

## ARTICLES

### CLASS, GENDER AND RELIGION IN NEWFOUNDLAND EDUCATION, 1836-1901\*

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Newfoundland has a fully denominational system of education, financed by the government and with three denominational bodies—Roman Catholic, Pentecostal and Amalgamated (Anglican, United Church, and Salvation Army)—each controlling its own schools. Early in the nineteenth century, however, between 1836 and 1843, the system was nondenominational, and its evolution towards denominationalism during the past century and a half has been seen by some historians in Burkean terms, as a “broadening down from precedent to precedent,” an inevitable progression consonant with the will and convictions of the people,<sup>1</sup> in which the churches have played a major role.<sup>2</sup> The uniqueness of the system, moreover, is often regarded as a source of pride, an expression of the island’s heritage and of the “Newfoundland soul.”<sup>3</sup> These viewpoints have affinities with the conservative-romantic hankering after an “imagined community” expressive of a traditional indigenous culture—co-operative, religious, and undisturbed by conflict—that has emerged in Newfoundland in recent years.<sup>4</sup>

Attractive as this outlook may be to those who seek solace in a certain kind of tradition, it ignores much of the reality of Newfoundland’s turbulent history as a fishing colony, the bitter ideological and political battles in which its cultural and educational identity was forged, and the difficulties inherent in attempts to establish a viable educational system in a one-industry economy. Life in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century was stormy and unpredictable; fishing families were for the most part poor, beset by the vagaries of the weather and the catch, and economically bound to the merchants by the truck system. Society was rent by conflicts and contradictions: of class—between merchants and fishers; of gender—in the subordination of women in a patriarchal society; of religion—in the struggle of Roman Catholics against the domination of a Protestant administration. It was in this context that from 1836 (the date of the first Education Act) a public education system developed—a system which was to be shaped by the peculiarities of the economic system and the forces of class, gender, and religion.

The question of gender has long been neglected in Newfoundland, not only in historical studies but also in sociological and ethnological studies of the present or recent past. Marilyn Porter has drawn attention to the androcentric bias in the otherwise excellent publications of Memorial University’s Institute for Social and Economic Research, and to the analysis of the economic relations in terms of male, wage-earning heads of households by what she calls the “Maritime Marxist school of social historians.” An adequate account of gender, she maintains, must begin with an examination of the sexual division of labour in the

Newfoundland fishery, exemplified in the separation between the male harvesting process and the female processing sector. Equally important, however, is an analysis of the concept of patriarchy, emanating from the male-dominated structures of power and culture, and of the role of domestic labour in the family economic unit in relation to the production and reproduction of the means of subsistence.<sup>5</sup>

The ideology of male dominance has, historically, been a strong element of Newfoundland culture, particularly in the male culture of fishing and in the kinship system, reinforced by the patriarchal political structure, all-male churches, and (for most of the nineteenth century) a male-dominated educational system. This ideology, however, was not entirely reflected in the practical concerns of the family, wherein women played a crucial role in the preparation of the catch and in the production and reproduction of the means of subsistence—an active rather than a passive role in gender relations.<sup>6</sup>

This active role began in the 1830s and 1840s with the growth of the truck or credit system, which arose on the ruins of the centuries-old migratory fishery. From the sixteenth century, British west country fishing fleets had crossed the Atlantic for summer fishing off the east coast of Newfoundland. But with the growth of a small resident population towards the end of the eighteenth century, and as a result of the disruption caused by the land and sea wars consequent upon the American and French Revolutions, there was a transition from the migratory fishery, largely based on wage labour, to an inshore fishery based on planters (small semi-independent boat owners who paid their servants wages or a share of the catch) and fishing families entirely subject to the domination of the merchant under the truck or credit system.<sup>7</sup> The two processes overlapped, but the migratory fishery had virtually ceased by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and legislative enactments of the 1830s and 1840s upheld the right of merchants not to pay wages, and tied fishing families to particular merchants. Unable to guarantee wages to their servants, the planter class declined and died out; and for the rest of the century, and after, the fishery was prosecuted by family units on the credit system.<sup>8</sup> In spring the merchant supplied the fishing family with food and equipment on credit. If the catch were good, the fishers redeemed the credit in the autumn and received winter supply, again on credit. If the catch were poor, the fisherman became indebted to the merchants.

Ellen Antler, in a study of the fishery, contends that the family fishery was essentially a compromise in the class struggle between merchants and fishers for control of the work-force and of markets for commodities.<sup>9</sup> But I cannot agree with her thesis that the fishers were proletarians in the Marxist sense of an industrial proletariat. The fishers were not free labourers with nothing to sell but their labour power; as Antler herself shows, they owned and reproduced their own means of production, and they controlled and reproduced the labour force.<sup>10</sup> The merchants controlled prices and access to markets, but they bought the product (cured fish), not the labour power, of the fishers. The domination of the merchants was at the point of exchange, not at the point of production.<sup>11</sup> I prefer

Steven Antler's analysis, which contends that the fishers were independent commodity producers dominated by merchant capital. The merchants controlled the output of the fishery; ownership of the means of production was difficult or impossible where the resource base was open access. The unit of labour, moreover, was not the individual but the family.<sup>12</sup>

As an essential part of the family unit, women had a crucial role in the production process—the skilled and arduous process of splitting, salting, and curing the freshly-caught fish. “At whatever time a boat comes from sea,” wrote an observer in the early part of the century, “though the remainder of the fatigued and often worn-out family should only at that moment have retired to rest, they must instantly arise and proceed with the employment brought them with the fresh load of fish.”<sup>13</sup> There was, however, a contradiction between the rough and ready equality of women with men in the production sphere and women's subordinate role in the fishing economy; women could, for instance, neither inherit land or boats nor be advanced credit by the merchant.<sup>14</sup> But they played an important role in the production and reproduction of the labour force and the means of production—household goods, food, clothing, and so on. Women's work, in fact, provided a hidden subsidy to merchant capital, allowing the merchant to depress credit.<sup>15</sup>

Thus when Newfoundland, after a long struggle by reformers, in 1832 achieved colonial status with representative government, the social structure was organized on hierarchical and patriarchal lines, with Protestantism as the official religion.<sup>16</sup> Essentially the colony was a two-class society of merchants and fishermen, as contemporaries were aware.<sup>17</sup> The colonial ruling class, dominated by merchants to the extent that Captain Richard Bonnycastle, a close student of Newfoundland life, dubbed Newfoundland a “mercantocracy,”<sup>18</sup> was always extremely small. In the 1857 Census the social elite—if we consider the categories of merchants, traders, and professionals as its main constituents—numbered only 1.9% of recorded occupations, a figure that hardly varied throughout the remaining decades of the century.<sup>19</sup>

Conversely, fishermen and their families below the level of planters (who had died out as a class by mid-century) formed the overwhelming bulk of the population, constituting a class socially and occupationally homogeneous and economically subject to merchant capital. The census of 1845 recorded 18,503 planters, fishermen, and shoremen (excluding their families)—86% of listed occupations, and during the remainder of the century the proportion remained virtually unchanged;<sup>20</sup> the greatest number employed was actually in 1900, when 62,674 people, a third of them women, were prosecuting the fishery.<sup>21</sup>

The imperatives of economic class, however, do not alone shape personal and social development; in addition to gender, both ethnicity and religion must be recognized as forces powerfully influencing the direction of social policy. Nowhere was this more true than in Newfoundland in the 1830s and 1840s. The population was divided almost equally between English Protestants and Irish

Catholics<sup>22</sup>—a division that was to have profound effects on social life and education. When, for instance, the Assembly was considering the first piece of legislation on education in 1836, it had to take account of the religious composition of society. Almost certainly, the presence of the Irish induced an all-party committee of the Assembly to model the first educational legislation on the Irish National System—a network of nondenominational schools, taking in the children of both Catholic and Protestant parents, with religious instruction outside school hours.<sup>23</sup> The Irish system appealed to Conservative Protestants because it had been imposed on Ireland in 1831 by the pre-Reform English legislature with the aim of defusing the anti-Union sentiment fostered by Daniel O'Connell.<sup>24</sup> It appealed to Liberal Catholics (as it did to the Church in Ireland) because it would give poor Catholics a measure of literacy without compromising their religion.

The transformation of nondenominational schooling into a multid denominational system, far from being a smooth, inevitable, and generally acceptable progression, was marked by crisis and struggles whose outcome was often problematic. The first crisis, in the late 1830s, was precipitated by a group of militant Protestants, with Evangelicals in the lead. Alarmed at the equal educational opportunities opened up to Catholics by the 1836 Act, following upon the grant of civil rights to Catholics by the British Parliament in the Emancipation Act of 1829, Protestants and Tories began a campaign to overthrow the nondenominational system. Their methods varied from resignations from school boards to persuading Protestant families to keep their children at home—both replied to in like manner by the Catholics. In 1839, ignoring Liberal Catholic offers of a compromise, the Protestant forces successfully appealed for a change in the law; this tactic permitted the Authorized Version of the Bible to be used as a reading book in all schools from that date onwards, thus alienating the Catholics and effectively ending hopes for a united system of schooling.<sup>25</sup>

The Protestant campaign was waged within the larger context of what Governor Prescott called a “war to the knife” between the majority of the Assembly, led by Liberal Catholics and backed by the militant Catholic bishop Michael Antony Fleming, and the Tory-Protestant Council, made up of merchants, administrators, and military officers.<sup>26</sup> The conflict, involving all areas of social, legal, and financial policy,<sup>27</sup> was virtually a class struggle between the mercantocracy and the fishermen, both Catholic and Protestant, as was recognized at the time.<sup>28</sup> A cutting edge was given to Protestant rhetoric by the vitriolic anti-Catholic “No Popery” crusade being prosecuted in all English-speaking countries at this time, a campaign which helped to convince the British government that Newfoundland was about to fall into the hands of Irish Roman Catholic rebels. The outcome was, by 1842, the Newfoundland Act, which limited the franchise and reduced Catholic political influence in a reformed Amalgamated Assembly. An Education Act, sponsored by a Protestant, followed in 1843; this divided the education grant between Protestants and Catholics on the basis of their numbers in the population.<sup>29</sup>

The general aim of the Tory-Protestant united front had been to curtail the social and political power of Catholicism and its Protestant supporters by reducing the influence of the common people in the Assembly. Complementary to this was the object of ending Catholic participation in public education—seen by Protestants as “planting the standard of Popery in the hearts of our Protestant settlements”<sup>30</sup>—by the formation of separate systems. The 1843 Education Act institutionalized the segregation of children on the basis of religion, and undermined the unity of Catholic and Protestant fishing families which had been the social basis of the Liberal reform movement in the Assembly in the 1830s.

If the religious and ethnic composition of the community influenced, directly and indirectly, the configuration of the educational system, its development had perforce to take place within the confines of a mode of production based on merchant capital exploiting a family-based fishery operating on the credit system. These circumstances set severe limits on progress. Not only had the educational infrastructure virtually to be reconstituted after the turmoil of the years 1836 to 1843—the system, an inspector noted in 1844, was still in an “almost nascent state”<sup>31</sup>—but conditions peculiar to the economy and class structure were unfavourable to the orderly and balanced development of schooling. In the crucial area of finance, limits were set by the fact that the grant for education was taken out of customs revenue, which tended to tie educational provision to fluctuations in the economy. The credit system was, in effect, a restriction on capital accumulation by the fishers, a process aided by merchant opposition to agriculture and road-building.<sup>32</sup> The credit system thus kept the fishing families poor, resulting in little or no money for school pence, clothing, or books, and also restricted the growth of an outport middle class (at least until the late nineteenth century) which might have provided a tax base for education.

Furthermore, the labour process affected attendance at school. At least half the population, on average, migrated to the woods for some five months during each winter.<sup>33</sup> During the fishing season the girls helped their mothers in household tasks or curing the fish, before going into service, and the boys assisted their fathers in the boats. “As soon as the child reaches his sixth year, and frequently before it,” wrote a school inspector in 1845, “his services in turning fish upon the flakes, and a variety of other employment about it—and, also, a little later, in bearing his part in the taking of fish at sea—render his assistance too valuable to be dispensed with by very poor people upon almost any grounds.”<sup>34</sup>

This absorption into the labour process at an early age affected the length of school life; few pupils stayed at any school after 11 or 12 years of age. Conditions in the fishery also militated against any movement for the development or extension of education. Parents frequently argued that their children could go through life without education because they themselves had done so.<sup>35</sup> The system provided no return for diligence or for more efficient production which education might engender, for the merchants spread anticipated returns over all their fishing enterprises.<sup>36</sup> There was thus little or no social mobility, towards

which education might have led. Merchant capital, because education had little relevance to the labour process, in general saw no need to invest in the public provision of education. Merchants, however, helped to found and finance the Newfoundland School Society, an independent, quasi-missionary body financially supported from 1823 to 1832 by the British government and thereafter by the Newfoundland administration and subscribers in Britain. The Society was founded explicitly to safeguard the social order by the provision of literacy, sound moral principles, and Evangelical religion for the children of the island's fishing families. For ninety-nine years, from 1824 to 1923, the schools of the Society, never more than about fifty in number, existed side by side with the public elementary system.<sup>37</sup>

The elementary schools were intended, as the Assembly stated in 1841, for the children of "the poor and operative classes of society."<sup>38</sup> Until 1845 no other publicly financed type of schooling existed. In that year St. John's Academy was established to cater to the educational needs of the middle class. Although such a project had been mooted on and off since the 1820s,<sup>39</sup> all efforts by the Assembly to establish an institution had been blocked by the Tory-Protestant Council during the "war to the knife" period.<sup>40</sup> In 1844, however, John Kent, one of the Liberal Catholic leaders, taking advantage of a change of heart by the Methodists, successfully carried a bill for a nondenominational institution, which was opened the following year.<sup>41</sup>

The Academy was intended for the children of the St. John's middle class, a group which, at this period, comprised small merchants, shopkeepers, publicans, boat owners, skilled craftsmen, and the like.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, many of them considered the fees charged to be beyond their means; in addition, the Academy suffered from maladministration, financial difficulties, a belief that it was not giving value for public money, and sectarian opposition from an orthodox Anglican institution run by the newly installed Anglican bishop, the Tractarian Edward Feild.<sup>43</sup> Appalled at finding an educational institution organized on nonreligious lines—or "liberal principles" as he called them—Feild had opened his own school soon after his arrival in the summer of 1844.<sup>44</sup>

By 1850, St. John's Academy had succumbed to its difficulties and was divided into three separate institutions—Anglican, Catholic, and General Protestant, from the last of which the Methodists split off in 1858 to form their own college.<sup>45</sup> These academies, all centred in St. John's, became, for the rest of the nineteenth century and after, the sole secondary institutions on the island and also, from the 1850s, the only centres for teacher training. Though grants were given for the education and boarding of pupil teachers, the academies essentially catered to the children of families who could afford the fees.<sup>46</sup> Access to secondary education was thus limited; in 1901 only 2.2% of the age group 5-15 years (male and female) was receiving secondary education,<sup>47</sup> a situation which severely limited the size of the pool of educated citizens from which politicians, administrators, and professionals could be drawn.

The churches, in supporting both elementary and secondary schools, thus separated their congregations into clearly defined social groups. Young people tended to socialize and marry within the confines of their class and denomination, and those in the capital were isolated almost entirely from the population in the outports, with whom, because of the lack of roads, communication was difficult. Divided horizontally by class, vertically by denomination and gender, and spatially by geographical location, the educational system of Newfoundland thus reflected and reinforced the social structure in a more precise manner than in most countries. Even in the early twentieth century, observes the historian S.J.R. Noel, “the system marked the triumph, within each denomination, of class interests over religion,” and social status was fixed at birth; “for a child born in a small outport, and destined to be educated in a one-room school, the only place open in the social hierarchy was at the bottom, as a fisherman.”<sup>48</sup>

The male gender of the last word in the above quotation is symptomatic of the neglect of women in Newfoundland historical writing, even in the work of an enlightened and capable historian. We have seen that women played an active and essential role in the fishery labour force throughout the nineteenth century. This, however, was not matched by any similar role in public and political life, which was the almost exclusive preserve of men. Only in the educational system were numbers of women able to find a means of intellectual and social advancement, though even here female teachers were to find themselves subject to the adverse effects of patriarchalism. In the one-room Board Schools, boys and girls were educated together, but the schools offered little modification of the gender roles which were fixed by the exigencies of the fishery more or less at the age of starting school. Until the later decades of the century the majority of the teachers were male, and most of the standard texts—the Irish Lesson Books in the middle decades and the Royal Readers and similar works later<sup>49</sup>—were written by males and reflected standard patriarchal attitudes. “Female subjects”—knitting, sewing, embroidering—were common in many schools.<sup>50</sup>

Females were in a minority vis-à-vis men in the population throughout the nineteenth century: 43.9% in 1836, 48.4% in 1869, 48.7% in 1901.<sup>51</sup> The proportion of the age group 5-15 years registered in public elementary schools varied between the denominations but was in all cases extremely low—only 10.2% of Catholics and 13.3% of Protestants in 1861, rising very little by the end of the century for Catholics, but more than doubling for Protestants (compare Tables 4-1 and 4-2). In 1901, 8.8% of Catholic girls were, however, attending convent schools (see Table 5). At this date 43.5% of females 5-15 years of all denominations were registered at school, compared with 50.6% of boys.<sup>52</sup> Despite this depressing statistic, both in St. John’s and the outports, women had achieved a somewhat higher level of literacy than men during the last decades of the century (compare Tables 1-1 and 1-2). This was possibly due to a higher attendance rate and a longer and less-interrupted school life than boys. According to Governor Sir Stephen Hill in 1870, the women among the fishing popula-

tion were better educated than the men because the boys were generally put to work in the fishery as soon as they were "able to handle an oar," and their education was neglected. Also, convent schools gave many girls "an excellent education."<sup>53</sup> As on the Canadian mainland, girls had taken advantage of the growth of the public elementary system to achieve a measure of literacy.<sup>54</sup>

Women thus had few educational deficiencies vis-à-vis men that would restrict an increasing participation in teaching, and females entered the teaching force of the public elementary schools in large numbers in the later decades of the nineteenth century. This was a movement into a new profession, for unlike other parts of British North America,<sup>55</sup> in Newfoundland few females had any teaching experience before the mid-century. This influx into public elementary education was a continent-wide phenomenon. Although the process was somewhat slower in Newfoundland than in most parts of British North America and Canada, by the end of the century a majority of Newfoundland elementary teachers were female. The proportion had risen from 22% in 1861 to 59% in 1901, with the Catholic schools employing three times as many women as men (see Table 2). Unlike urban areas on the mainland, where feminization of the teaching force was accelerated by the growth of male-dominated school hierarchies, with women in the poorly paid lower ranges, the Newfoundland situation resembled rural areas of Quebec, where women staffed small one-room schools.<sup>56</sup>

Though teaching offered Newfoundland women an opportunity to leave the domestic labour of the fishery and achieve a measure of independence in a respectable profession, this would not have been possible had not the male-dominated administration and inspectorate accepted their entry into a profession that before mid-century was largely staffed by males. In the first inspections of schools in 1844 and 1845, J. V. Nugent, the Roman Catholic inspector, found only four female teachers. One was a girl of seventeen, apparently a temporary teacher; two were widows who needed the posts in order to survive; and only one was an experienced schoolmistress. Bertram Jones, the Protestant inspector, who covered nearly 150 schools, came across only nine schoolmistresses, employed at lower salaries than men of similar attainments. Both Nugent and Jones assumed that teaching would normally be done by males, and the latter proposed that if females were employed they should receive lower salaries than the men, even though the range for male teachers was only from £5 to £25, a lower remuneration than anyone could expect in the fishery,<sup>57</sup> and far below that, for instance, of a constable or government messenger.<sup>58</sup>

By the late 1850s, however, John Haddon, the Protestant Inspector of Schools, was urging school boards to employ females, using the argument, familiar on the mainland, that women were better able than men to manage children.<sup>59</sup> "The employment of female teachers is well worthy the consideration of the Boards," he wrote, "not only as requiring [sic] a smaller salary for their maintenance than males, but as being better adapted to conduct many of the small



schools"; women, he added, possessed a greater share of the qualities of patience, sympathy, sensibility, courtesy, and kindness than men.<sup>60</sup>

The economic motive for employing women was, however, almost certainly dominant. Although the number of schools had increased threefold between 1861 and 1901 (see Table 2), the amount of government expenditure per pupil in elementary education had declined between those dates from \$4.60 to \$3.40.<sup>61</sup> Thus, as the century advanced, school boards were forced to cut down on expenditure; teachers' salaries were the obvious target and the employment of females the surest way to lower expenditure on salaries. Average salaries for Roman Catholic female teachers in 1861 were 54.7% of those of males, those of their Protestant counterparts 63.3%, and throughout the rest of the century the average salary of female teachers in the various denominations varied from just over half to about three-quarters of that of their male colleagues. Catholic females could expect to receive, on average, a little over \$100 (and sometimes less), while Protestant females could expect somewhere between \$100 and \$130 per annum during this period (see Table 3). As in the fishery, women's work in education provided, in effect, a subsidy to the economy.

By the end of the century Newfoundland teachers, as in Canada, were ranked by function, training, and sex, and paid accordingly.<sup>62</sup> The yearly salary of the principal of the Methodist College in St. John's was \$1,400;<sup>63</sup> that of a grade three Catholic female teacher in the outports could be as low as \$112.<sup>64</sup> The Education Act of 1876 introduced a system of grading teachers by examination; patriarchy reared its head in Schedule D: "Females are not required to pass examinations in Algebra, Euclid and Practical Mathematics; but credit will be given for an acquaintance shown therein. They shall, however be required to be able to give instruction in domestic economy, needlework, knitting and netting."<sup>65</sup> However women reacted to this, grading speedily led to the formation of a hierarchical structure in the teaching profession. In 1881, 3.9% of male teachers, but no females, had achieved grade one, the highest grade, and this proportion had risen to 15.1% for males by 1901; at this latter date, however, only 6.4% of female teachers had reached the top grade, with Catholic females achieving a mere 2.4%.<sup>66</sup>

If the Catholic Church was the poorest denomination, employing the greatest number of poorly paid females in the elementary schools under its control, convent schools under its jurisdiction were able to offer a more secure situation combined with a vocation and greater opportunities for self-realization than the teacher's lot in the one-room elementary schools, with its overtones, in many cases, of isolation, poverty, and self-abnegation. Though the Catholic Church in Newfoundland never became the dominant social and cultural institution that it did in Quebec, the efforts of Michael Antony Fleming, bishop from 1830 to 1850, "to raise the character of Catholicity, to give it a position in public estimation that it had not had before,"<sup>67</sup> the strengthening and extension of the diocese under his guidance and that of his successor John Thomas Mullock, and the promotion of popular forms of religiosity among the Irish immigrant flock—Marian devotions,

holy pictures, sodalities, confraternities, processions<sup>68</sup>—created an ethnically based cultural climate which maintained the Church as a powerful entity vis-à-vis the Protestant denominations.

Fleming had seen the importance of convents and convent schools as a means to the extension and maintenance of the Catholic faith as early as 1833. In that year he founded a school for poor girls in St. John's, staffed by Irish sisters of the Order of the Presentation of Our Blessed Lady, placing before the pupils the example of the Virgin Mary as a means to developing the "delicacy of feeling and refinement which formed the grace of the female character."<sup>69</sup> Within ten years the school had educated 5,000 children, and Fleming felt emboldened to open a fee-paying school for middle-class girls organized by nuns of the Order of Mercy.<sup>70</sup>

In the following decades the two orders opened schools across the island, inspired by Fleming's belief that females, as mothers, played a crucial role in the education of young children.<sup>71</sup> Though the orders, in their early years, were dominated by Irishwomen, Newfoundland females entered the convents in large numbers as the century advanced. Martha Danylewycz, in her brilliant study of female religious orders and convent schools in Quebec, *Taking the Veil*, has suggested that convent life offered an alternative to marriage or spinsterhood for large numbers of women, enabling them to find an outlet for academic work, organizing ability, and community service in a socially acceptable vocation.<sup>72</sup> This would also appear to be the case in Newfoundland; between 1858 and 1901 the number of convent schools increased fourfold, and by 1901 over a hundred sisters had found their vocation in teaching and were educating an average of 9.7% of the female population between 5 and 15 years of age (see Table 5). In these schools, average attendance was higher, class size smaller, and the curriculum wider than in the board schools of the elementary system,<sup>73</sup> and as early as the 1860s an inspector drew attention to the "very superior education" given in the convent schools.<sup>74</sup>

This standard of education was not matched by that given in the elementary board schools which, in the early 1870s, were undergoing another crisis—this time a crisis of quality. In the 1860s, despite an increase of 31% in the number of schools, government expenditure on public elementary education had fallen by 0.3%,<sup>75</sup> and school boards in smaller communities were struggling to meet commitments. A Select Committee on Education, reporting in 1873, revealed that the condition of schoolhouses varied from "unsatisfactory" to "wretched," that salaries of teachers were low, that some school boards were never in session or contained illiterate members, and that for most children school life was short and irregular, with attendance varying from 50%-60%. The Committee recommended "reform and improvement of a radical and general kind," from an increased grant to the establishment of a Normal School,<sup>76</sup> but the main proposal of the Education Act passed in the following year was the division of the Protestant education grant between the Anglicans and the Methodists.<sup>77</sup>

An opportunity to restructure the system was thus sacrificed on the altar of denominationalism. The real architect of the act was the Anglican bishop Edward Feild, who had fought for subdivision for thirty years, aided at various times by Hugh Hoyles and Charles Fox Bennett, both of whom became Tory Premiers after the achievement of responsible government in 1855. Feild's success in bringing behind-the-scenes pressure to bear on the leaders of the Methodists—previously the strongest opponents of subdivision—to agree to his policy was a victory for conservatism, both religious and political.<sup>78</sup> It was achieved, however, in a political context in which the traditional identification of Conservative with Protestant and Liberal with Catholic had been shattered by the issue of Confederation with Canada which had arisen in the late 1860s. For the remainder of the century, conservatism and liberalism found expression in parties that were, in Noel's words, "mere *ad hoc* creations, cabals of politicians...recruited from the same narrow elite. Elections gave people a choice...between merchants and lawyers and lawyers and merchants."<sup>79</sup>

In this unpromising atmosphere, public elementary education, now effectively split into three separate systems, each under a powerful superintendent, struggled to advance.<sup>80</sup> Increased interest in education, which Feild and his supporters had suggested would be the outcome of subdivision, gave little sign of materializing. Support for change or reform waned. In 1887 two Protestant politicians, J.B. Morine and Robert Bond, attempted to carry a resolution in the Assembly in favour of free, public, nonsectarian education, which failed ignominiously.<sup>81</sup> By the turn of the century the public elementary sector was again facing disaster.

This parlous state of education was brought before the public in 1903 by Robert Bond, now Liberal Premier. Surveying the developments of the previous three or four years, Bond revealed that 72,000 people over five years of age could not read, that a quarter of the population had never been to school, and, more seriously, that 600 teachers had left the profession in a single year because of "starvation wages" and poor conditions. "In no other country in the world did like difficulties prevail," he asserted, and he blamed much of the *débâcle* on the "apparent evil" of the denominational system which, by splitting the grant into fragments, precluded the possibility of providing even minimum standards of education in hundreds of small settlements around the island.<sup>82</sup>

Was Bond correct in laying the blame for the crisis on the denominational system? As he stated, there were 376 settlements with fewer than 25 inhabitants each; these communities had too few children of any one denomination to warrant any church establishing a school. But even if all the children were of one faith, a school, under the existing economic conditions, would scarcely have been built for so few. The extent of denominational duplication was not great. Between 1861 and 1901 the percentage of communities with two or more schools of different denominations averaged 12% of communities with schools.<sup>84</sup> This represented, in effect, an additional burden on an overstrained educational economy, but could not, of itself, have brought the system to the breaking point.

The real cause of the crisis must be sought in the structure of the economy and the class system to which it gave rise. Despite attempts to create an economic base outside the fishery by diversification of the economy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, symbolized by the opening in 1897 of a cross-island railway to link new resource centres,<sup>85</sup> Newfoundland's traditional economy, still dominated by merchant capital and the truck system, underwent a crisis in the late 1880s and 1890s, with production levels, export prices, and gross earnings in the fishery all declining.<sup>86</sup> In the worsening economic circumstances, government investment in public elementary education fell from 6.6% of total expenditure in 1861 to 4% in 1901.<sup>87</sup> This underfunding was felt throughout the system and retarded the island's educational development. By the end of the century Newfoundland education, in many respects, lagged behind that of mainland Canada. The average annual expenditure per registered pupil was only \$3.40 in Newfoundland in 1901, compared with \$8.00 for New Brunswick and \$15.00 for Nova Scotia.<sup>88</sup> Teachers' salaries were also lower; the average for female teachers in Newfoundland in 1901 was \$125 (see Table 3), compared with \$188 for New Brunswick female teachers, and \$217 for female city teachers in Quebec as early as 1883.<sup>89</sup> At the end of the century, school attendance levels were just over 50%,<sup>90</sup> but if every child between 5 and 15 years of age had been sent to school, accommodation for 6,875, or nearly 15%, would have been lacking.<sup>91</sup> For most of the century, there was an insufficient number of teachers to allot even one per school (see Table 2). The level of illiteracy was higher than that of Europe and North America, where it varied from 3% to about 20%; in Newfoundland, according to David Alexander, 34% of the population could not read and only 8% of the male labour force had reading and writing skills at the advanced level.<sup>92</sup>

Such serious defects could not be explained by duplication of schooling. The absolute shortage of educational provision, the rock-bottom salaries (and the consequent failure to attract permanent, high-calibre teachers), and the low attendance levels, with accompanying low literacy rates, were functions of the dominance of merchant capital, the truck system, and the ossified class structure rather than of the multiplicity of church schools. If the denominational system—and thus the waste of duplication—had been abolished, the 12% additional funding that would, in effect, have been made available could have raised standards, but not up to Canadian levels. On the other hand, if women had not entered the teaching force in large numbers and accepted salaries much lower than those of men, the standard of the island's education would have been even lower than it was at the century's end. The hidden subsidy of female teachers (akin to that of their sisters in the fishery) helped to shore up a sagging system. When a comprehensive economic history of Newfoundland comes to be written, its unsung heroines may well prove to be the working women.

TABLE I-1: MALE AND FEMALE LITERACY, 1891 AND 1901

	Males				Females					
	Male Population	No. Able To Read	% Able To Read	No. Able To Write	% Able To Write	Female Population	No. Able To Read	% Able To Read	No. Able To Write	% Able To Write
1891	102,866	47,711	46.4	37,377	36.3	99,174	48,327	48.7	36,679	37.0
1901	113,335	57,070	50.4	49,260	43.5	107,649	58,851	54.7	48,823	45.4

Source: Census of Newfoundland, 1901. Table I, xxi.

**TABLE 1-2: MALE AND FEMALE LITERACY (ABILITY TO SIGN NAME)  
IN SELECTED COMMUNITIES, 1841-1900**

	St. John's		Harbour Grace		Fogo		Hermitage	
	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F
1841-1850	67.7	52.0			(1844-1855) 16.8	11.7	(1844-1855) 5.1	1.7
1851-1860	65.6	51.9	(1854-1860) 29.2	18.7	(1856-1866) 20.8	12.4		
1861-1870	75.0	63.0	49.4	29.3				
1871-1880	73.3	65.1	53.4	38.3	(1867-1880) 18.4	21.7	(1867-1880) 21.0	15.1
1881-1890	73.6	76.0	58.0	42.8	36.6	28.1	26.0	27.0
1891-1900	75.7	73.0	65.4	61.8	50.0	50.0	31.7	35.8

Source: A.G. McPherson, "Changing Patterns of Literacy in Newfoundland in the Nineteenth Century," unpublished typescript, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

**TABLE 2: SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS FOR SELECTED  
YEARS 1861-1901**

	No. of Schools	No. of Male Teachers	No. of Female Teachers	% Female Teachers	No. of Teachers Per School
1861	199	148	42	22.1	.95
1866	239	151	73	32.6	.94
1871	261	139	77	35.6	.83
1876	332	n.a.	n.a.	-	-
1881	411	204	163	44.4	.89
1886	474	232	202	46.5	.91
1891*	496	226	272	54.6	1.00
1897	561	271	304	52.9	1.02
1901	583	270	388	59.0	1.13

\* R.C. Figures for 1892

Source: Reports of Denominational Inspectors and Superintendents.

TABLE 3: TEACHERS' SALARIES (IN DOLLARS)  
FOR SELECTED YEARS 1861-1901

	Roman Catholic		Protestant		Percentage Female of Male	Average Salary (\$)	Percentage Female of Male	Church of England		Methodist	
	Average Salary (\$) Male	Average Salary (\$) Female	Average Salary (\$) Male	Average Salary (\$) Female				Male	Female	Male	Female
1861	181	99	215	136	54.7	215	181	123	171	97	63.6
1866	192	106	216	155	55.2	216	190	116	167	109	71.8
1871	185	106	246	143	57.3	246	192	131	171	114	58.1
1876	n.a.	n.a.					205	131	176	132	
1881	157	89					210	159	217	156	
1886	133	89					216	131	220	131	
1891*	206	132									
1897	203	125									
1901	199	112									

\* R.C. Figures for 1892

Source: Reports of Denominational Inspectors and Superintendents.

**TABLE 4-1: ROMAN CATHOLIC FEMALES REGISTERED IN PUBLIC  
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FOR SELECTED YEARS 1861-1981**

	Total R.C. M. & F. Registered	Number R.C. Female Registered	Percentage R.C. Female Registered	R.C. Females Registered as % all Female 5-15 Years
1861	4639	1627	35.1	10.2
1866	5290	1894	35.8	11.1
1871	5485	2047	37.3	11.1
1876	5140	1935	37.6	9.5
1881	4026	1537	38.2	6.8
1886	5397	2252	41.7	9.4
1891*	7335	3254	44.4	13.3
1897	7317	3267	44.6	13.0
1901	7517	3424	45.6	13.3

\* Figures for 1892

Source: Reports of Roman Catholic Inspectors and Superintendents.



TABLE 4-2: PROTESTANT FEMALES REGISTERED IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY  
SCHOOLS FOR SELECTED YEARS 1861-1901

	Total Protestant M. & F. Registered	Number Prot. Female Registered	Percentage Prot. Female Registered	Protestant Female		Meth. F. Reg'd as % all Female 5-15 Years
				Registered as % all Female 5-15 Years	5-15 Years	
1861	4684	2118	45.2	13.3		
1866	6423	2974	46.3	17.5		
1871	6596	3164	48.0	17.2		
Church of England						
	Total C. of E. M. & F. Reg'd	Number C. of E. Female Reg'd	Percentage C. of E. Female Reg'd	C. of E. Female		Meth. F. Reg'd as % all Female 5-15 Years
				Reg'd as % all Female Reg'd	Total Meth. M. & F. Reg'd	
1876	4151	1892	45.6	9.3	2962	1350
1881	5395	2479	45.9	11.0	3875	1794
1886	6579	3007	45.7	12.6	5043	2282
1891	6906	3256	47.1	13.4	5830	2737
1896	7115	3296	46.3	13.2	6590	3071
1901	8435	3847	45.6	15.0	8018	3872
Methodist						
	Total C. of E. M. & F. Reg'd	Number C. of E. Female Reg'd	Percentage C. of E. Female Reg'd	C. of E. Female		Meth. F. Reg'd as % all Female 5-15 Years
				Reg'd as % all Female Reg'd	Total Meth. M. & F. Reg'd	
1876	4151	1892	45.6	9.3	2962	1350
1881	5395	2479	45.9	11.0	3875	1794
1886	6579	3007	45.7	12.6	5043	2282
1891	6906	3256	47.1	13.4	5830	2737
1896	7115	3296	46.3	13.2	6590	3071
1901	8435	3847	45.6	15.0	8018	3872

Source: Reports of Protestant Inspectors and Superintendents.

TABLE 5: PUPILS IN CONVENT SCHOOL FOR SELECTED YEARS 1858-1901

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Pupils		Total	Percentage in Average Attendance	Average Class Size	Number of Subjects Taught	Female Pupils as percentage of all children 5-15 year
			Boys	Girls					
1858	5	30			1148 <sup>3</sup>		38		
1861	8 <sup>1</sup>	42 <sup>2</sup>			1843	68.6	43	8	11.8
1866	13				1854 <sup>4</sup>	63.2		8	11.1
1871	13				1574 <sup>5</sup>	65.6		8	
1876	15				1091 <sup>6</sup>	65.5		9	
1881	17	97			1856 <sup>7</sup>	64.9	19	11	8.4
1886	19	108	404	2205	2609	71.8	20	10	9.4
1892	19	113	197	2324	2521	62.9	22.3	14	9.7
1897	20	112	217	2212	2429	69.2	21.7	14	9.0
1901	20	108	300	2202	2502	78.2	23	14	8.8

1 St. John's diocese only

2 Figure for 1860

3 Summer attendance

4 Data for 12 schools

5 Data for 10 schools

6 Data for 9 schools

7 Data for 16 schools

Source: Reports of Roman Catholic Inspectors and Superintendents.

NOTES

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1. For expressions of these sentiments in the nineteenth century, cf. *Newfoundlander*, 17 Mar. 1871; P.P. 1900 XXI, Board of Education. Special Reports on Educational Subjects, vol. 4, "The System of Education in Newfoundland," 553.
2. Cf., e.g., E.M. Howley, *The Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* (Boston 1888); F.W. Rowe, *The Development of Education in Newfoundland* (Toronto 1964); F.W. Jones, *Edward Feild, Bishop of Newfoundland 1844-1876* (St. John's 1976).
3. C.F. Poole, *In Search of the Newfoundland Soul* (St. John's 1982).
4. Cf. J. Overton, "A Newfoundland Culture?" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, 1 and 2 (Spring-Summer 1988): 5-22.
5. Marilyn Porter, "Peripheral Women: Towards a Feminist Analysis of the Atlantic Region," *Studies in Political Economy* 23 (Summer 1987): 41-72.
6. Marilyn Porter, "Women and Old Boats: The Sexual Division of Labour in a Newfoundland Outport," in *The Public and the Private*, ed. Eva Gamarnikow et al. (London 1983), 91-105.
7. This is a simplified picture; for a detailed account of the process, see S. Ryan, "Fishery to Colony: A Newfoundland Watershed, 1793-1815," *Acadiensis* 12, 2 (1983): 34-52; S.D. Antler, "Colonial Exploitation and Economic Stagnation in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1975), 80ff.
8. Helen P. Antler, "Fisherman, Fisherwoman, Rural Proletariat: Capitalist Commodity Production in the Newfoundland Fishery" (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1981), 32-41; S. Ryan, *Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914* (St. John's 1986), 60-61.
9. Ellen Antler, "Fisherman, Fisherwoman, Rural Proletariat," 47.
10. *Ibid.*, 58, 141ff.
11. Cf. G.M. Sider, *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History: A Newfoundland Illustration* (Cambridge 1986), 34.
12. S.D. Antler, "Colonial Exploitation and Economic Stagnation," 19ff. Cf. also E. Sager, "Dependency, Underdevelopment, and the Economic History of the Atlantic Provinces," *Acadiensis* 17, 1 (1987): 116-37.
13. Methodist Missionary Society, Corr. N. Am., Box 2, File 2D, "Observations on the Island of Newfoundland" (March 1819).
14. Ellen Antler, "Fisherman, Fisherwoman, Rural Proletariat," 130.
15. *Ibid.*, 121ff, 126-27, 141ff, 163.
16. "Instructions in Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Thomas Cochrane, Knight, Our Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our Island of Newfoundland (July 28, 1832)," in *The Consolidated Statutes of Newfoundland*. Third Series: 1916 (St. John's 1919), vol. 1. App.; "Commission Appointing Captain Sir Thomas John Cochrane, Knight, Governor of the Colony of Newfoundland..." (2 Mar. 1832).
17. Cf. e.g., C.O. 194/125, Sir John Harvey to W.E. Gladstone, 12 Apr. 1846; P. Tocque, *Newfoundland As It Was, and As It Is In 1877* (Toronto 1879), 86.
18. R.H. Bonnycastle, *Newfoundland in 1842*, 2 vol. (London 1842), II: 80.
19. S.D. Antler, "Colonial Exploitation and Economic Stagnation," 106.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1901. Table 1, xix-xx.

22. J. Mannion, ed., *The Peopling of Newfoundland* (St. John's 1977), 7, 33. Protestants, in fact, constituted 53% of the population in 1836.
23. D.H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment* (London 1970), 120-21, 159-60; app. 392-402.
24. R.B. McDowell, *Public Opinion and Government Policy in Ireland 1801-1846* (London 1952), 178, 203.
25. For a more detailed account, see Phillip McCann, "The Politics of Denominational Education in the Nineteenth Century in Newfoundland," in *The Vexed Question: Denominational Education in a Secular Age*, ed. W. McKim (St. John's 1988), 30-59.
26. C.O. 194/111, H. Prescott to Lord John Russell, 9 June 1841.
27. Gertrude Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1864* (Toronto 1966), 33ff.
28. Cf. *Public Ledger*, 5 Oct. 1832, 12 Feb. 1836, 1 Nov. 1836, 12 Mar. 1839, 15 Dec. 1840; *Times*, 28 May 1833.
29. McCann, "Politics of Denominational Education," 30-59.
30. *Public Ledger*, 9 Apr. 1839, "Biblicus" to Editor.
31. Journal of the General Assembly (hereafter J.G.A.) 1846, app., Report Upon the Inspection of Schools in Newfoundland, by Bertram Jones Esq. (27 Dec. 1845), 127.
32. Ellen Antler, "Fisherman, Fisherwoman, Rural Proletariat," 224.
33. P.E.L. Smith, "In Winter Quarters," *Newfoundland Studies* 3, 1 (Spring 1987).
34. J.G.A. 1844-45, app., First Report Upon the Inspection of Schools in Newfoundland (Feb. 1845), 192.
35. J.G.A. 1846, app., Report Upon the Inspection of Schools in Newfoundland, by Bertram Jones, Esq. (27 Dec. 1845), 119.
36. Ellen Antler, "Fisherman, Fisherwoman, Rural Proletariat," 46, 116-19, 205; cf. Ryan, *Fish Out of Water*, 45-46.
37. Cf. Phillip McCann, "The Newfoundland School Society: Missionary Enterprise or Cultural Imperialism?" in *Benefits Bestowed? Education and British Imperialism* ed. J.A. Mangan (Manchester 1988), 94-112.
38. Journal of the House of Assembly (hereafter J.H.A.) 1841, 21 Apr. 1841.
39. C.O. 194/74, Sir Thomas Cochrane to Goderich, 26 Sept. 1827; C.O. 194/80, Cochrane to Murray, 11 Mar. 1830; J.H.A. 1833, 3 Jan. 1833, Cochrane, Address to the Assembly.
40. Cf. e.g., J.H.A. 1836, 6 and 10 Feb. 1836; Journal of the Legislative Council (hereafter J.L.C.), 10 and 24 Feb., 3 Mar. 1836; J.L.C. 1841, 9 Feb.; *Public Ledger*, 23 Feb. 1841.
41. *Public Ledger* 24 Apr. 1844; *Times*, 17 Apr. 1844, 15 May 1844. The Methodists had previously opposed the concept of a nonreligious academy. Their volte-face was probably influenced by the attitude of their British brethren, who feared Anglican domination in certain clauses of Graham's 1843 Factory Bill (Cf. A. Armstrong, *The Church of England, the Methodists and Society* (London 1973), 197-98).
42. C.O. 194/127, G. LeMarchant to Grey, 24 Aug. 1847, encl. "The Memorial of Certain of the Middle Class in St. John's Sufferers by the 'Conflagratism of 9 June.'" The memorial was signed by about 360 people, of whom some 80% were Catholic.
43. J.H.A. 1848-49, app., Report of the Board of Directors of St. John's Academy, for the Year 1848; J.H.A. 1850, app., Report of the Directors of St. John's Academy.
44. C.O. 194/120, E. Feild to Lord Stanley, 19 July 1844.
45. 13 Vic. Cap. 5, An Act to amend an Act passed in the Seventh Year of the Reign of Her Present Majesty, entitled "An Act to provide for the establishment of an Academy in St. John's" (30 Apr. 1850); 21 Vic. Cap. 8, An Act to amend an Act...entitled "An Act to Provide for the Establishment of an Academy in St. John's, and for other purposes."

46. Fees for St. John's Academy were £8 per annum (*Royal Gazette*, 19 Aug. and 16 Sept. 1845); fees for the later Catholic Academy were £5 per annum (*Patriot*, 18 May 1850). These fees were about one-third to one-half of a teacher's annual salary.
47. Calculated from data in Reports of Denominational Superintendents for year cited.
48. S.J.R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland* (Toronto 1971), 267-69.
49. For an analysis of the Lesson Books used in the Irish National Schools, cf. Akenson, *Irish Education Experiment*, 227-40.
50. J.L.C. 1859, app. 26, Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools for Newfoundland for the Year 1858, 214, 233, 237, 247; J.L.C. 1877, app., Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland, under Church of England Boards, for the year ended Dec. 31 st, 1876, 540.
51. Calculated from data in Censuses of Newfoundland for years cited.
52. Calculated from data in Reports of Denominational Inspectors and Superintendents for years cited.
53. *Morning Chronicle*, 8 Oct. 1870.
54. Cf. I.E. Davey, "Trends in Female School Attendance in Mid-Nineteenth Century Ontario," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 8, 16 (Nov. 1975): 238-54.
55. Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 8, 15 (May 1975): 5-20.
56. Cf. Martha Danylewycz, Beth Light, and Alison Prentice, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching: A Nineteenth Century Ontario and Quebec Case Study," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 16, 31 (May 1983): 81-109.
57. J.G.A. 1844-45, app., First Report Upon the Inspection of Schools in Newfoundland (February 1845), 156, 158, 163, 191; J.G.A., 1846, app., Report upon the Inspection of Schools in Newfoundland, by Bertram Jones, Esq. (Dec. 1845 and Mar. 1846), *passim*.
58. Public Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador JL547, Blue Book 1836, 68, 86. Messengers and constables received £45 per annum.
59. Cf. Prentice, "Feminization of Teaching," 8ff.
60. J.H.A. 1859, app., Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland for the Year 1858 (Feb. 1858), 292.
61. Calculated from data in Reports of Denominational Inspectors and Superintendents for years cited.
62. Prentice, "Feminization of Teaching," 14; cf. also Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teacher, Gender, and Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth Century Montreal and Toronto," *History of Education Quarterly* 24, 1 (1984): 75-100.
63. Report of Public Schools in Newfoundland under Methodist Boards, for the Year Ending June 30th 1901, 62.
64. Report of Public Schools in Newfoundland under Roman Catholic Boards for Year Ended June 30th 1901, 20.
65. 39 Vic., Cap 3, An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Acts for the Encouragement of Education (26 Apr. 1876).
66. Calculated from data in Reports of Denominational Inspectors and Superintendents for years cited.
67. M.A. Fleming, *Letters on the State of Religion in Newfoundland, Addressed to the Very Rev. Dr. A. O'Connell, P.P.* (Dublin 1844), Fourth Letter (19 Feb. 1844), 22.
68. This aspect of Newfoundland culture is under-researched; cf. Sr. Mary Patricia Hogan, "The Role of Mary in the History of the Church in Newfoundland" (M.A., University of Ottawa, 1957); G.L. Pocius, "Holy Pictures in Newfoundland Houses: Visual Codes for Secular and Supernatural Relationships," in *Media Sense: the Folklore-Popular Culture*

- Continuum*, ed. P. Narvaez and M. Laba (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1986?), 124-48; K. Whelan, "The Irish Contribution to Newfoundland Catholicism," paper read at St. John's, Newfoundland, Mar. 1986.
69. M.A. Fleming, Address on the Opening of the New Presentation Convent, (*Patriot*, 18 Oct. 1843); Sister M.J. Dinn, *Foundation of the Presentation Congregation in Newfoundland* (St. John's 1975).
70. *Patriot*, 18 Oct. 1843; Sister M. Williamina Hogan, *Pathways of Mercy in Newfoundland 1842-1984* (St. John's 1986), 23ff.
71. *Patriot*, 18 Oct. 1843.
72. Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood In Quebec, 1840-1920* (Toronto 1987).
73. St. Clare's Boarding School, opened by the Sisters of Mercy in 1861, offered Christian Doctrine, the English and French Languages, Writing, Arithmetic, History, Geography and the Globes, Natural Philosophy, Botany, Astronomy, Plain and Ornamental Needlework, with Modern Languages and Vocal and Instrumental Music as extras (*Newfoundlander*, 13 June 1861).
74. J.H.A. 1862, app., Report of the Roman Catholic Schools of Newfoundland for 1861, 323; J.H.A. 1865, app., Report on the Roman Catholic Schools in Newfoundland for 1864, app., 536.
75. Calculated from data in Reports of Denominational Inspectors for years cited.
76. J.L.C. 1874, app., no. 2, Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council upon Education (14 Feb. 1873).
77. 37 Vic., Cap 5, An Act to amend the Acts for the Encouragement of Education, and to provide for the Denominational Sub-division of the Monies appropriated for Protestant Educational Purposes (29 Apr. 1874).
78. For a detailed account of the passing of the 1874 Act, cf. McCann, "Politics of Denominational Education," 30-59.
79. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland*, 25.
80. Superintendents had been appointed under the consolidating act of 1876.
81. *Evening Mercury*, 26-30 Mar. 1887.
82. *Evening Telegram*, 8 May 1903.
83. *Ibid.*
84. Calculated from data in Report of Denominational Inspectors and Superintendents for years cited.
85. Cf. J.L. Hiller, *The Newfoundland Railway 1881-1949* (St. John's 1981).
86. D. Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. J. Hiller and P. Neary (Toronto 1980), 17-39.
87. Calculated from data in Reports of Denominational Inspectors and Superintendents for years cited.
88. P.P. 1900 XI, "Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies of the British Empire," 273, 339.
89. *Ibid.*, 339, 519, 551; Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil*, 58.
90. P.P. 1900 XXI, Board of Education, Special Reports on Educational Subjects, vol. 4, "The System of Education in Newfoundland," 566.
91. Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1901. Table I, xxii.
92. D. Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland," *Acadiensis* 10, 1 (1980): 10, 25.