Wix also described his firing of an S.P.G. minister, Reverend D. Daniel, for what he called "intemperate behaviour." Unfortunately, no details were given about Daniel's supposed indiscretions.[193]

With the Society about to face a sizable drop in financial support, it would seem that some sort of alliance with the N.S.S. might have been a worthwhile solution to the inevitable cutbacks in missionary and pedagogical funding. However, the contents of another letter by Wix to the Society, this one dated September 12, 1832, convinced the Committee to do otherwise. It said, in part:

> The attempt on the part of [an S.P.G.] clergyman to gather the children of his care for Sunday instruction would meet opposition from [the Newfoundland School] Society. Our clergy in my opinion too readily yield the ground for the sake of peace ... The Society which I have named is not worthy of our confidence. It is irresponsible to the Church. It is unconnected with her, and for anything we know may give education as

> little in accordance with the principles of the Church as would a body of Schools in connexion with the Wesleyan or any other unconnected sect ... Their standing rules now permit moreover ... that Presbyterians as well as professed Episcopalians may be eligible to their masters appointment.[194]

It was these and other similar arguments which convinced the Committee to pass a general rule dismissing any person on the Society's list of catechists and schoolmasters who dissented from the doctrines of the Church of England. As a consequence, the new ruling led to the immediate firing of William Bray, the Society's schoolmaster in Harbour Grace, who had held his position for almost twelve years.[195]

Wix's solution to compensate for the loss of Bray and any others was to recruit volunteers to serve as readers and Sunday school teachers while working closely with the Anglican minister in their respective communities. However, this plan never got off the ground.[196]

In April, 1833, the Committee decided to completely withdraw financial aid to missionaries, catechists and teachers in St. John's, believing the town to be large and wealthy enough to support its own clergy. At the same time, reductions and withdrawals were made in centres throughout the Empire and grants earmarked for special projects were also lowered.[197] This method of gradual withdrawal - a direct consequence of the British government's financial cutbacks - would eventually conclude with the Society's

complete removal from Newfoundland and several other regions as well.

St. John's was not the only North American centre which saw a withdrawal of S.P.G. services in 1833; Quebec and Halifax were similarly affected.[198] But the removal from St. John's came when the Society had just reached its peak in terms of the number of persons employed throughout the colony: twelve missionaries and thirty-four schoolteachers and catechists, who were paid a total of £3,350, although only £750 of that was given to the teachers.[199]

The following synopsis, taken from the Society's Annual Report for 1833, provides a concise record of its presence in Newfoundland during that year.

Bareneed	Schoolmaster Richard Brace
Bay de Verde	Schoolmaster James Norris
Bird Island Cove	Schoolmaster John Coffin
Bonaventure	Schoolmaster and Catechist Ben Thompson
Bonavista	Missionary Reverend Fitzgerald and Schoolmaster Thomas Gayler
Brigus	--
Burin	Schoolmaster and Catechist John Woundy
Carbonear	Catechist William Loader
Catalina	Schoolmaster and Catechist James Cram
Change Island	Catechist William Oake
Emanuels	Catechist Richard Parmiter
English Harbour	Schoolmaster John Budgen
Ferryland	--
Fogo	Catechist James Bell
Grate's Cove	Schoolmaster Thomas Cooper
Greenspond	Missionary Nathaniel Allen Coster
Harbour Grace	Schoolmaster Robert Bray, Missionary John Burt, and Missionary Charles J. Shreve

Heart's Delight	Schoolmaster James Wiseman
Heart's Content	Schoolmaster James Moore
Island Cove	Catechist Richard Wills
New Harbour	Catechist Charles Elford
New Perlican	Catechist William Pittman
Petty Harbour	Schoolmaster Richard Allen
Pilchard's Island	Schoolmaster John Sainsbury
Port de Grave	Missionary Charles Blackman
Pouch Cove	Schoolmaster John Crossman
Bay Roberts	Catechist William Mosdell
St. John's	Missionary Edward Wix, Missionary F. Carrington
St. John's (Outharbours)	Missionary Thomas Wood
Salmon Cove	Catechist George Heath
Salvage	Schoolmaster and Catechist Thomas Parker
Silly Cove	Schoolmaster John French
Swain's Island	Schoolmaster John Feltham
Torbay	Catechist Charles Tapper
Trinity Bay	Missionary William Bullock, Missionary Reverend Nisbett, Schoolmaster Samuel Gent
Twillingate	Missionary John Chapman
Vere Island	Catechist Moses Cutler
Stations not fixed	Missionary Otto Weeks, Schoolmaster John Long, Schoolmaster Susanna Hain, Schoolmaster Elizabeth Coulman.[200]

Although this report did not say so, other records clearly showed that John Long and Susanna Hain taught in St. John's and Elizabeth Coulman was in Ferryland.[201] Some missionaries, including John Chapman in Twillingate, operated Sunday schools, although they were not mandated to do so.[202]

The 1833 Report also contained extensive material on the discussion between members about the type of direction the Society should take now that its biggest source of funding

was being withdrawn. In some circles, it was hoped the loss of government support could be covered by voluntary contributions from private citizens and church congregations, but the missionaries themselves were under no illusions. They knew local resources would always be scarce and had originally accepted their appointments on the assumption that the Society would cover the inevitable shortfall in local contributions to their salaries. Therefore, not surprisingly, they vigorously protested against the cutbacks.[203] Protests, however, fell largely on deaf ears, although the Society was able to implement a few minor adjustments to make the salary cuts somewhat more gradual than originally planned and a little less painful.[204] However, as the report clearly stated:

> The arrangement now made is expressly limited to the existing missionaries; and when their services are discontinued no public provision whatsoever, for the maintenance of the colonial clergy, will be made from the resources, either of the mother country or of the colonies.[205]

As for the pedagogical side of operations, the report said this:

> [In Newfoundland] The distance of the settlers from one another is the first obstacle to this good work; and when the inclemency of the winter is also taken into account, we have no cause for surprise at the slow progress of education. Hitherto the Society has incurred a considerable expense in the maintaining of schools; **but it does not propose to continue this branch of its outlay, except in very peculiar cases.**[206]

This declaration signalled the beginning of the end of what could be called the first era of Newfoundland's educational history. Nevertheless, the Society still had at least one more important contribution to make before bowing out for good.

Chapter Eight: Cutbacks and Effects/Early Development of the Theological Institution/Bishop Spencer/Bishop Feild/Downsizing of Operations/Foray into Labrador, 1832 - 1850

Once implemented, the effect of monetary cutbacks on the Society's operations was immediate. From the aforementioned peak of thirty-four schoolmasters and catechists employed in Newfoundland in the year 1833, the number plummeted sharply to nineteen and salary expenditures went from a high of seven hundred and fifty pounds to two hundred and sixty-two pounds by 1835, just two years later.[207] This was largely due to the elimination of salaries for catechists of whom there were fifteen in the colony. For 1836, the Society's cash account, while giving no indication of the number of persons paid, outlined a total of thirty-nine pounds, two shillings and six pence for its teachers in Newfoundland.[208] Considering the average salary was somewhere around thirteen pounds, it is fairly safe to assume there were no more than five teachers on the payroll for that year. In 1838, only one schoolmaster was mentioned in the Society's cash account record - no name given - and that person was paid a grand total of eight pounds, five shillings.[209] In 1839, the year Newfoundland became a separate diocese within the Church of England, there were no schoolmasters listed at all.[210]

This, however, did not signal the end of the Society's educational involvement. The Annual Report for 1841 mentioned four schoolmasters for the island who were paid, on average, just over twenty-one pounds. This sum certainly appears rather large when

compared to what teachers were making just three years earlier, but there was perhaps a plausible explanation for this. It came from a letter written by the first Anglican Bishop of Newfoundland, Aubrey Spencer, which was published as part of the Annual Report. The letter mentioned the ordination of a Mr. Joseph Mesh as minister and his assignment to serve as missionary and schoolmaster while being paid by both the S.P.G. **and** the N.S.S.[211] Unfortunately, nothing further was recorded concerning this matter but it certainly suggests the two societies got together to co-operate and pool their resources for the benefit of the local populace. Edward Wix, the archdeacon who would have been the most vocal naysayer of this plan, had resigned his position in 1839, and the fact he was no longer around was probably the biggest single inducement for the two groups to strike a deal.[212]

Because the decision had already been made to get out of education, everyone in the Society knew that its arrangement with the N.S.S. was only temporary and, sure enough, there were no schoolmasters working for the S.P.G. according to the following year's report. Indeed, over the next twenty-five years, the Society would hire a grand total of three teachers to work in Newfoundland, one of whom was paid fifty pounds in 1850 to teach in Starve Harbour.[213] The same report mentioned missionaries who kept day schools but, by this time, it was safe to conclude that the Society's educational endeavours were - for all intents and purposes - finished, except in one final respect.

For over one hundred years, the number of Anglican clergymen in Newfoundland never exceeded a dozen at any given time and was, in fact, usually fewer than ten. In 1841, the population of the colony was approximately ninety thousand, many of whom still had little or no access to religious instruction and worship. Bishop Spencer experienced almost nothing but frustration in his repeated attempts to bring clergymen over from England, so he was eventually convinced that the problem of priestly shortages could only be solved by providing theological training to members of the local populace. In order to achieve this, a college would have to be created, so he solicited - and got - support from the Society to procure a house on Military Road in St. John's. Six young men signed on as the college's first students and were lodged at the house while receiving theological instruction in a lecture room built expressly for that purpose near St. Thomas' Church in the eastern part of the town. Reverend Charles Blackman, the pastor of St. Thomas', became the first principal of the new institution and received assistance from the Bishop whenever the latter was in St. John's.[214]

Because Bishop Spencer experienced difficulty in coping with the harsh climate, his tenure in Newfoundland lasted only four years and he was subsequently transferred to Jamaica in 1843. In that brief time, he managed to raise the number of clergy from eight to twenty-five, including a few gentlemen who served the dual role of deacon and schoolmaster in their respective parishes. Before leaving for Jamaica, he made an arrangement with the Governor of Newfoundland, John Harvey, to secure - for eventual

purchase - an edifice known as Avalon Cottage, located a short distance from St. Thomas' Church. This house had originally been built by a merchant named Thomas Holdsworth Brooking and at one time served as a residence for the Chief Justice of Newfoundland.[215]

Spencer's replacement, Edward Feild, arrived at St. John's in July, 1844. One of England's most prominent educationalists, Feild intended to make Avalon Cottage the site of a new boys' school, and this was how the property was used for the next seventeen years, although it may have been considered as a new site for the Theological Institution - as the clerical college was now called - before Feild's arrival. Instead, a second cottage on a site adjoining the Avalon estate was purchased with the S.P.G.'s assistance in 1847 and used as a home for the divinity students. A lecture hall and dormitories were added in 1850.[216]

Feild's original plan was to construct an educational complex: a series of buildings which would include the boys' school, the theological college and residences. However, sufficient funds could not be raised for such an ambitious project and the two schools eventually came to be seen as separate entities. The boys' school moved to a new location on Bond Street in 1861 and would later be named Bishop Feild College, an institution which still exists today in the heart of old St. John's.[217]

Meanwhile, Feild had a few plans for the Theological Institution, which he wanted renamed "Queen's College":

> If this name should be approved and allowed, I should wish the chief officer, who would always be a clergyman in priest's orders, to be called the Provost. He would be constantly resident, and with two Fellows, also resident, might conduct all the business of the college and school, in regard both of instruction and discipline. The Provost might be unmarried, but the two Fellows must be unmarried ...
>
> There should be three Honourary Fellows who, together with the Provost and resident Fellows, should form a Council, to advise the Bishop in framing and altering rules, etc., and in the absence of the Bishop carry on all the concerns of the college ...
>
> Rooms should be provided for twelve resident students in the college. Six of these would be exhibitioners of the S.P.G., preparing for holy orders. One, or more of these, would be required to assist in the [teaching at the boys' school]. It must be remembered that in the college there would not be, for some years, more than two or three independent students and the charge for their education must be very low.[218]

One of the more interesting aspects of the college was a stipulation requiring all students, upon admission to the institution, to pledge themselves to at least seven years of service within the diocese, thereby ensuring a continuous supply of clergymen in the colony and effectively eliminating the constant need to look for outside help. Subjects of study included Latin and Greek, English Literature, Mathematics, Church History, Old and New Testament and "Prayer Book."[219]

The name Queen's College was subsequently approved and eventually came into general

use a number of years later when the boys' school and college had clearly gone their separate ways.[220]

For its part, the Society agreed to contribute three hundred pounds per annum towards the education of Queen's College students, although this endowment was, given the Society's economic condition, not necessarily permanent.[221] Any distribution of funding now had to be done judiciously, with top priority given to those places with the greatest need. With this in mind, the Society turned its attention to a part of the colony which hitherto had been virtually ignored - the coast of Labrador.

Actually, it was Bishop Feild who, in a series of letters written in late 1848, managed to draw the Society's attention to Labrador. He suggested the Society provide a grant of two hundred pounds a year for five years to establish three separate missions in the area.[222] The plan was quickly approved and less than a year later, in July, 1849, a graduate of Queen's named Algernon Gifford became the first missionary approved by the S.P.G. assigned to Labrador, at a salary of seventy-five pounds. Initially posted at English Point, he later moved to Forteau on the southern coast. He was followed shortly thereafter by the Reverend H.P. Disney who was assigned to the community of Battle Harbour.[223] A third mission was established at Sandwich Bay in 1859.[224]

Records show that Reverend Gifford attempted to set up a school at English Point. In

1850, he requested a sum of two hundred and fifty pounds from the Society "for a piece of ground with erections ... intending to make it the site of a Church and School-house."[225] Although the money was granted, there was nothing further to indicate whether Gifford was successful in establishing his school. By this time, the Church of England in Newfoundland was well on its way to eliminating any dependence on the Society. By the end of the century, the S.P.G.'s financial contribution usually was in the realm of two thousand pounds a year and was generally used to aid Queen's College and a scattered missionary or two located in only the remotest of settlements.[226]

In 1922, the Church in Newfoundland officially ended all links between it and the Society, deciding that it could support itself without outside help. In a gesture of gratitude for over two centuries of service, the diocese sent a gift of one thousand pounds to the Society; this act officially ended the S.P.G.'s formal involvement with Newfoundland. Eleven years later, in 1933, a plaque of stained glass bearing the Society's seal was sent to St. John's and placed in the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, a fitting memorial to an important era in Newfoundland's religious and educational history.[227]

Chapter Nine: An Evaluation of the Society's Work

That the educational efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Newfoundland were highly significant, there can be little doubt. Several historians, especially Rowe and Christensen, have emphasized - with little qualification - the importance of this organization's good works. To this can be added the plethora of contemporary accounts still available in letters, petitions and various documents lauding those individuals whose outstanding efforts were accomplished under the Society's auspices, often in very trying circumstances given the colony's isolation and harsh climate.

Inevitably, a question arises pertaining to the quality of educational services provided in Newfoundland as compared to other locales. This paper has already made mention of an assertion by Sister Mary A. Dunphy who, in her 1956 thesis on the history of teacher training in Newfoundland, determined that the S.P.G. teachers sent over from England were just as qualified - at least academically - as their colleagues in the mother country. Considering there was little or no professional training available prior to the nineteenth century and assuming Dunphy's findings are accurate, the teachers who came to the Ancient Colony years ago were probably on a par with educators throughout the British Empire.

In certain respects, however, comparisons between Newfoundland and any other region

can only be seen as one-sided, if not downright unfair. After all, Newfoundland was deliberately neglected for over three centuries while other places flourished. The attempts to ban settlement, the chaotic system of government under the fishing and naval admirals, the utter lack of social institutions designed to promote and retain public order, and the uncertainty of her political status all contributed to Newfoundland's backwardness when compared to nearby territories like Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. In contrast to Newfoundland, these places were **meant** to be colonies, with all the blessings inherent with such status: a stable system of government and public works; a steady - i.e., unerratic - flow of settlers to develop the land and resources; regular financial aid from the British government to encourage industrial, social **and educational** development; and a decent system of law and order. Newfoundland was never meant to have such benefits in the first place, and when they were given, it was done so reluctantly and in a piecemeal fashion.

Also, the people were largely working class folk, similar to their counterparts in England and Ireland who had little or no opportunity to secure an education. Poverty and ignorance prevailed among the working class poor on both sides of the Atlantic and, because of their situation, they were usually not in a position to appreciate, let alone desire, the benefits of schooling. Later on, however, when the charity school movement took root in England, the benefits of this kind of operation were extended to both Ireland and Newfoundland, owing perhaps to geographical proximity as well as Imperial ties.[228]

Those persons who are inclined to believe that Newfoundland was for centuries little more than an educational and cultural wasteland might well give heed to the words of Archdeacon George Coster who composed the following in 1827, while residing in Bonavista.

> Some how or other we [in the Society] must have done our part in the work of education, else, how, I would ask, were the young people in many parts of this country brought to that degree of knowledge and civilization which it is undeniable they had attained?
>
> I allow, indeed, that it was chiefly by means of Sunday-schools, that we had been serviceable to the children of the poor. Such schools were numerous in our missions; and though the system of instruction pursued in most of them was very indifferent ... great good indeed was done by them. In some cases I have been surprised to see so much effected with so little means. In them ... many are the children who have learned to read and to pray ...; of which, but for the teachers of those schools, they would have known nothing.
>
> Anxious, as I am, that the system should be improved ... I hesitate not to affirm, that both the system and the men are quite equal to what could reasonably be expected under the circumstances ....[229]

The Society's presence in Newfoundland was, of course, never large enough to meet the demands of a growing population; many settlements, probably numbering in the hundreds, never had the benefit of an S.P.G.-sponsored church or school in their midst. But as limited as the Society's influence might have been, it must be recognized, to its everlasting credit, for the following noteworthy contributions.

1. It assisted, if not established, the first known school in Newfoundland.

2. It supplied books and reading materials throughout the colony and served as the only source for the distribution of literature in many communities.

3. Its schools were pedagogical and cultural oases in a land that otherwise would have been totally deprived in this respect.

4. It provided at least some measure of educational opportunity and brought the desirability of education to public view until such time as other societies and the local government could provide meaningful contributions of their own.

5. Its educational efforts were in proportion to its available resources, especially considering that Newfoundland's concerns made up only a small part of its total mandate and that nowhere in the world was there anything akin to a universal system of basic education at the time.

6. The educational results may very well have been much greater than mere statistics would indicate. S.P.G. schools were established in the colony's larger settlements, many of whose inhabitants later moved to other centres and subsequently helped to teach the youth of those places.[230]

7. It was responsible for creating the first theological training facility in the colony, an institution which is still operating to the present day.

8. It assisted in the development of Sunday schools in Newfoundland which, for many, was usually the only means available for procuring any kind of formal education.

ENDNOTES

[1]Arthur Barnes, "The History of Education in Newfoundland" (D.Paed. Dissertation, New York University, 1917), p.12. Hereafter cited as Barnes, "History of Education."

[2]M.A. Dunphy, "A History of Teacher Training In Newfoundland, 1726 - 1955" (B.ED. Thesis, Mount St. Vincent College, 1956), p.1. Hereafter cited as Dunphy, "Teacher Training."

[3]William B. Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," in Canadian Education: A History, ed. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet (Scarborough. Prentice Hall of Canada, 1970), pp. 126, 127. Hereafter cited as Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland."

[4]M.F. Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, pp. 170-171, as quoted in Ruth M. Christensen, "The Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703 - 1783," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 20 (June, 1951), pp. 208-209.

[5]Ruth M. Christensen, "The Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703 - 1783," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 20 (June, 1951), p. 209. Hereafter cited as Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland."

[6]Frederick W. Rowe, The Development of Education in Newfoundland (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), p. 20. Hereafter cited as Rowe, Development of Education in Newfoundland.

[7]Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," p. 130.

[8]Cyril F. Poole, "The Beginnings of Education in Newfoundland," p. 3, as quoted in A.B. Dickinson, "Some Aspects of Education in Newfoundland" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Leeds, 1976), pp. 17-18.

[9]Barnes, "History of Education," p. 11.

[10]Barnes, "History of Education," p. 11.

[11]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 211.

[12]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed. (1984), s.v. "Gospel in Foreign Parts, Society for the Propagation of the."

[13]Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Royal Charter (1701), as quoted in Rowe, The Development of Education in Newfoundland, p. 26.

[14]T.R. Millman, Atlantic Canada to 1800: A History of the Anglican Church (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), p. 18.

[15]Minutes of the Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Lambeth Palace, London, April 16, 1703. Hereafter cited as S.P.G. Minutes.

[16]S.P.G. Minutes, May 21, 1703.

[17]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 212.

[18]T.R. Millman, Atlantic Canada to 1800: A History of the Anglican Church (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), p. 18.

[19]Rowe, Development of Education in Newfoundland, p. 27.

[20]S.P.G. Minutes, February 8, 1712.

[21]S.P.G. Minutes, February 8, 1712.

[22]S.P.G. Minutes, February 8, 1712.

[23]Barnes, "History of Education," pp. 12-14.

[24]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," pp. 213-214.

[25]S.P.G. Minutes, January 21, 1726.

[26]Frederick W. Rowe, Education and Culture in Newfoundland (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), p. 16.

[27]Rowe, Development of Education in Newfoundland, p. 28.

[28]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," pp. 215-216.

[29]S.P.G. Minutes, February 17, 1726.

[30]S.P.G. Minutes, March 17, 1749.

[31]S.P.G. Minutes, February 20, 1736.

[32]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 219.

[33]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," pp. 217-218.

[34]Frederick W. Rowe, A History of Newfoundland and Labrador (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980), p. 190. Hereafter cited as Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador.

[35]Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, p. 190.

[36]S.P.G. Minutes, February 18, 1743.

[37]S.P.G. Minutes, February 18, 1743.

[38]S.P.G. Minutes, March 15, 1745.

[39]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 221.

[40]S.P.G. Minutes, March 15, 1745.

[41]Rowe, Development of Education in Newfoundland, p. 28.

[42]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 220.

[43]Letter to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from William Peaseley. St. John's, Newfoundland, November 15, 1748.

[44]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 221.

[45]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 221.

[46]S.P.G. Minutes, July 20, 1750.

[47]S.P.G. Minutes, July 19, 1753.

[48]S.P.G. Minutes, December 21, 1753.

[49]R.J. Lahey, ed., Newfoundland Material Contained in the Annual Reports of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1704 - 1800 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987), pp. 6-10.

[50]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1991), s.v. "Langman, Edward."

[51]Christensen,"S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 221.

[52]Barnes, "History of Education," p. 15.

[53]R.J. Lahey, ed., Newfoundland Material Contained in the Annual Reports of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1704 - 1800 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987), p. 8.

[54]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," pp. 222-223.

[55]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 223.

[56]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 222.

[57]S.P.G. Minutes, October 28, 1763.

[58]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," pp. 225-226.

[59]S.P.G. Minutes, February 15, 1765.

[60]Letter to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from James Balfour. Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, October 24, 1765.

[61]S.P.G. Minutes, January 16, 1767.

[62]S.P.G. Minutes, December 19, 1766.

[63]Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, pp. 193-194.

[64]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1981), s.v. "Coughlan, Reverend Lawrence."

[65]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 224.

[66]S.P.G. Minutes, January 15, 1768.

[67]R.J. Lahey, ed., Newfoundland Material Contained in the Annual Reports of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1704 - 1800 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987), p. 13.

[68]S.P.G. Minutes, December 16, 1768.

[69]S.P.G. Minutes, December 16, 1768.

[70]S.P.G. Minutes, January 19, 1770.

[71]Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, p. 194.

[72]Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, pp. 194-195.

[73]S.P.G. Minutes, July 19, 1776.

[74]Letter to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from John Griggs. Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, November 4, 1771.

[75]S.P.G. Minutes, December 18, 1772.

[76]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," pp. 224-225, 227.

[77]S.P.G. Minutes, February 16, 1776.

[78]S.P.G. Minutes, July 19, 1776.

[79]Christensen, "S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland," p. 228.

[80]S.P.G. Minutes, December 15, 1780.

[81]S.P.G. Minutes, January 19, 1781.

[82]S.P.G. Minutes, February 18, 1785.

[83]S.P.G. Minutes, February 18, 1785.

[84]Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," p. 135.

[85] S.P.G. Minutes, December 17, 1784.

[86]S.P.G. Minutes, December 18, 1789.

[87]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1981), s.v. "Clinch, Rev. John."

[88]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1981), s.v. "Clinch, Rev. John."

[89]S.P.G. Minutes, March 18, 1785.

[90]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1981), s.v. "Clinch, Rev. John."

[91]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1981), s.v. "Clinch, Rev. John."

[92]S.P.G. Minutes, January 20, 1786.

[93]S.P.G. Minutes, December 19, 1788, February 21, 1806.

[94]S.P.G. Minutes, February 19, 1790.

[95]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1984), s.v. "Hoskins, John."

[96]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1984), s.v. "Hoskins, John."

[97]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1984), s.v. "Hoskins, John."

[98]S.P.G. Minutes, March 19, 1790.

[99]S.P.G. Minutes, March 19, 1790.

[100]S.P.G. Minutes, March 19, 1790.

[101]S.P.G. Minutes, April 23, 1790.

[102]S.P.G.Minutes, February 17, 1792.

[103]S.P.G.Minutes, February 17, 1792.

[104]S.P.G.Minutes, February 17, 1792.

[105]S.P.G.Minutes, February 17, 1792.

[106]S.P.G. Minutes, March 16, 1792.

[107]S.P.G. Minutes, March 16, 1792.

[108]S.P.G. Minutes, February 15, 1793.

[109]S.P.G. Minutes, January 22, 1796.

[110]S.P.G. Minutes, January 22, 1796.

[111]S.P.G. Minutes, January 22, 1796.

[112]Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Annual Report for 1801 (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1802), pp. 38-44. Hereafter cited as S.P.G., Annual Report.

[113]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1801, pp. 38-44.

[114]Dunphy, "Teacher Training," p. 3.

[115]Dr. Vincent Burke, "Education in Newfoundland," p. 287, as quoted in Dunphy, "Teacher Training," p. 4.

[116]S.P.G. Minutes, January 22, 1796.

[117]S.P.G. Minutes, December 20, 1799.

[118]S.P.G. Minutes, March 21, 1800.

[119]S.P.G. Minutes, January 17, 1799.

[120]Rowe, Development of Education in Newfoundland, p. 30.

[121]Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, pp. 201-202.

[122]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1981), s.v. "Anspach, Rev. Lewis Amadeus."

[123]S.P.G. Minutes, March 16, 1804.

[124]S.P.G. Minutes, February 19, 1802.

[125]S.P.G. Minutes, February 18, 1803.

[126]S.P.G. Minutes, March 21, 1806.

[127]Rowe, History of Newfoundland and Labrador, pp. 201-202.

[128]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1981), s.v. "Anspach, Rev. Lewis Amadeus."

[129]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1981), s.v. "Anspach, Rev. Lewis Amadeus."

[130]S.P.G. Minutes, February 20, 1807.

[131]S.P.G. Minutes, March 16, 1810.

[132]Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," p. 128.

[133]Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," p. 128.

[134]Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," pp. 128, 129.

[135]Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," p. 129.

[136]Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," pp. 130, 131.

[137]S.P.G. Minutes, February 21, 1812.

[138]S.P.G. Minutes, February 19, 1813.

[139]S.P.G. Minutes, February 19, 1813.

[140]S.P.G. Minutes, December 20, 1816.

[141]S.P.G. Minutes, June 20, 1817.

[142]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1991), s.v. "Leigh, John."

[143]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1822, pp. 55-56.

[144]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1822, pp. 55-56.

[145]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1823, p. 220.

[146]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1825, p. 220.

[147]S.P.G. Minutes, March 18, 1820.

[148]S.P.G. Minutes, June 20, 1817.

[149]Dunphy, "Teacher Training," pp. 5-6.

[150]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1991), s.v. "Leigh, John."

[151]S.P.G. Minutes, January 15, 1824, February 20, 1824.

[152]S.P.G. Minutes, November 19, 1824.

[153]Hamilton,"Society and Schools in Newfoundland," p. 130.

[154]Hamilton,"Society and Schools in Newfoundland," pp. 130-131.

[155]Hamilton,"Society and Schools in Newfoundland," pp. 131-132.

[156]Hamilton,"Society and Schools in Newfoundland," p. 132.

[157]Hamilton,"Society and Schools in Newfoundland," p. 132 and S.P.G., Annual Report, 1834-35, p. 271.

[158]Hamilton,"Society and Schools in Newfoundland," pp. 132, 133.

[159]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1828, pp. 36-37.

[160]S.P.G. Minutes, January 20, 1826.

[161]S.P.G. Minutes, January 20, 1826.

[162]S.P.G. Minutes, November 16, 1827.

[163]S.P.G. Minutes, November 16, 1827.

[164]T.R. Millman, Atlantic Canada to 1800: A History of the Anglican Church (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), p. 55.

[165]John Inglis, An Account of the State of the Schools in the Island of Newfoundland Established or Assisted by the S.P.G. in Foreign Parts (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1827), pp. 4, 5, 8, 10. Hereafter cited as Inglis, State of the Schools.

[166]Inglis, State of the Schools, pp. 5, 6, 9.

[167]Inglis, State of the Schools, pp. 4-10.

[168]Letter to Sir Thomas Cochrane from John Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia. Halifax, September 10, 1827.

[169]S.P.G. Minutes, November 16, 1827.

[170]S.P.G. Minutes, March 28, 1828.

[171]S.P.G. Minutes, March 28, 1828.

[172]S.P.G. Minutes, January 20, 1826, January 19, 1827, February 16, 1827, November 16, 1827, July 18, 1828.

[173]S.P.G. Minutes, January 19, 1827, November 16, 1827.

[174]S.P.G. Minutes, March 28, 1828.

[175]Paul O'Neill, A Seaport Legacy (Erin: Press Procepic, 1976), pp. 777-778.

[176]T.R. Millman, Atlantic Canada to 1800: A History of The Anglican Church (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), p. 55.

[177]T.R. Millman, Atlantic Canada to 1800: A History of The Anglican Church (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), p. 55.

[178]T.R. Millman, Atlantic Canada to 1800: A History of The Anglican Church (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), p. 55.

[179]S.P.G. Minutes, November 19, 1824.

[180] S.P.G. Minutes, November 16, 1827.

[181]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1825, p. 53.

[182]S.P.G. Minutes, November 21, 1828.

[183]S.P.G. Minutes, February 20, 1829.

[184]S.P.G. Minutes, May 15, 1829.

[185]S.P.G. Minutes, June 17, 1830.

[186]S.P.G. Minutes, November 15, 1830, June 17, 1831.

[187]S.P.G. Minutes March 18, 1831.

[188]S.P.G. Minutes, November 15, 1830, March 18, 1831, June 19, 1829, November 20, 1829.

[189]Mario S. Seccareccia, Immigration and Business Cycles: Pauper Immigration to Canada, 1815 - 1874 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1985), p. 132.

[190]S.P.G. Minutes, January 20, 1832.

[191]S.P.G. Minutes, November 15, 1830.

[192]S.P.G. Minutes, November 15, 1830.

[193]S.P.G. Minutes, November 18, 1831.

[194]S.P.G. Minutes, February 1, 1833.

[195]S.P.G. Minutes, February 1, 1833.

[196]S.P.G. Minutes, February 1, 1833.

[197]S.P.G. Minutes, April 19, 1833.

[198]S.P.G. Minutes, April 19, 1833.

[199]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1833, pp. 180-181.

[200]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1833, pp. 180-181.

[201]S.P.G. Minutes, March 18, 1831, November 18, 1831.

[202]S.P.G. Minutes, November 16, 1832.

[203]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1833, pp. 36-37.

[204]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1833, p. 37.

[205]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1833, p. 38.

[206]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1833, p. 41.

[207]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1833, p. 187, S.P.G., Annual Report, 1834-35, p. 271.

[208]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1837, p. 75.

[209]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1838, p. 171.

[210]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1839, p. 139.

[211]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1841, p. XIV.

[212]S.P.G. Minutes, January 18, 1839.

[213]S.P.G., Annual Report, 1850, p. 180.

[214]Elaine Rusted, "The Growth and Organization of the Anglican Church in Newfoundland by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: 1840 - 1848" (B.A. paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970), pp. 5-6. Hereafter cited as Rusted, "Anglican Church in Newfoundland."

[215]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1993), s.v. "Queen's College."

[216]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1993), s.v. "Queen's College."

[217]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1993), s.v. "Queen's College."

[218]Edward Feild, as quoted in Rusted, "Anglican Church in Newfoundland," pp. 23-26.

[219]C. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,. 1901), pp. 781-782.

[220]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1993), s.v. "Queen's College."

[221]S.P.G. Minutes, December 20, 1844.

[222]S.P.G. Minutes, November 17, 1848.

[223]S.P.G. Minutes, July 20, 1849, April 19, 1850.

[224]S.P.G. Minutes, March 18, 1859.

[225]S.P.G. Minutes, November 15, 1850.

[226]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1984), s.v. "Gospel in Foreign Parts, Society for the Propagation of the."

[227]Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed., (1984), s.v. "Gospel in Foreign Parts, Society for the Propagation of the."

[228]Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland," p. 140.

[229]Letter to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from George Coster. Bonavista, Newfoundland, July 21, 1827, as quoted in Inglis, State of the Schools, pp. 15-16.

[230]Rowe, Development of Education in Newfoundland, pp. 31-32.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnes, Arthur. "The History of Education in Newfoundland." D. Paed. dissertation, New York University, 1917.

Balfour, James. Letter to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, October 24, 1765.

Burke, Vincent P. "Education in Newfoundland." The Book of Newfoundland, Vol. 1. Edited by J.R. Smallwood. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1937.

Christensen, Ruth M. "The Establishment of S.P.G. Missions in Newfoundland, 1703 - 1783." Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 20 June, 1951, pp. 209 - 229.

Coster, George. Letter to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Bonavista, Newfoundland, July 21, 1827.

Dickinson, A.B. "Some Aspects of Education in Newfoundland." M.A. Dissertation, University of Leeds, 1976.

Dunphy, Sister M.A. "A History of Teacher Training in Newfoundland, 1726 - 1955." B.Ed. Thesis, Mount St. Vincent College, 1956.

Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed. (1981), s.v. "Anspach, Rev. Lewis Amadeus."

Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed. (1981), s.v. "Coughlan, Reverend Lawrence."

Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed. (1984), s.v. "Gospel in Foreign Parts, Society for the Propagation of the."

Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed. (1984), s.v. "Hoskins, John."

Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed. (1991), s.v. "Langman, Edward."

Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed. (1991), s.v. "Leigh, John."

Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1st ed. (1993), s.v. "Queen's College."

Griggs, John. Letter to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, November 4, 1771.

Hamilton, William B. "Society and Schools in Newfoundland." In Canadian Education: A History, edited by J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet. Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada, 1970.

Howley, M.F. Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland. Boston: 1888.

Inglis, John. An Account of the State of the Schools in the Island of Newfoundland Established or Assisted by the S.P.G. in Foreign Parts. London: C. and J. Rivington, 1827.

Inglis, John, Bishop of Nova Scotia. Letter to Sir Thomas Cochrane. Halifax, September 10, 1827.

Lahey, R.J., ed. Newfoundland Material Contained in the Annual Reports of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1704 - 1800. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987.

Millman, T.R. Atlantic Canada to 1800: A History of the Anglican Church. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983.

O'Neill, Paul. A Seaport Legacy. Erin: Press Porcepic, 1976.

Pascoe, C. Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1901.

Peaseley, William. Letter to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. St. John's Newfoundland, November 15, 1748.

Rowe, F.W. The Development of Education in Newfoundland. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964.

Rowe, F.W. Education and Culture in Newfoundland. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976.

Rowe, F.W. A History of Newfoundland and Labrador. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980.

Rusted, Elaine. "The Growth and Organization of the Anglican Church in Newfoundland by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: 1840 - 1848." B.A. paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. London. Annual Reports, 1801 - 1850.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. London. Minutes, April 16, 1703 to March 18, 1859. Also known as S.P.G. Journals.