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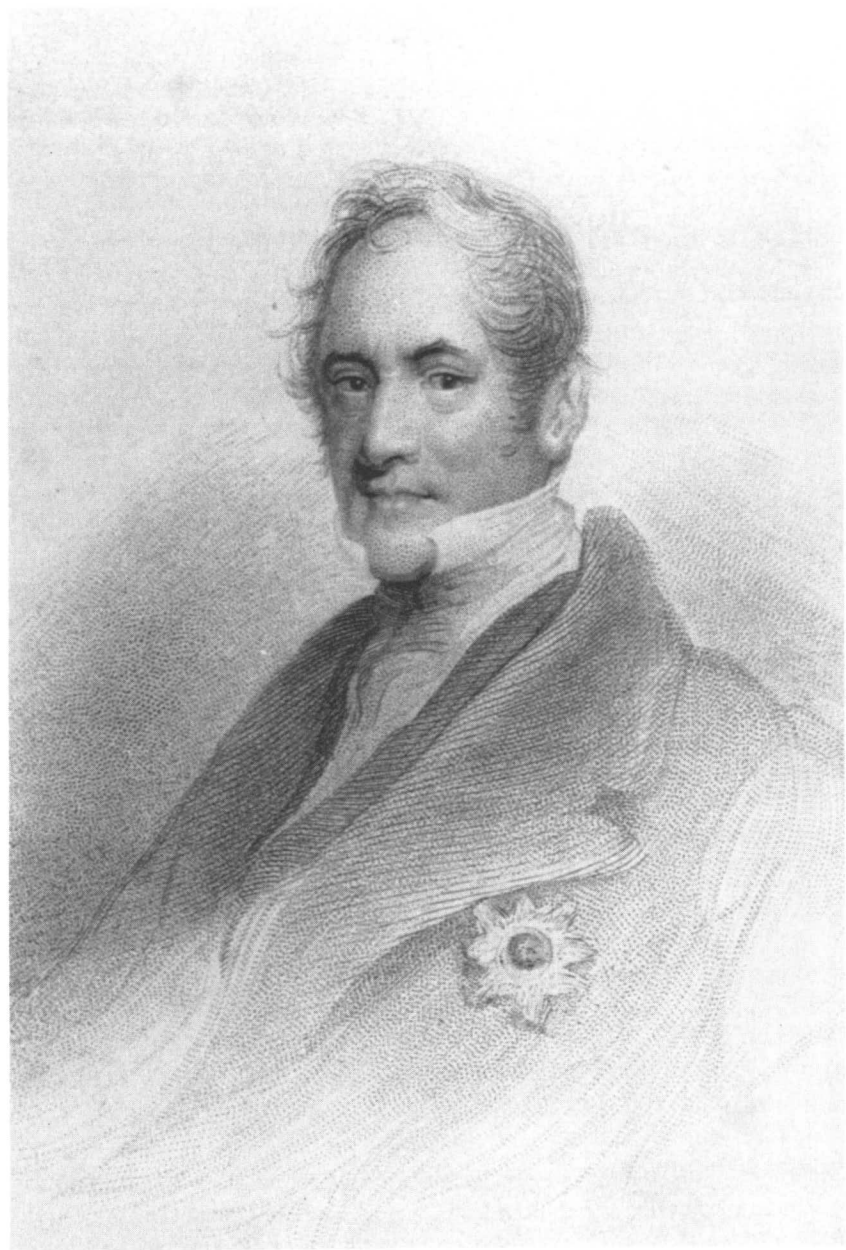
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# Sir John Harvey, J.V. Nugent and the Inspectorship Controversy in the 1840s

PHILLIP MCCANN

IN APRIL 1843 the city of St. John's was buzzing with the rumour that the Governor of Newfoundland, Sir John Harvey, intended to appoint John Valentine Nugent, a Liberal-Catholic member of the House of Assembly, to the post of Inspector of Schools. Opponents and supporters of Nugent reacted immediately. The Tory-Protestant *Public Ledger* fervently hoped that Harvey would not "so utterly...confound and astonish the public" as to bestow the Inspectorship on an "itinerant political agitator...the last man in the colony upon whom the office should be bestowed."<sup>1</sup> The rival Liberal-Catholic newspaper, the *Patriot*, predictably welcomed the news, asserting that no one in the colony was better qualified or more competent to undertake the duties of Inspector than Nugent.<sup>2</sup> Harvey's intended action awoke slumbering antagonisms and for the following three years dissension over the inspectorship flared intermittently, often heated, occasionally acrimonious and, like many educational controversies of the period, concerned less with pedagogy than with the role of the denominations in school governance. Furthermore, the whole dispute, though ostensibly about education, threw a revealing light on the tensions within a society struggling to find social stability and a political identity within a colonial context.

The intensity of the passions aroused by the inspectorate issue can best be understood against the background of the political struggles of the 1830s, when the Liberal-Catholic majority of the House of Assembly, in pursuit of democratic rights and privileges, had unceasingly harried the Tory-Protestant Council over a range of issues, including the supply vote, revenue bills, the election of officers, the administration of justice, the construction of roads, the development of agriculture, and the structure of the educational system. The Liberal-Catholics had the support of the great majority of Catholic fishing families and artisans, and a sizeable number



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of their Protestant brethren. The Conservative-Protestants, on the other hand, represented the merchant-administrative ruling elite, dubbed a "mercantocracy" by a British observer, Sir Richard Bonnycastle.

Merchants took the lead in presenting to the Imperial Parliament and the Colonial Office a highly-coloured version of the admittedly tempestuous political scene — uproars at election times, popular demonstrations against the administration (often quelled by the military) and the rumbustious activities of Catholic priests in support of Liberal politicians. Harvey's predecessor, Sir Henry Prescott, likened the conflicts to a war, and the *Public Ledger* accused the Liberals of severing the union between employer and employed. The situation, in fact, had many of the elements of a class struggle, which might have threatened the status quo in the colony. The British government, convinced that Newfoundland was in a near-insurrectionary state, took swift action: the Constitution was suspended in 1841, a Select Committee on Newfoundland set up in the same year and the Newfoundland Act passed in 1842, which modified the franchise and inaugurated an Amalgamated Assembly of appointed and elected members, thus effectively reducing the political influence of the Liberal-Catholics. In September 1841 Sir John Harvey had been appointed Governor, charged with the mission of bringing harmony to the troubled colony.<sup>3</sup>

Harvey had arrived in Newfoundland with a reputation as a reconciler of warring factions in the North American colonies. Though of humble origin, he had made a brilliant career in the army by a combination of bravery in many expeditions in various parts of the world, assiduous attention to duty and a talent for administration. A Colonel at thirty-eight, Harvey became Inspector-General of Police in Leinster in 1828, Governor of Prince Edward Island eight years later, and Governor of New Brunswick in 1837. Despite occasional errors of judgement, his policies in these years were distinguished by a combination of firmness, conciliation and judicious support for reform in the spheres of the law, education, communications, agriculture and social welfare, strategies which he was to employ to some effect in Newfoundland. However, as a member and supporter of the Church of England, with Evangelical sympathies, Harvey found little favour with "Old Dissent."<sup>4</sup> The Congregationalists, in particular, were to attack his educational policies.

Harvey soon discovered, below the surface of political life, simmering resentments which the establishment of the Amalgamated Assembly had barely been able to conceal. Not the least of these divisive issues was the education question. The factional feuds over non-denominational schools (which lasted from 1836, the date of the first education act, until 1843) were still fresh in the memory of the participants. From the beginning, militant Protestants, abetted by the Tory newspapers the *Public Ledger* and the *Times*, had attacked the non-denominational system of public elementary education established by the Act of 1836 as too favourable to Roman Catholic interests. Protestants had sponsored defiance of regulations by school boards, resignations of members, parent strikes and vitupera-

tive campaigns in press and pulpit, which had resulted in the near collapse of the system. The Amalgamated Assembly, with weakened Catholic interest, gave Protestants an opportunity to press home their advantage, and Richard Barnes, the member for Trinity, successfully presented a bill in 1843 which divided the education grant between Protestants and Roman Catholics, thus inaugurating a denominational system. The Liberal-Catholic members of the Assembly, heavily outnumbered, reluctantly acquiesced in the vote, Nugent ruefully conceding that separate education was better than no education at all.<sup>5</sup>

A clause establishing the post of inspector of schools had been tacked on to the 1843 Education Bill by Bryan Robinson, the member for Fortune Bay, apparently against the wishes of Barnes.<sup>6</sup> Robinson, an Irishman from Dublin, but a prominent member of the Church of England, had emigrated to Newfoundland in 1828 at the age of twenty, practised law, and in 1843 was making his name as a rising young barrister.<sup>7</sup> His clause (which became Section 19 of the Act) enjoined the Inspector to make an annual visit to all schools established or supported under the Act and to report to the Governor their state, the character and description of the teachers and the proficiency of the scholars. The appointment was to take effect at the end of twelve months at a salary of £300<sup>8</sup> — roughly fourteen times that of the average for all teachers.<sup>9</sup>

Robinson's action had not been anticipated, but as a member of the Executive Council it was possible that he had received a hint from the Governor, with whom he had close financial ties;<sup>10</sup> Robinson later admitted that the matter had been "suggested to him,"<sup>11</sup> but he could scarcely have had Nugent in mind when he proposed the clause. Indeed the *Patriot* alleged that Robinson had created the office for one of his political cronies.<sup>12</sup> Whatever the origin or intent of the clause, its inclusion in the bill was a maladroitness move. However estimable in principle, the appointment of a single inspector, added to a bill expressly designed to split the educational system into two parts on religious lines, would have posed a problem in a society considerably more homogeneous than that of Newfoundland in the mid-1840s. The appointment of Nugent merely exacerbated the situation created by Section 19.

Robinson later justified the clause on the grounds that the principle of inspection was "almost indispensable" as a measure of surveillance over an educational expenditure then running at £5,200 per annum.<sup>13</sup> The post, he suggested, should go to "a man of very superior ability" and "a very high order of talents," and he even proposed bringing in a person from Britain if there were no suitable candidate in Newfoundland.<sup>14</sup> Robinson's arguments in favour of the appointment would suggest that he proposed school inspection in order that central control might be strengthened by the investigation of the extent to which local units were carrying out the aims of the administration which financed them. It is unlikely, however, that his action sprang from any deep interest in education or the working of school systems. More probably, both he and Harvey were influenced, in a general way,

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by the movement for the inspection of schools (and many other institutions) then sweeping the English-speaking world. Harvey, at least, could scarcely have been unaware of that classic document on Canadian governance, the Durham Report. In 1839 Arthur Buller, the educational observer attached to the mission, had observed that "the vitality of every system of education must essentially reside...in the provisions for inspection and supervision," adding that no educational scheme could prosper unless it was matched and regulated by "an honest and active inspectorate."<sup>15</sup>

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In most circumstances, the inclusion of an inspectorship clause in an education bill would have given rise to only the mildest comment. In fact, the first reaction of the Liberal-Catholic *Newfoundlander* was to declare that though the post was "essentially important," much would depend on the character of the person appointed.<sup>16</sup> The *Patriot* initially derided the clause as a "useless appendage" to the bill, a waste of money and a post created merely for a friend of Robinson.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, so great was the uproar when Nugent's name was mooted that few noticed the presence of three applicants for the post of inspector: John M. Brine, thirty-five years old and a member of the Church of England; Robert Rodgers, a Scot, who submitted memorials and testimonials with his application, and who claimed he was put out of business as a school teacher by the success of Bishop Feild's school;<sup>18</sup> and an unnamed Roman Catholic teacher with twenty-three years experience who was supported by both Protestants and Catholics.<sup>19</sup> It was only when Nugent's appointment was mooted that political and religious passions were stirred, the *Patriot* and *Newfoundlander* came out strongly in support and the Tory-Protestant *Public Ledger* and *Times* launched into vociferous opposition.

Nugent's appointment, as was recognized in the press at the time, was part of Harvey's policy of conciliation and harmony, which involved, *inter alia*, giving a limited number of public positions to leading Catholics. The elevation of Laurence O'Brien and Patrick Morris, both prominent Liberal-Catholic politicians, to the Executive Council, had aroused little comment, partly because they had the reputation of being more moderate than Nugent, but mainly because their duties did not directly impinge upon interdenominational relationships.<sup>20</sup> As the *Harbour Grace Herald* bluntly phrased it, Harvey exercised "a conciliatory system of policy, preserving the peace of the country by meeting the prejudices of the different sections of the community, and stopping the mouths of the most noisy of them by throwing down an occasional bone."<sup>21</sup>

In fact, as Laurence O'Brien later revealed in the Assembly, the Catholic Church had taken Harvey's policy to heart and pressed the appointment of Nugent upon him. O'Brien, an Irishman from Waterford County, had been in Newfoundland over thirty-five years, building up a business as a general merchant and

participating in politics as a Liberal reformer.<sup>22</sup> As a member of both Assembly and Council, he led a deputation to the Governor (presumably in early April 1843) on behalf of the Catholic Bishop, Michael Anthony Fleming, who had recommended the appointment of Nugent. Harvey, according to O'Brien, had not committed himself at the meeting, but it is clear that he later acquiesced.<sup>23</sup>

After the flurry of concern in the *Public Ledger* in April, the issue lay quiescent for the remainder of 1843, the actual appointment not being due until May of the following year. Harvey, however, having shown his hand, had time to reflect on the consequences: the alternative of continuing with the appointment and having to face a crisis that would threaten his policy of harmony, or of making some other arrangements, which might contravene the provisions of the 1843 Education Act.

In November 1843, Harvey wrote a lengthy letter to Lord Stanley, the British Colonial Secretary, describing what he felt were harmonious educational relations between Catholic and Protestant following the 1843 Education Act. Obviously unwilling to disturb this state of affairs, Harvey reneged on his decision of April and declared his intention to recommend a provision for a second inspector in order to relieve the government of the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of finding one acceptable to both parties.<sup>24</sup> Harvey did not make it clear whether or not he had in mind two inspectors serving in the same year or in alternate years, but subsequent events showed that he meant that the latter course should be adopted. He justified this step, in his speech to the General Assembly in January 1844, on the grounds that it was "in entire accordance with the principle" upon which the Act was based<sup>25</sup> — a reading which could hardly be supported by a strict analysis of Section 19. He duly informed Stanley that this section would have to undergo revision during the current session of the Assembly.<sup>26</sup>

Harvey, having made his decision, lost little time in acting upon it; he instructed Joseph Noad, the Surveyor-General, whom he had nominated to both the Assembly and the Executive Council, to introduce a bill to provide for two inspectors, one Protestant and one Catholic, to take effect in twelve months.<sup>27</sup> The debate on the bill was acerbic, and from Harvey's point of view disappointing. Robinson, caught in the position of advocating one inspector in 1843, and feeling constrained to support the provision of two in 1844, took refuge in the curious argument that as the original appointment had to wait twelve months before becoming operative, he was not violating his principles when he endorsed the present bill which, like the Act of 1843, also had to wait a year before coming into effect. The Governor, he felt, had "perhaps" seen the anomaly of the appointment of only one inspector for two sets of schools, and now submitted a correction of it. The main opposition to the bill came from Richard Barnes, the member for Trinity, who declared he was against the appointment of two inspectors — the duties could be performed by one man of moral honesty, without reference to his religious feelings. He felt, however, that even one inspector was impractical, unnecessary and costly. Inspection of schools could be left to Board members themselves, some

of whom carried out semi-annual inspections by two of their own members. John Kent, the leading Liberal-Catholic spokesman in the Assembly, considered the bill to be unnecessary, and O'Brien thought its object was to defeat Nugent's appointment. In the event a motion by Barnes to kill the bill was passed.<sup>28</sup>

The confusion and conflicting reactions surrounding the whole issue were evident when Thomas Glen, a Congregationalist Scot and the Conservative member for Ferryland, on the day following the introduction of Noad's bill brought forward another bill to suspend Clause 19 of the Act for three years. In presenting his measure Glen came out against inspectorships *per se*, on the now familiar ground that they were a useless waste of public money for a duty that could well be performed by the clergy on the Boards. Kent protested that the bill was "wholly influenced by party feelings," and attempted to kill it, but failed; all the Protestants except Noad then voted for a second reading.<sup>29</sup> Parsons, the foremost Protestant Liberal, though he supported the bill, asserted that "party spirit" was as strong as it ever was, and that if any person but Nugent had been named as inspector the appointment would have been adhered to.

The Tories denied party motives behind the bill, Glen stating that there had been every reason to believe that Rodgers would be appointed. The arguments were familiar and repetitive. Only Nugent, feeling he could not remain silent, spoke about education as such. He had, he declared, no idea of the appointment when he supported Clause 19 the previous year. The system was an experiment which might be altered, and an inspector was necessary to determine this. Somewhat surprisingly, Nugent suggested that the Austrian system, in which education, he alleged, was forced on the people, might be necessary in Newfoundland. In the end Glen withdrew the bill on 24 April, "in consequence of the advanced period of the session,"<sup>30</sup> giving an effective, if temporary, check to the introduction of school inspection in Newfoundland, at a time when it was developing rapidly in other countries.

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School inspection was an important element in the regulation of compulsory education for the masses, which developed virtually on a world scale in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup> In Britain, the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, accompanied by a vast increase in population, the mushrooming of great industrial cities, and the rise of a working class employed in the factory production of commodities, presented new and complex problems of governance, quite different from the paternal relations of the pre-industrial era. New forms of social power were needed, not only coercive, but also moral-regulatory. Education, in the basic form of instruction in the 3Rs and religious morality, was the most expedient means to this end, and monitorial schooling — in which child monitors supplemented the work of adult teachers —



spread rapidly from the beginning of the century, concerned with inculcating in the mass of the population moral attitudes concerning their place in the social order.<sup>32</sup>

Systematic state intervention in schooling began in Britain in 1839, with the establishment of the Committee of Council of Education, an arm of the executive government. Under its able secretary, James Kay-Shuttleworth, a former Poor Law Inspector, the Council quickly introduced a set of bureaucratic regulations which enjoined schools to hold regular public examinations, keep attendance registers and submit to regular inspection by a corps of specially selected inspectors, usually "gentlemen" of high social and intellectual standing. Inspection of this kind had long been known on the continent of Europe and in Ireland.<sup>33</sup>

Inspection, a key mechanism of state regulation, was part of a new style of governance which involved the solving of practical problems by the collection of data.<sup>34</sup> Information on local educational conditions became the necessary condition for the implementation of government policy. By means of guidance and assistance to teachers, and the overseeing of examinations, inspectors were able to ensure uniformity of curriculum and teaching method, thus marginalising alternatives. Above all, however, inspection had a moral-regulatory function. Kay-Shuttleworth issued a questionnaire (containing 140 questions) to be administered by inspectors; apart from searching inquiries into every aspect of school life, thirteen questions were aimed at ascertaining the state of "religious and moral discipline,"<sup>35</sup> which in Kay-Shuttleworth's view should regulate "the thoughts and habits of the children."<sup>36</sup> In 1853 he felt able to claim that the labours of his inspectorate had promoted such a degree of "political repose" among the English poor as to save the country from revolution.<sup>37</sup>

School inspection was thus seen by its promoters to have both moral and political, as well as pedagogical, functions. It had evolved less out of mere technical necessity arising from the expansion of a school system than as a response to socio-political imperatives inseparable from the construction of a rational industrial-capitalist state, based upon, in the words of Home Secretary Russell in 1836, "system, method, science, economy, regularity and discipline."<sup>38</sup>

British colonies had not reached the level of economic and social development, nor achieved the same expansion of educational institutions as the mother country; nevertheless, in some of the so-called white settler colonies the beginnings of mass schooling were under way, accompanied by attempts at a system of inspection. Bruce Curtis' study of school inspection in Canada West, *True Government by Choice Men?*,<sup>39</sup> depicts a burgeoning colony facing the problem of bringing schools in isolated local communities, lacking both a dominant class of proprietors and municipal institutions, into contact with the central administration. The need to generate forms of consciousness, habits and outlooks suitable to representative government stimulated the creation, in the 1840s and '50s, of a corps of school inspectors based on English and Irish models. "Choice men" of some intellectual and social standing, they were charged with much the same duties — the collection

of data on local educational conditions, the implementation of central directives, and moral-regulatory governance of the rising generation, which functions, Curtis argues, were fundamental to the process of state formation.

The situation in Newfoundland had more in common with that of Canada West than England or Ireland. Outside St. John's, the capital, with its concentration of political, administrative and legal authority, the numerous small fishing outports were isolated by the virtual absence of communications and lacked local or municipal government structures. The pool of "respectable" men of substance in small outports was usually no larger than the local merchant or his agent, a minister or priest and the customs official. Even in St. John's, the civil and judicial establishment in the mid-1840s was small, numbering no more than 82, or 0.1% of a population of 96,000.<sup>41</sup>

By the mid-1840s St. John's had become the core area of the country, an *entrepôt* for the whole island and the focus of its political, commercial and administrative life. Most financial transactions were concentrated there, merchants and traders forming 17% of recorded occupations. In fact, the social and economic inequalities between the capital and the outports, exemplified by the exploitation of the latter by the St. John's merchants, amounted to a species of "internal colonialism," the dominance by the core of the periphery.<sup>41</sup> School inspection, whether or not fully articulated by Harvey, Robinson and others, could only strengthen this situation, by subjecting the localities to inquiry and regulation, gathering standardised information on local conditions and defining a mechanism for the operation of central policy.

Harvey, undoubtedly feeling that school inspection was an essential element of his whole policy, was determined, despite the setback in the Legislature, to press ahead with his plan for two inspectors. "I am led to the conclusion that I have no other escape," he explained to Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, "than to select two Inspectors who shall perform the duties and receive the assigned salary on alternate years...." To make provision for only one would be to deny the benefit of inspection to one or other of the two denominations, for it could be assumed that each would close the doors of its schools to an inspector of the rival religion. He had no option but to appoint Nugent, Harvey continued, as he was backed by Bishop Fleming and all the Catholic members of the Assembly; with regard to the Protestant Inspector he would consult the Anglican bishop, and the confirmation of the appointments he would leave to the Colonial Secretary.<sup>42</sup>

Stanley was unlikely to welcome this turn of events; not only was he the progenitor of the Irish national system of education (which was both non-denominational and had a functioning inspectorate)<sup>43</sup> but he had only reluctantly agreed to sanction the 1843 Education Act, which he felt was a hurried affair, beset with doubtful clauses.<sup>44</sup> In fact, in his reply to Harvey he did not conceal his displeasure. The proposal was "manifestly a most inconvenient arrangement," he wrote, and one he would be unwilling to sanction; he advised Harvey to make a further appeal



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to the Legislature, but in the meantime to see both Bishops and make a "satisfactory temporary arrangement," despite possible opposition. If the opposition were chiefly from one side, he suggested, he would be inclined to appoint the first inspector from the opposition. No school receiving government aid, he concluded, could close its doors against any inspector.<sup>45</sup>

Harvey was in a difficult position. On the one hand he had somehow to satisfy the two opposing politico-religious groups in Newfoundland; on the other he was being pressured by the British Colonial Secretary to take a course of action different from what he felt was the best solution of the problem. "I certainly feel indisposed to sanction the plan you have mentioned of appointing, for alternate years, an inspector entertaining different religious opinions," reiterated Stanley on 19 July, and suggested, to obviate the possibility of one class of schools being left uninspected for a year, that Harvey nominate joint inspectors, dividing the salary between them.<sup>46</sup> He felt strongly enough about the issue to write to Harvey again on 27 August, urging him to reread the despatch of 19 July.<sup>47</sup> His advice came too late. Harvey, deciding to pursue his own plans, had already written to Stanley on 13 July, informing him that he had secured an assurance from the Church of England Bishop that he had no objection to his schools being inspected by an official of any religious persuasion, and enclosing a copy of the minutes appointing Nugent as inspector.<sup>48</sup>

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What manner of man was to receive the post of first inspector of schools? John Valentine Nugent, dubbed "the O'Connell of Newfoundland" by the Tories,<sup>49</sup> was an Irishman from Waterford, forty-eight years old in 1844. He had come to Newfoundland eleven years earlier, under the patronage of Bishop Fleming, having been forced to leave Ireland, according to his political opponents, because of his "violence in politics." He was well-educated, with a classical background and some training in law, and had opened a classical school in St. John's soon after his arrival. He plunged into politics, however, and as we have seen, became one of the leaders of the Liberal-Catholics, though not a member of the "family compact" gathered around Bishop Fleming. "A party man... educated in the school of Irish politics," a contemporary journalist observed, "moderation is seldom a characteristic of his conduct." He was one of the foremost popular orators in (and outside) the stormy Assembly of 1837-41, and in 1842 was elected to the General Assembly as a member for St. John's, following the *cause célèbre* of his arrest during the campaign for non-payment of libel damages. In the early 1840s he became the editor successively of the *Vindicator* and *Indicator*, both Liberal-Catholic journals. Though a colourful political figure, with a somewhat haughty mien, he was an amiable and conscientious man in private life.<sup>50</sup>

None questioned his ability, or his fitness to undertake what the *Ledger* termed "the quiet and respectable duty of supervising...schools;" the whole objection of the paper was that this supervision should be undertaken by an "itinerant political agitator."<sup>51</sup> Nugent was undoubtedly a radical, an Irish Nationalist and a Repealer of the O'Connell school; shortly after the formal arrangement of his appointment, he spoke at a Repeal meeting in St. John's which proposed an address to "O'Connell and his Associate Martyrs," and launched a petition demanding "a local Legislature for Ireland."<sup>52</sup> It was for this type of behaviour that his detractors opposed his appointment, rather than (they claimed) for his religion.<sup>53</sup> His supporters naturally took a different line, praising Nugent for defending Catholicism from insult, its ministers from outrage and its followers from exclusion from office.<sup>54</sup>

The first intimation of his appointment that Nugent received was a letter from James Crowdy, the Newfoundland Colonial Secretary, dated 10 June 1844. "Re the appointment of Catholic and Protestant Inspectors in alternate years under the Education Act..." the letter began, "His Excellency has been pleased on the recommendation of the Right Reverend Dr. Fleming to select you as the Catholic Inspector." The actual appointment, Crowdy continued, would take place on the arrival of Dr. Edward Feild, the new Church of England Bishop, whom the Governor wished to consult regarding the selection of the Protestant Inspector.<sup>55</sup>

A month later Nugent, who had made all his arrangements for departure, including "a vessel fully prepared," was surprised to find that a formal announcement of his appointment had not appeared in the official *Gazette* — despite the fact that Bishop Feild had arrived several days earlier — and urged Crowdy to expedite the matter.<sup>56</sup> On 16 July, Governor Harvey, in a notice in the *Gazette*, formally appointed Nugent as "Inspector of Schools throughout the Island of Newfoundland...by virtue of the power and authority invested in me by an Act of the Legislature."<sup>57</sup> So far, so constitutional. But two appended letters from Crowdy, the Colonial Secretary, addressed to Nugent, certainly did not fall within the letter of the 1843 Act. The first reminded Nugent that at the end of his year of office he would be succeeded by "a Protestant gentleman," and that he was to inspect only Roman Catholic schools, except where Protestant Boards might invite him; the second was a copy of a circular to be sent to Protestant Boards, intimating that "As His Excellency is sensible to the objections that may be felt to the Inspection of Protestant Schools by a Roman Catholic Inspector, he has limited Mr. Nugent's term of office to one year...."<sup>58</sup> Copies of Crowdy's letters were sent simultaneously to Nugent himself; the second letter, however, contained the name of one Bertram Jones, who was to be the Protestant Inspector.<sup>59</sup>

In attempting yet another stratagem, this time to placate the Protestants, Harvey had landed himself in further trouble. These highly unusual arrangements gave rise to a storm of controversy in the press and among the public. During the summer of 1844, the issue "engrossed much of the conversation of the day," noted the *Ledger*;<sup>60</sup> and the *Patriot* felt that at no point during the past year had political

feelings run so high as at the present moment.<sup>61</sup> "Are St. John's pupils wearing Repeal Buttons?" inquired a Protestant schoolmaster from Conception Bay.<sup>62</sup> Protestant urchins should carry banners inscribed "No Popery — No Surrender," riposted a Catholic.<sup>63</sup> In June the *Patriot* had attacked Harvey's restrictive qualification as "a most extraordinary proceeding," asserting that the Governor had no more power to make such an arrangement than the *Patriot* had; to have two inspectors "on the plea of having one of them a Protestant," at an expense of £1,000, would be "a wanton and criminal waste of the public money, and as such should be strongly denounced."<sup>64</sup> A month later the *Patriot* returned to the attack, alleging that Harvey was attempting to appease the Protestants by cutting the situation into two slices, politely tendering one to the anti-Catholic party, and rather reluctantly throwing the other in the opposite direction.<sup>65</sup>

All sections of the press were agreed that Harvey had landed himself in a constitutionally untenable position. The *Ledger* found "no little amusement" in Harvey's attempt to "back out of the 'fix' in which he had found himself," and pooh-poohed the injunction not to inspect Protestant schools except by invitation as so much verbiage, for the Act enjoined the inspector to visit all schools.<sup>66</sup> The same paper further maintained that Harvey had acted illegally by assuming the legislative as well as the executive functions of government; if it proved difficult or impossible to provide an inspector "without distinction or reservation, then the clause of the Act was a dead letter until the next meeting of the Legislature."<sup>67</sup> The *Newfoundlander* derided Harvey's action as an exercise of "despotic authority."<sup>68</sup> The *Times* urged direct action, pressing parents and guardians to send in petitions to the Executive if they disagreed with Harvey's proceeding.<sup>69</sup> The Liberal-Catholic press linked the issue to the broader constitutional changes of the recent past. "The small proportion of constitutional material retained in the Amalgamated Legislature is practically growing beautifully less," observed the *Newfoundlander*.<sup>70</sup> The *Patriot* felt that the reform of the Assembly had destroyed the power of the victorious Radicals and infused new life into the Conservative faction, who would never have rallied but for "the kind assistance of the 'Amalgamated' system."<sup>71</sup>

At the beginning of August the *Ledger* made a last desperate attempt to keep the anti-Catholic pot boiling. It printed a letter which alleged that Harvey was aware, or ought to have been aware, that Clause 19 had been added to the bill with the specific object of "securing the superintendence of a Protestant Inspector over the expenditure of public monies entrusted to priestly hands;" the Roman Catholic inspectorship was thus objectionable to Protestants, not from intolerance or bigotry, but because it frustrated the object the Legislature had in view.<sup>72</sup> The *Patriot* thought the allegation might be correct, and if so the Act had the ultimate design of "insulting, calumniating, and degrading" the Catholic priesthood and people. But if Robinson were not guilty of the ploy — and the *Patriot* could not conceive he had such an intention — then the writer was "a wretch" to utter or conceive the

statement. This kind of abuse from the "Orange Press," the paper grimly forecast a week later, would result in opposition that would sweep the "Orange party" from the Assembly.<sup>73</sup>

Some three weeks before this incident, a more well-argued but equally partisan criticism of Harvey and Nugent had been made by Richard Barnes. Using the nom-de-plume "Cato,"<sup>74</sup> he wrote four letters, printed in the *Public Ledger* by the editor Henry Winton, a fellow Congregationalist, who shared Barnes' political sentiments.<sup>75</sup> A native Newfoundlander, born in St. John's of a family long established in the shipping business, Barnes, though retaining a measure of independence, had some claim to be considered the foremost ideologist of what today we might term the "radical right." First elected to the Assembly in 1837 (and again in 1842) for the Protestant stronghold of Trinity, Barnes soon became, in the words of the *Patriot*,<sup>76</sup> "one of the most rabid opponents of the Liberal party." In the late 1830s and early 1840s he played a prominent role in the cultural and political life of the colony, notably as Treasurer and later President of the Natives' Society, and as the leader of an unsuccessful attempt to abolish the Amalgamated Assembly and redraw political boundaries, a ploy which the Liberals criticised as an attempt to reduce Catholic legislative representation. Barnes' main claim to fame, however, lay in his piloting of the 1843 education bill through the Assembly, crowned by a long speech which revealed a remarkable knowledge of contemporary educational trends.<sup>77</sup>

The first letter of the series in the *Ledger* was published on 19 July,<sup>78</sup> the day on which Barnes, as secretary of the relatively liberal St. John's School Board, had written to Crowdy informing him that the Board would take a neutral stance on the inspectorship issue, neither inviting nor excluding any inspector the Governor might appoint.<sup>79</sup> In the first missive in the *Ledger*, however, Barnes took a strongly pro-Protestant stance, melodramatically critical of Harvey — "Her Majesty's Protestant Representative" — whose government, he alleged, was "sinking into ruin," and whose patronage policy would drive the people to embrace republicanism. That Nugent should not inspect Protestant Boards unless invited, Barnes termed "one of the grossest insults ever offered to the Protestants of this country," tantamount to accusing them of "bigotry and intolerance." By thus throwing the responsibility for the rejection of Nugent upon the Protestant Boards, Harvey would "keep himself clear of the odium which he supposes will attach to it." The Protestant Boards, Barnes predicted, would, on reference to the Act, find they had no power to reject Nugent, who was therefore *de jure* and *de facto* the Inspector of Protestant Schools — despite his "base career" of anti-Protestant agitation and general unfitness for the post.

Notwithstanding his reiterated abuse of Nugent ("a violent political wrangler;" "this rabid impugner of Protestantism," etc.), Barnes had sufficient political acumen to situate the issue in the context of political changes of the recent past and Harvey's policy of conciliation. The political strife of the previous decade, he

argued, had caused the people to long for peace; the introduction of the Amalgamated Legislature had killed their political senses to the extent that they had sunk into an "unwise indifference" and reduced the parties to "shattered elements." Harvey, perceiving that some members of these parties now sought personal aggrandisement, sympathised with them and "administered to their necessities." The appointment of Nugent was thus "a link in that chain upon which his whole policy has been suspended."

But Barnes, a nativist and populist to the core, put his faith in the great bulk of the country's "essential inhabitants" rather than in governors or the contending political coteries; the populace, he forecast, would soon display their dissatisfaction with current politics in "the tangibility of action" and sweep from the Legislature and the government "moral imbecility, quasi-political pandering, and executive tergiversation."

It was not to be, of course. The apocalyptic predictions of both Barnes and the Liberal-Catholics lay more in the realm of political rhetoric than in the realities of practical politics. Harvey was too experienced to be shaken by these outpourings, and he emerged from the controversies relatively unscathed; his policies, until he left Newfoundland in 1846, continued to receive a measure of public support, though the fires of sectarianism were not effectively quenched.<sup>80</sup>

\* \* \*

"Well, a fortnight has passed," wrote the *Indicator* at the end of July, "and the expected *feu de désespoir* has been poured out by the rabid hacks of Faction. Peal after peal has passed over the poor devoted head of Mr. Nugent...and yet, really, we find the poor fellow alive!"<sup>81</sup> Alive indeed, and making final preparations for his travels.<sup>82</sup> He left St. John's on 6 August 1844 and sailed for Fortune Bay; bad weather forced him into several harbours en route, delaying his arrival until 24 August. Landing at Harbour Breton, he was immediately faced with a *contretemps*. He found the members of the Protestant Board scattered and unable to meet, and its few available members unaware of his appointment. On calling at the school, kept on the premises of Newman's, the local merchant house, he was immediately prevented from entering by the teacher, Mrs. Trude, wife of the storekeeper; she stated she would allow him to enter only by sanction of the Board or the local members thereof, both of whom declined to act. Nugent had no option but to leave the school unexamined.

Whether or not his reception at Harbour Breton had been due to anti-Catholic bias or pedantic insistence on the letter of the law is an open question, but Nugent found, contrary to the predictions of his opponents, few similar difficulties with Protestant schools in other places. Following journeys through the districts of Burin, Placentia, and St. Mary's, he returned to St. John's from Trepassey in the last week of October. After a fortnight's vacation, he sailed for Twillingate on 3



November, returning to the capital, after some hazardous winter journeys by sea and land, on 21 December 1844. His report was submitted to James Crowdy, the Colonial Secretary, on 17 February 1845.

At a rough count, Nugent had visited 44 schools, 22 in each of the main Southern and Northern Districts, about a third of those currently in operation.<sup>83</sup> He had been prevented from inspecting more by bad weather, the closure of the school, or the absence of the teacher. He had found most schools in poor condition; many classes, in fact, were held in tilts, shacks, lofts or rooms in houses. In general, however, the inhabitants of the settlements had built, or were willing to build, a school house. Teachers were conscientious but often unqualified for the task, and all were underpaid, the annual salaries usually hovering around the £15-20 range. Most schools taught reading and writing, a few adding arithmetic. Attendance was usually about from one-half to two-thirds of the enrolment, though in every district there were almost as many children without access to schooling as those on the books.<sup>84</sup>

Except for the principal schools of the Newfoundland School Society, there was no such thing as a uniform system, declared Nugent; he felt this was hardly surprising in view of the low teachers' salaries consequent upon the "extreme inadequacy" of the education grant. The situation could only be improved, he argued, by the establishment of a Normal School in St. John's, and he urged the Imperial Parliament to assist the colony in the matter of education. Nugent's reports on individual communities were concerned as much with the lack of roads as with schooling. Time and again he found that hundreds of children were being kept from the benefits of education by the absence of any form of land communication. On this issue also he felt an appeal to Britain for aid was an urgent necessity.

On the whole, Nugent had carried out a difficult assignment in a conscientious, if limited, manner. Although he had gathered a certain amount of useful material on local educational conditions, he could scarcely claim to have examined the achievements or capabilities of the young scholars, nor inspired the teachers with the latest pedagogical knowledge. He had, however, pioneered the link between centre and periphery. But how far would the Legislature take to heart the tremendous difficulties involved in the construction of a viable school system, and accept the probable cost of providing the necessary infrastructure?

These questions were certainly not addressed by the press or by public opinion — insofar as the latter was represented by correspondents in both Liberal and Tory newspapers — when Nugent's report was released in the Spring of 1845. Comment was almost universally hostile, both to the Report and to the institution of inspectorship itself. "Unnecessary;" "a sinecure;" "an unpardonable waste of public money;" "an indirect insult to members of Boards," complained an incensed "Tota" to the *Ledger*.<sup>85</sup> The *Weekly Herald*, describing the inspection as a "ridiculous failure," argued that it was needed only where there was dereliction of duty, in which case no Board would invite inspection, later adding that £500 had been

expended on "a pleasant summer excursion" in which the inspector had done nothing at all.<sup>86</sup> In Trinity a public meeting was to be held to pass resolutions condemnatory of the office and send a petition to the Legislature to expunge Clause 19 from the Act.<sup>87</sup> Correspondents also alleged that accounts of certain schools in the Report were misleading or that many schools were not inspected at all.<sup>88</sup>

After this flurry of public interest the situation was virtually quiescent for nearly a year, during which time Nugent's successor, Bertram Jones, a Protestant and an Oxford graduate,<sup>89</sup> proceeded on the second tour of inspection.<sup>90</sup> His report, delivered to government in March 1846, was in many ways a more thorough and professional production than that of Nugent, though laying similar stress on the undeveloped state of the school system, the deficiencies of the school houses and the teachers, and the physical obstacles hindering progress.<sup>91</sup>

Almost simultaneously with the presentation of Jones' report, the mercurial John Kent took steps to put an end to inspection altogether. In the Assembly on 16 March he announced his intention of bringing forward a bill to repeal the inspectorship clause of the 1843 Education Act. His motive was unexpected and idiosyncratic; on perusing the 1846 census he claimed to have found that a great number of female schools had male teachers who, he felt, were "not the proper persons to communicate information to the minds of the future mothers of this country." To remedy "this evil" he would give notice to repeal that part of the Act which provided for school inspection.<sup>92</sup>

This was an argument to "puzzle all the logicians who ever lived," wrote a correspondent in the *Ledger*,<sup>93</sup> and the *Times* felt it was "somewhat singular that the very men whose lungs, on a former occasion, shook again with their declarations in favour of the appointment, are now raising their voices to undo what they have already done."<sup>94</sup> Undeterred by criticism, Kent persisted with his intention, though changing his argument when he presented his bill in the Assembly a week later. Inspection of schools had been shown to be useless and its inutility universally admitted, he asserted, and fearing a resumption of strife on the appointment of the next inspector — who would be a Catholic — he brought forward the bill "to silence all cavil."<sup>95</sup>

Jones immediately protested that Kent was doing him an injustice by implying that his work had been useless, particularly as it had yet to be printed and placed before the House.<sup>96</sup> In subsequent weeks Jones' Report did receive some criticism, much on the lines of that which had greeted Nugent's work — that the whole operation was a waste of money, and that the text contained many inaccuracies.<sup>97</sup>

The debates on Kent's bill during April showed that the proposal, on this occasion, did not divide the House on strict party or religious lines. Nugent argued that the inspectorship was a useful office, recognised and found of service in every country and of great advantage to Newfoundland. James Simms, the Protestant Attorney-General, also supported the concept of inspection, announcing that he had been converted by Jones' Report. Robinson, the author of Clause 19, expressed

"great unwillingness" to vote for the abolition of the inspectorship, feeling that if £5,200 was to be expended on education, then surveillance of schools was necessary and "almost indispensable," as the vast amount of information in the two reports demonstrated; his only inducement to vote for the bill was that the expenses of inspection would be added to the general educational grant. Inspection, he hoped, might be resumed after a few years — a sentiment echoed by Barnes, who supported the bill but desired another round of inspections before the termination of the Education Act.

The presentation and circulation of the two reports — in April the *Times* began serialising that of Jones in its pages<sup>98</sup> — stimulated some members of the Assembly to deliver comments on the state of the schools, a somewhat rare occurrence on these occasions. Kent, impressed by Jones' Report, felt more than ever convinced of the importance of education; the report may have inspired him to suggest that priests would take it on themselves to improve Catholic schools, as these were in a worse state than those of the Protestants. J.L. Prendergast, a Liberal-Catholic from Conception Bay who often took an independent line, went further, and after reading extracts from the reports of Protestant and Catholic School Boards in St. John's and Conception Bay, asserted that Boards in general were entirely inadequate in the discharge of their duties. They misapplied their funds and were indifferent to the interests of schools, which lacked books and stationery, were filthy and disorderly and had insufficient accommodation for pupils. At the end of the debate, Prendergast opposed Kent and tried to have the bill "read this day six months" — the normal mode of killing a bill — but was unsuccessful; the bill was passed, and the inspection of schools thus terminated, not to be resumed for twelve years.<sup>99</sup>

\* \* \*

The inspection controversy in Newfoundland raises the question of the level of a country's socio-economic development necessary to sustain a viable educational system. The minimum conditions could include a level of national revenue sufficient to provide schools for at least a majority of the population; for an infrastructure of communications and ancillary services; for an adequate programme for teacher education; and for an intellectual elite capable of stimulating interest in education and promoting pedagogical innovation.

Few, if any, of these conditions, it is arguable, were met in the Newfoundland of the mid-1840s. The economic picture was one of modest increase accompanied by large fluctuations; export values dropped by 20.3% in the mid-'40s,<sup>100</sup> and the surplus of revenue over expenditure in 1846 was a mere \$13,013.<sup>101</sup> Revenue was largely derived from customs dues, which fluctuated between 75% and 95% of total government income in the late 1840s,<sup>102</sup> an unstable basis for economic planning, or for making up the deficiencies in the number of schools, ancillary services and road communications. Moreover, few politicians or public men were interested in,

or had more than a passing knowledge of, educational trends in other countries. In the Assembly debates, the capabilities and achievements of pupils, the role of teachers and the state of the curriculum received virtually no attention.

A system of school inspection, under such conditions, was always open to the frequently made criticism that it was a luxury the country could not afford, and that the comparatively large inspectors' salaries could be better spent on more urgent projects. When inspection was first mooted, these points were quickly made. A writer in the *Times* queried the value of paid inspectors. A correspondent in the *Ledger* contrasted the position of legislators who talked of appointing inspectors at £500 per year and the "utter destitution of the poor;" many schoolmasters were so poor, he added, that they were permitted to fish for six weeks in the spring. Another correspondent from Trinity urged the legislators "who think nothing of spending days, weeks, and months in legislating on College School Inspectors, etc., etc.," to turn their attention to the seal and cod fisheries, which were facing ruin and destruction.<sup>103</sup>

Furthermore, the concept of inspection had not arisen after careful discussion and examination of its functions and possibilities, but had been added as an afterthought to a bill designed for a different purpose; the concept of inspection, in fact, had been appropriated from systems with a different level of social and economic development. All colonies borrow from the mother country, more often than not modifying what is taken for their own uses, but Newfoundland's adoption of school inspection in the 1840s can be seen as premature, an action in advance of its time, before the system of public schooling or the degree of receptivity of politicians and populace was sufficiently advanced to accept it. Inspection, in contradistinction to the situation in Canada West, thus played little or no role in the process of state formation.

The rock upon which plain sailing to inspection foundered was, however, what Harvey termed the "state of society" in the colony,<sup>104</sup> the division of the populace into two antagonistic camps — Protestants (largely Tory in politics) and Catholics (overwhelmingly Liberal), each with its own school system.<sup>105</sup> Robinson, and to some extent Harvey, misjudged the mood of the country. Catholics and Liberals were still smarting from the effects of the 1843 Act, which they considered, not without reason, to be "nefarious," "divisive," and filled with "the elements of future strife."<sup>106</sup> The Protestants, on the other hand, considered themselves to be in the ascendant, having been instrumental in demolishing the non-denominational school system, pushing through the 1843 Act and, moreover, achieving a majority in the Assembly under the 1842 Newfoundland Act. The unfortunate conjuncture of Protestant triumphalism and Harvey's otherwise praiseworthy policy of conciliation, involving the promotion of Catholics to public positions, was bound to lead to conflict. Ironically, this transformed the two men with some claim to be educationists, Richard Barnes and John Valentine Nugent — who in other circum-

stances might have co-operated in spearheading modernisation of the system — into bitter antagonists in a politico-religious battle.

After Kent's bill was passed, the issue of inspection faded from public notice; more important events supervened — not least the Great Fire in St. John's in June 1846 — and the chief protagonists left the scene. In August 1845 Nugent had been appointed Junior Master of the newly-founded (and non-denominational) St. John's Academy.<sup>107</sup> Richard Barnes died in September 1846, tragically early at forty-one years of age.<sup>108</sup> The previous month Harvey had left Newfoundland to take up the Governorship of Nova Scotia.<sup>109</sup> In his address on the closing of the Legislature in April, he concluded his labours with a characteristically emollient epitaph on Newfoundland's short-lived brush with inspection, commending the Assembly for initiating the inspection of schools "by competent persons, whose Reports will form the basis of future improvement."<sup>110</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Public Ledger*, 14 April 1843.

<sup>2</sup> *Patriot*, 19 April 1843.

<sup>3</sup> For the details and references, cf. P. McCann, "Bishop Fleming and the Politicization of the Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland, 1830-1850," in T. Murphy and C.J. Byrne (Eds.), *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada* (St. John's 1987), pp. 81-97; P. McCann, "Class, Gender and Religion in Newfoundland Education, 1836-1901," *Historical Studies in Education*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1989, pp. 179-200. For a general history of the period, cf. Gertrude E. Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1864* (Toronto 1966), Chs. 1-6.

<sup>4</sup> "Sir John Harvey," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [hereafter *D.C.B.*], Vol. VIII, pp. 374-84.

<sup>5</sup> Phillip McCann, "The 'No Popery' Crusade and the Newfoundland School System, 1836-1843," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies*, No. 58, 1991, pp. 79-97.

<sup>6</sup> According to the *Weekly Herald*, 11 June 1845.

<sup>7</sup> "Sir Bryan Robinson," *D.C.B.*, Vol. XI, pp. 760-63.

<sup>8</sup> VI Vic., cap 6, An Act for the Encouragement of Education in this Colony (22 May 1843), sect. xix.

<sup>9</sup> The average salary for all teachers in public elementary schools in 1841 was £22 (Phillip McCann, *Schooling in a Fishing Society: Education and Economic Conditions in Newfoundland and Labrador 1836-1986* (ISER, Memorial University, St. John's 1994), p. 29).

<sup>10</sup> Harvey had arrived in Newfoundland heavily in debt, and his principal creditor had employed Robinson to present his bill (Gunn, *Political History of Newfoundland*, p. 93; "Sir John Harvey," *D.C.B.*, loc. cit.).

<sup>11</sup> In the Assembly debates on the Two Inspectors' Bill, 15 March 1844 (*Public Ledger*, 19 March 1844). Cf. *infra*.

<sup>12</sup> *Patriot*, 29 March 1844.

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<sup>13</sup>In the Assembly debates on the Bill to Repeal Section 19 of the 1843 Act, 20 April 1846 (*Newfoundlander*, 30 April 1846). Cf. *infra*.

<sup>14</sup>In the Assembly debates on the Carbonear Grammar School Bill, 6 April 1843 (*Patriot*, 12 April 1843).

<sup>15</sup>C.P. Lucas (Ed.), *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America* (3 vol., Oxford 1912), Vol. 3, pp. 283-88.

<sup>16</sup>*Newfoundlander*, 30 March 1843.

<sup>17</sup>*Patriot*, 29 March 1843.

<sup>18</sup>Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador [hereafter PANL] GN2/2, J.M. Brine to Harvey, 17 May 1844; PANL GN2/2, R. Rodgers to J. Crowdy, 27 May 1844; R. Rodgers to J. Crowdy, 18 September 1844.

<sup>19</sup>*Public Ledger*, 26 July 1844.

<sup>20</sup>Phillip McCann, "Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition: Newfoundland 1832-1855," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 23, Nos. 1 and 2, 1988, pp. 86-103, for Harvey's policy; cf. also Gunn, *Political History of Newfoundland*, pp. 89-92.

<sup>21</sup>*Harbour Grace Herald*, cited in *Public Ledger*, 26 July 1844.

<sup>22</sup>"Laurence O'Brien," *D.C.B.*, Vol. ix, pp. 604-06.

<sup>23</sup>O'Brien gave this statement on 15 March 1844, in the Assembly debates on Joseph Noad's bill for the appointment of two school inspectors (*Public Ledger*, 19 March 1844). That Fleming had recommended the appointment was later confirmed by James Crowdy, Colonial Secretary, in a letter to Nugent (PANL, GN2/1, Crowdy to Nugent, 10 June 1844).

<sup>24</sup>Public Record Office [hereafter P.R.O.] CO194/117, Harvey to Stanley, 30 November 1843.

<sup>25</sup>Journal of the General Assembly [hereafter J.G.A.] 1844, 10 January 1844.

<sup>26</sup>P.R.O. CO194/120, Harvey to Stanley, 31 January 1844.

<sup>27</sup>According to John Kent, speaking in the debate on 1 February, the bill was introduced "by order of the Governor." (*Public Ledger*, 2 February 1844).

<sup>28</sup>The debates took place on 1 February and 15 March 1844 (*Public Ledger*, 2 February and 19 March 1844).

<sup>29</sup>J.G.A. 1844, 15 March 1844.

<sup>30</sup>The debates took place on 2 February, 15 March and 24 April 1844 (*Public Ledger*, 6 February, 19 March and 3 May 1844). During the debates, the Executive Council voted not to recommend the appointment of two inspectors "at the present time." (P.R.O. CO197/4, Journal of the Executive Council, Minutes 9 April 1844).

<sup>31</sup>For the rise of mass compulsory education cf. Pavla Miller, "Historiography of Compulsory Schooling: What is the Problem?" *History of Education*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1989, pp. 123-44.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. Phillip McCann (Ed.), *Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century* (London 1977).

<sup>33</sup>For the work of the Committee of Council, and Kay-Shuttleworth's activities, cf. R.J.W. Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth: Journey of an Outsider* (London 1944), *passim*.

<sup>34</sup>The following paragraphs, unless otherwise stated, rely largely on B. Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto 1992), Chs. 1 and 2, pp. 15-57, and Fiona M.S. Paterson, "Measures of Schooling: Registers, Standards and the Construction of the Subject," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 3, 1988, pp. 278-300.

<sup>35</sup>The questionnaire is reprinted as Appendix I in Nancy Ball, *Her Majesty's Inspectorate 1839-1849* (London 1963), pp. 243-51.

<sup>36</sup>Cited in Ball, *Inspectorate*, p. 67.

<sup>37</sup>J. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education* (London 1853), pp. 87-8.

<sup>38</sup>Lord John Russell to Edward Chadwick, 9 October 1836, cited in Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 143.

<sup>39</sup>Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men?*, Chs. I-III, pp. 15-77.

<sup>40</sup>Figures derived from Colony of Newfoundland: Blue Book 1844, p. 72 ff., and Abstract Census and Return of the Population of Newfoundland...1845.

<sup>41</sup>McCann, *Schooling in a Fishing Society*, pp. 18-19; p. 63; S.J.R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland* (Toronto 1971), p. 21.

<sup>42</sup>P.R.O. CO194/120, Harvey to Stanley, 2 June 1844.

<sup>43</sup>D.H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment* (London 1970) Appendix, pp. 392-402, for Stanley's draft regulations for the Irish system.

<sup>44</sup>P.R.O. CO195/20, Stanley to Harvey, 21 October 1843.

<sup>45</sup>P.R.O. CO194/120, Harvey to Stanley, 2 June 1844, attached note by Stanley.

<sup>46</sup>P.R.O. CO195/20, Stanley to Harvey, 19 July 1844.

<sup>47</sup>P.R.O. CO195/20, Stanley to Harvey, 27 August 1844.

<sup>48</sup>P.R.O. CO194/120, Harvey to Stanley, 13 July 1844.

<sup>49</sup>*Times*, 24 July 1844.

<sup>50</sup>"John Valentine Nugent," *D.C.B.*, Vol. x, pp. 552-53; Observer, "Mr. Nugent," *Newfoundlander*, 8 August 1844.

<sup>51</sup>*Public Ledger*, 14 April 1844.

<sup>52</sup>*Indicator*, 6 July 1844.

<sup>53</sup>*Public Ledger*, 19 July 1844, "Cato" to Editor.

<sup>54</sup>*Indicator*, 27 July 1844.

<sup>55</sup>PANL GN2/1, J. Crowdy to J.V. Nugent, 10 June 1844.

<sup>56</sup>PANL GN2/2, J.V. Nugent to J. Crowdy, 9 July 1844.

<sup>57</sup>*Royal Gazette*, 16 July 1844.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup>PANL GN2/1, J. Crowdy to J.V. Nugent, two letters dated 15 July 1844.

<sup>60</sup>*Public Ledger*, 30 July 1844.

<sup>61</sup>*Patriot*, 21 August 1844.

<sup>62</sup>*Public Ledger*, 23 July 1844, "A Northern Schoolmaster" to Editor.

<sup>63</sup>*Patriot*, 31 July 1844, "A Southern Schoolmaster" to Editor.

<sup>64</sup>*Patriot*, 19 June 1844.

<sup>65</sup>*Patriot*, 17 July 1844.

<sup>66</sup>*Public Ledger*, 19 July 1844.

<sup>67</sup>*Public Ledger*, 2 August 1844.

<sup>68</sup>*Newfoundlander*, 1 August 1844.

<sup>69</sup>*Times*, 24 July 1844.

<sup>70</sup>*Newfoundlander*, 30 August 1844.

<sup>71</sup>*Patriot*, 31 July 1844.

<sup>72</sup>*Public Ledger*, 6 August 1844, "A Catholic" to Editor.

<sup>73</sup>*Patriot*, 14 and 21 August 1844.

<sup>74</sup>Presumably after Cato the Elder (234-149 B.C.), the Roman statesman, described as "a conservative who sought to preserve the traditional social order." (M.A. Yonah and I. Shatzman, *Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Classical World* (New York 1975), p. 114). That Barnes wrote under the name "Cato" was disclosed in the *Patriot*, 31 July 1844, and never denied by Barnes.

<sup>75</sup>*Cf.* editorials in the *Public Ledger*, 19, 26, and 30 July 1844, and "Henry David Winton," *D.C.B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 947-51.

<sup>76</sup>*Patriot*, 24 July 1844.

<sup>77</sup>"Richard Barnes," *D.C.B.*, Vol. VII, pp. 48-9; Gunn, *Political History of Newfoundland*, pp. 94-7; *Public Ledger*, 17 March 1843.

<sup>78</sup>The following paragraphs are a summary of the letters, signed "Cato," which appeared in the *Public Ledger* on 19, 26 and 30 July, 2 August 1844.

<sup>79</sup>PANL GN2/2, Barnes to Crowdy, 19 July 1844.

<sup>80</sup>For Harvey's later policy and its reception, *cf.* McCann, "Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition," *loc. cit.*, and "Sir John Harvey," *D.C.B.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>81</sup>*Indicator*, 27 July 1844.

<sup>82</sup>The following account of Nugent's tour of inspection is taken from J.G.A., 1844-45, Appendix, First Report of the Inspection of Schools in Newfoundland, pp. 154-92.

<sup>83</sup>In 1846, returns from School Boards showed 128 schools in operation. (McCann, *Schooling in a Fishing Community, Companion Volume: Tables*, Table I.10, p. 12.)

<sup>84</sup>The attendance level for all schools in 1846 was 47.3% (*Ibid.*, Table I.30, p. 32).

<sup>85</sup>*Public Ledger*, 27 May 1845, "Iota" to Editor.

<sup>86</sup>*Weekly Herald*, 11 and 18 June 1845.

<sup>87</sup>*Patriot*, 10 Sept. 1845, "An Inhabitant" to Editor.

<sup>88</sup>*Public Ledger*, 12 August 1845, "A Fisherman of Fortune" to Editor; *Patriot*, 20 August 1845, "A Northern Bay Man" to Editor.

<sup>89</sup>According to the *Weekly Herald*, 29 April 1846. Jones was later ordained as a clergyman, and in 1851 became rector of St. Paul's Church in Harbour Grace, a position he held until 1876. He returned to England, dying there in 1883, aged 72 years ("Bertram Jones," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Vol. 3, pp. 121-22).

<sup>90</sup>Jones was formally appointed inspector on 3 June 1845 (*Royal Gazette*, 3 June 1845).

<sup>91</sup>J.G.A., 1846, Appendix, Report Upon the Inspection of Schools in Newfoundland, by Bertram Jones, Esq. (December 1845 and March 1846), pp. 117-61.

<sup>92</sup>*Public Ledger*, 20 March 1846, reporting Assembly proceedings of 16 March 1846.

<sup>93</sup>*Public Ledger*, 20 March 1846, "A Bolus" to Editor.

<sup>94</sup>*Times*, 1 April 1846.

<sup>95</sup>*Newfoundlander*, 26 March 1846, reporting Assembly debate of 23 March 1846.

<sup>96</sup>*Times*, 4 April 1846.

<sup>97</sup>*Weekly Herald*, 8 April 1846, "A Plain Dealer" to Editor; *Times*, 22 April 1846, citing statements in Legislature; *Weekly Herald*, 29 April 1846, "Number Ninety" to Editor. The most severe criticism was made by Thomas Ridley, a Protestant merchant representing Conception Bay, in the House of Assembly on 20 April (*Newfoundlander*, 30 April 1846).

<sup>98</sup>*Times*, 22 April 1846, and subsequent issues.

<sup>99</sup>Assembly debates, 14, 17 and 20 April 1846 (*Newfoundlander*, 20 and 30 April 1846; *Public Ledger*, 22 May 1846).



<sup>100</sup>McCann, *Schooling in a Fishing Society*, p. 33.

<sup>101</sup>McCann, *Schooling in a Fishing Society: Companion Volume: Tables*, figure derived from Tables 1.38 and 1.39, pp. 40-1.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, Table 1.42, p. 44.

<sup>103</sup>*Public Ledger*, 28 April 1843, "An Old Trinitarian" to Editor; *Times*, 17 January 1844, "A Father of a Family" to Editor; *Public Ledger*, 6 February 1844, "Anon." to Editor.

<sup>104</sup>P.R.O. CO194/117, Harvey to Stanley, 26 May 1843.

<sup>105</sup>The actual figures for 1846 were (excluding 1.0% belonging to other religions) 50.7% Protestant and 48.3% Catholic. (McCann, *Schooling in a Fishing Community. Companion Volume: Tables*, Table 1.4, p. 6).

<sup>106</sup>Cf. R.J. Parsons (a Liberal Protestant) in the debate on Glen's bill to suspend Section 19 of the Act, 15 March 1844 (*Public Ledger*, 19 March 1844; *Patriot*, 24 and 31 July 1844).

<sup>107</sup>*Royal Gazette*, 19 August 1845.

<sup>108</sup>"Richard Barnes," *D.C.B.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>109</sup>"Sir John Harvey," *D.C.B.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>110</sup>*Royal Gazette Extraordinary*, 28 April 1846, citing Harvey's address.