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AN ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSITION OF SUNDAY SCHOOL
FROM SOCIETY-BASED TO CHURCH-BASED
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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I dedicate this thesis to the Lord Jesus Christ, in observance of His faithfulness in my life;
and to my amazing wife, Suzi, who has persevered with me and been a constant source of
encouragement and guidance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	vi
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Introduction to the Research Problem	1
Introduction of Thesis	5
Delimitations	5
Terminology and Definitions	6
Research Methodology	8
Conclusion	12
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	13
Observed Challenges in Understanding the Movement of Sunday School	14
Sunday School Prior to the Movement of Robert Raikes	16
Sunday School in the Late-Eighteenth to Mid-Nineteenth Century	23
Sunday School after the Mid-Nineteenth Century	36
Conclusion	41
3. THE IMPACT OF MASS EDUCATION ON SUNDAY SCHOOL	45
Sunday School's Role in the Genesis of Mass Education	46
Sunday School's Separation from Mass Education	50
Sunday School's Challenges in Transitioning	51
Sunday School's Narrowing Focus as Influenced by the Expansion of Mass Education	54

Chapter	Page
Sunday School's Distinct Purpose	57
Conclusion	58
4. THE IMPACT OF GRATUITOUS TEACHING ON SUNDAY SCHOOL	60
Progression of Sunday School's Structure	62
Unavoidable Transition to Gratuitous Teaching	65
Altered Teaching Arrangements Due to Government Provisions for Mass Education	68
Conclusion	69
5. CONCLUSION	73
The Movement of Sunday School	74
Lasting Impact of Mass Education on Sunday School	75
Lasting Impact of Gratuitous Teaching on Sunday School	77
Conclusion	80
 Appendix	
1. SELECTED EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF SUNDAY SCHOOL	84
2. NONCONFORMIST RELIEF ACT 1779	86
3. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT 1870	89
BIBLIOGRAPHY	92

PREFACE

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Zach Souter

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Henry Clay Trumbull, an author and pioneer of Sunday School, argued that Sunday School is “an agency which is the junior only of the family, and has a like stamp of God’s approval with both the family and pulpit.”¹ Although numerous writers have summarized and evaluated the historical progression of Sunday School, many aspects of its growth and modifications are unclear. However, it is possible to understand the major movements of Sunday School, as well as identify those who have had significant influence on the institution.² Religious and secular education have benefited from the contributions of Sunday School. The shift of Sunday School from a program based in voluntary societies to one based in the local church was a significant alteration. This study uses historical sources to examine two important factors that influenced the transition of Sunday School from a society-based organization into an education ministry of the church.

Introduction to the Research Problem

Many churches still utilize a Sunday School or small group Bible study program. A Barna study found that “church reliance upon Sunday School has remained stable: 19 out of every 20 Protestant churches (95%) offer a Sunday School in which

¹Henry Clay Trumbull, *Teaching and Teachers* (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles, 1884), 354.

²Lynn and Wright explain, “The history of the Sunday School movement is an interesting one, filled with bits of legend, humor, pathos, and sometimes controversy.” Robert W. Lynn and Elliot Wright, *The Big Little School: 200 Years of the Sunday School* (Birmingham, England: Religious Education Press, 1980), 2.

people receive some form of planned or systematic Bible instruction in a class setting.”³ While churches often divide along denominational, theological, and methodological lines, the research points out that Sunday School remains one of the most widely embraced ministry programs. Additionally, considering educational ministry, specifically small groups, it is clear that Sunday School remains a relevant topic for research.⁴

Sunday School originated from outside the church’s direction according to Congregational minister and editor Edwin Wilbur Rice: “While this movement began in the church, it was by a layman, and was individual rather than ecclesiastical.”⁵ Although children may have gathered in assemblies for Bible instruction and catechesis within the church building, Sunday School is not a ministry “of the church” when its only initial involvement included provision of meeting space. This discrepancy has made it difficult in the historical literature to determine when exactly Sunday School is “of the church,” as opposed to “in the church.” If Sunday School is “of the church,” then its authority and oversight are a responsibility of church leadership and its ministry is intentionally part of the church’s structure. If Sunday School is “in the church,” then it is merely meeting in a room because of availability.

The fact that Sunday School became a ministry of the church is observable; however, the factors of this transition lack clarity. The transition Sunday School made from a program in the church to a ministry of the church occurred incrementally, not in one momentous leap. Many organizations, unions, and even denominations adopted and

³Barna Group, “Sunday School Is Changing in Under-the-Radar But Significant Ways,” accessed July 7, 2017, <https://www.barna.com/research/sunday-school-is-changing-in-under-the-radar-but-significant-ways>.

⁴Ed Stetzer and Thom Rainer, *Transformational Church: Creating a New Scorecard for Congregations* (Nashville: B & H, 2010); Steve Gladen, *Small Groups with a Purpose: How to Create Healthy Communities* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2011); Steve R. Parr, *Sunday School That Really Works: A Strategy for Connecting Congregations and Communities* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2010).

⁵Edwin Wilbur Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917 and the American Sunday-School Union 1817-1917* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1917), 21.

supported Sunday School as it moved closer to a program specifically of the church. Rice comments, “When the denominations took over the Sunday School and claimed it as their own, it became known as the Sunday Church School, or the church school on Sundays.”⁶

Rice claims that the “British Sunday School originally sought to reform both the ignorant poor and the society which ignored the educational needs of the poor.”⁷ This effort of reform sought to instill manners and socially acceptable behavior. Hannah Ball, John Angell James, William Fox, and others claimed the purpose of Sunday School had always been rooted in a deeper desire than simple social reform. In a letter to John Wesley in 1770, Hannah Ball wrote, “The children meet twice a week, every Sunday and Monday. They are a wild little company, but seem willing to be instructed. I labor among them, earnestly desiring to promote the interest of the church of Christ.”⁸ Ball’s desire to promote the interest of the church was more than reform. In 1785, Fox made a proposition at the Baptist monthly meeting that a plan be adopted by “which all the children of the poor might receive a scriptural education by being taught to read the Bible.”⁹ In *The Sunday School Teacher’s Guide*, John Angell James identified, “The salvation of the immortal soul, a phrase than which one more sublime, or more interesting, can never drop from the lips or the pen of man, describes your utmost, and noblest purpose.”¹⁰ Even though James penned those words in 1816, at least thirty years

⁶Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 3.

⁷Ibid., 17.

⁸John Parker, *Memoirs of Miss Hannah Ball with Extracts from Her Diary and Correspondence* (London: John Mason, 1839), 180.

⁹John Carroll Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools: A Biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox* (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1863), 62.

¹⁰John Angell James, *The Sunday School Teacher’s Guide* (New York: Sunday School Unions Depository, 1818), 5.

after the beginning of Sunday School, many before that time held the belief that Sunday School's purpose was larger than merely teaching children to read.¹¹

A Sunday School hymn recorded in *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* stated, "We hail the numerous swarthy tribes, and their salvation is our prayer."¹² While inaccurate to say that Sunday School's main purpose was evangelism, Sunday School likely sought to do more than teach reading and writing. In 1880, John Palmer stated,

If the Sunday School is to fulfill its mission of being the nursery of the Church, there is pressing need of closer union and better organization both in and out of school; and the degree of success which the Sunday-School cause eventually attains depends greatly upon the strengthening of the bond of union between the Church and the school.¹³

Providing an overview of how the union between Sunday School and the church occurred was one of the goals of this research, as well as, identifying two key factors which aided in the transition.

¹¹Wardle notes, "For nearly thirty years before the Gloucester Sunday School Movement Wesley had been in the habit of meeting the children in various places and giving them direct religious instruction." Addie Grace Wardle, *The History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1918), 15. Pray includes Hannah Moore's approach to teaching in 1791, "We had a great number there who could only tell their letters when they began, and can already read the Testament, and not only say the catechism, but give pertinent answers to any questions which involved the first principles of Christianity." Lewis G. Pray, *The History of Sunday School and of Religious Education From the Earliest of Times* (Boston: W. M. Crosby and H. P. Nichols, 1847), 163.

¹²Matthew Wilks, *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* (London: Frederick Westly and A. H. Davis, 1795), 3:524. The term "swarthy" was applied typically to the color of people as seen in "the people are thus far nearly white in the colour of their skin, but in the more southerly of the three regions above defined, with a mixture of brown, of the complexion of brunettes, or such as we term swarthy or sallow persons." James Cowles Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, 3rd ed. (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1837), 2:335. Evidently the term here is applied to the appearance of children who worked in the industrial shops. Given the use and perception of the term during this time, the assumption can be made that these children were seen as lower class and uneducated. J. L. Kennedy writes, "The masters and their children are swarthy and dirty in appearance, and the reputation of being ill-educated, drunken, and profligate." J. L. Kennedy, *Parliamentary Papers* (London: Williams Clowes and Sons, 1843), 14:40. The children in view of the Sunday School were those less fortunate.

¹³John Palmer, *The Sunday School: Its History and Development* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co, 1880), 38.

Introduction of Thesis

The purpose of this study was to examine through a survey of the literature how Sunday School transitioned from a society-based program to a church-based program. The change occurred progressively from the late eighteenth century through the late nineteenth century. Existing accounts of Sunday School and the events surrounding the institution from this period fail to provide a detailed analysis of how and why the purpose and oversight of Sunday School were adjusted. This overlooked transition has produced a gap in the literature. This thesis demonstrated that two major factors influenced the move. The transition of Sunday School in England from a program based in society to a ministry in the church was largely influenced by a growing focus on mass education and a change from paid to gratuitous teachers in the nineteenth century.

Delimitations

This study focuses on the Sunday Schools of England and on the major factors that contributed to Sunday School's transition from society-based to church-based. While the origin of Sunday School cannot be completely overlooked, the scope of this study is not Sunday School's formation but its transition into the church. Most historical texts align regarding the significant dates and events of Sunday School. There is disagreement, though, regarding certain aspects of Sunday School's movement and the roles played by prominent contributors to the institution. Sunday School is often linked, positively and negatively, with the Church of England. While most of the material examined for this study should be applicable across denominational lines and religious backgrounds, its findings may apply more to one group. This study sought to reveal the advancement of Sunday School in a way that respects all denominations and church histories.

The findings of this study were limited to England. The Church of England had significant impact on religion and education, an influence that did not exist in countries such as America. Rice explains,

It [Sunday School] became a recognized regular means of church work and an accredited method of religious instruction, when the churches realized their inability

to prescribe for the management of public education and when family religion was found to be beyond the hope of a general revival. Above all it proved its usefulness by its fruits, for with its introduction into church work directly after the war of 1812 began what was without doubt the greatest religious revival ever experienced by American Christendom.¹⁴

The established Church of England was an early opponent of Sunday Schools, not only questioning their usefulness, but also their desecration of the Sabbath.¹⁵ Rice affirms, “In England the objection to Sunday-Schools was that they were dangerous, demoralizing, bad institutions, and agents of the devil.”¹⁶

Terminology and Definitions

To aid in clarity and consistency, several central terms used throughout this study are defined.

Catechism. Catechism is a form of oral instruction administered by the church, typically for children and proselytes.¹⁷ The *Churchman’s Theological Dictionary* notes that catechisms were “generally question and answer” and contained “the Baptismal Vow, the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.”¹⁸ The most prominent

¹⁴Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 32. Rice writes, “As might be expected, therefore, the modern Sunday-School movement found more congenial conditions and fewer obstacles in America than in Great Britain. Pilgrim and Churchman alike made early provision for religious instruction and for the education of youth.” Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 40.

¹⁵Charles Trumbull explains, “Among the Church of England notables who attacked the early Sunday-Schools were the Bishop of Rochester and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the latter being the “the first man in that day to call the bishops together to consider whether something could not be done to stop this great enterprise.” Charles Trumbull, “The Nineteenth Century Sunday-Schools,” in *The Development of the Sunday-School 1780-1905* (Boston: Executive Committee of the International Sunday-School Association, 1905), 9.

¹⁶Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 20.

¹⁷J. McClintock and J. Strong, eds., *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* (New York: Harper, 1891), s.v. “catechism.” Buck agrees with the question and answer format of the catechisms: “The catechism of the church of England is drawn up by way of question and answer.” Charles Buck, *A Theological Dictionary Containing Definitions of All Religious and Ecclesiastical Terms* (London: Williams Clowes, 1833), s.v. “catechism.”

¹⁸Robert Eden, *The Churchman’s Theological Dictionary* (London: John W. Parker, 1845), s.v. “catechism.”

catechisms used in Sunday School were those of Isaac Watts and Martin Luther. Some in the Methodist church claim their catechetical classes were “absorbed by the Sunday School.”¹⁹ Catechisms were a major part of the early years of Sunday School. Wardle notes, “The thought of the day was that every scholar should by some means, be brought to a systematic use of the Catechism.”²⁰

Charity schools. Charity schools were not formed for religious education, but for common education for those who otherwise could not afford education.²¹ They were less formal schools set up by those with charitable hearts and believed to be a possible precursor to elementary education. The intent of these schools was not to remove poor children from their current situation but rather teach them the skills their current circumstances lacked.²² A distinction must be made between Sunday Schools and charity schools.

Mass education. Popular education and elementary education are commonly used terms for mass education. Until 1870, all schools were charitable or private institutions. These primary schools were open to the public but were still fee-charging institutions. The schools existed for elementary teaching and manual training, and emphasized reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Sunday School. Definitions of Sunday school vary, but there are some common themes. In *The Sunday School: Its History and Development*, John Palmer defines Sunday School by what it is and what it is not. He states that Sunday School is not an institution that has “superseded the primitive practice of catechizing,” nor is it the sole

¹⁹Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 32.

²⁰Ibid., 108.

²¹M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 20.

²²Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People: A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), 6.

vehicle for “imparting religious instruction to the young.”²³ He defines Sunday School in three ways: a medium for the spread of Biblical instruction, a channel for instructing the young in church principles, and a nursery for the church.²⁴ While Palmer’s definition of Sunday School is useful, it is not the most comprehensive. Henry Clay Trumbull provides a more inclusive definition:

A Sunday School is an agency of the church, by which the Word of God is taught interlocutory, or catechistically, to children and other learners clustered in groups or class under separate teachers; all these groups or classes being associated under a common head. Herein the Sunday-School is differentiated from the catechismal general service, from the expository Bible lecture, from the children’s meeting, and from any school for secular instruction on the first day of the week. Its source of authority is God’s church, its subject-matter of study is the Bible; its form of teaching includes a free use of questions and answer, its membership includes children; its arrangement is by groups clustering severally around individual teachers, as component portions of a unified whole. Any one of these particulars lacking, a school held on Sunday fails of being specifically a Sunday School. All of these particulars being found, a gathering is substantially a Sunday-school, on whatever day of the week it assembles, or by whatsoever name it be called.²⁵

Sunday School was referred to by different names: church School, Sabbath School, or Sunday School.²⁶ As Sunday School progressed through time, the definition adjusted and matured. Even though adjustments were made, numerous similarities, when combined, provide a working definition of what was referred to by the term “Sunday School”: a program comprised of teachers and learners gathered for the purpose of biblical instruction.

Research Methodology

This project advances as follows: introduction and overview on the formation

²³Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 43.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Sunday-School: Its Origin, Mission, Methods, and Auxiliaries* (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles, 1888), 3.

²⁶C. Marshall, “The Sunday School Appreciated by the Working Classes,” in *The Church of England Sunday School Quarterly Magazine*, vols. 1-2 (London: Adams and King Printers, 1849), 271-78.

and growth of Sunday School, similar Sunday School institutions that were in existence before the Sunday Schools of Robert Raikes, Sunday Schools during the time of Robert Raikes, the state of Sunday School post Robert Raikes, the different roles and approaches to teaching in the Sunday School, the effect mass education had on Sunday School, and Sunday School's ultimate position as a program of the church. These areas were researched carefully in order to understand the transition the institution of Sunday School made from society-based to church-based. This research revealed the historical fact that Sunday School did indeed begin as a program based in society and transitioned into the church as a ministry of the church, governed by church leadership. Sunday School's founding in society took the form of meetings in homes and buildings separate from churches, and teachers were paid and not necessarily connected to any church. Men with philanthropic attitudes provided oversight to Sunday School at its onset. This study reveals two factors that impacted Sunday School's transition from society to the church: the movement from paid to gratuitous teachers, and the genesis of mass education.

Data collection occurred by finding and examining the accepted scholarly resources that recorded the histories of Sunday School. The time frame of these resources varies from the early nineteenth century to the middle twentieth century, placing some around the time the Sunday School movement began, and others completed years later. Principal resources include *The Big Little School* by Annie Boylan; *The Sunday School: Its Origin, Mission, Methods and Auxiliaries* by Henry Trumbull; *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools: A Biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox* by John Power; *The Evolution of The Sunday School* by Henry Fredrick Cope; *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England: 1780-1980* by Philip Cliff; and *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850* by Thomas Laqueur.

Primary sources include the publications and letters of Robert Raikes, contemporaneous recorded histories of Sunday School, notes from Methodist conferences

and publications, Baptist publications, and sources from the Church of England. The sources that recorded Raikes' thoughts and approach to Sunday School were helpful in understanding the beginnings of the Sunday School movement, but contained limited information in regard to Sunday School becoming part of the church. Denominational publications provided insight into how the specific denominations approached and ultimately utilized Sunday School, but failed to mention the outside forces that pressed Sunday School closer to the church. Primary sources were also necessary for understanding the genesis of mass education, which required an examination of the widely accepted histories of mass, or popular, education in England. Some sources pertaining to education provided a perspective for the formation of mass education, but not all them included Sunday School.

Secondary resources provided a wider perspective on the institution of Sunday School in society and the relationship of Sunday School with the established church. Government records containing decisions that directly impacted Sunday School were also utilized. Correspondence was made with Anne Boylan, one of the leading Sunday School scholars, and Steven Wright, a researcher and writer on a subject related to Sunday School. Resources assessing the beginning of mass education have been explored to understand its role in relation to Sunday School. The analysis of records of attendance and number of teachers, in combination with more recent resources, has aided in gaining a broader understanding of the transition of Sunday School, as well as a deeper understanding of the factors relating to the transition of Sunday School. Many additional resources have been acquired to add evidence to the argument.

Chapter 1 serves as an overview and introduction to the research problem. This chapter has defined the research problem and the research purpose, the research questions have been stated and delimited, and the assumptions, definitions, and significance of the research have been outlined. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the foundational information applicable to the research of Sunday School's transition.

Chapter 2 surveys the literature pertaining to the transition of Sunday School from society to the church. The writings concerning Sunday School's genesis and those providing insight to the growth and modifications of Sunday School are synthesized to gain an accurate picture of the movement of Sunday School. Resources containing clues connected to the direction of Sunday School, although not exclusively about the subject, are engaged to construct an accurate picture of Sunday School. The thesis is situated where the literature gap exists in understanding Sunday School's initial existence outside the confines of church leadership to its inclusion and altered purpose under the leadership of the church. Sunday School's physical location is examined as based on the information provided by the literature. Additionally, chapter 2 lays the foundation for the two factors of transition highlighted in chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3 focuses on how mass education influenced Sunday School's progressive inclusion into the church. Sunday School's movement appears to have at least two identifiable factors that contributed to its transition. This chapter examines how the growth of mass education and a changing mindset impacted Sunday School. As the number of Sunday Schools increased in England, an increasing number of voices proclaimed the need for Sunday School to focus on religious education over general education.

Chapter 4 highlights how the shift from paid to gratuitous teachers influenced Sunday School. At Sunday School's genesis, teachers were hired to be a part of Sunday School, mainly out of necessity. As Sunday School began to grow, voluntarism became a requirement. This adjustment contributed to a purpose change for Sunday School. Recruiting teachers with a passion to teach, void of monetary compensation, would place Sunday School on a different trajectory than originally anticipated. This new direction would impact Sunday School's repositioning as a ministry belonging to the church and under the authority of church leadership.

Chapter 5 concludes the thesis by summarizing the findings of the research. The two major factors are synthesized in how they impacted the transition of Sunday School into the church. Major themes and details undergirding each factor are revisited to highlight pertinent connections. Applications are made to show how the movement of Sunday School has impacted the church today.

Conclusion

To comprehend the movement of Sunday School into the church, some fundamental issues must be understood. First, Sunday School's initial relationship with the church must be explored. This exploration provides a beginning point that will allow the advancement of Sunday School into the church to be traced. Second, the major factors that contributed to Sunday School's transition from society-based to church-based need to be discovered. One difficulty in understanding the transition is the number of possible elements that could have impacted Sunday School. Narrowing the factors down to the most influential provide clarity. Third, how the organizational structure of Sunday School changed from its inception to the late nineteenth century must be examined. The structure of Sunday School was adjusted as its purpose and relationship with the church changed. By addressing these fundamental issues understanding is gained to demonstrate how Sunday School transitioned from society into the church. This thesis argues that some of the most influential factors in the movement of Sunday School into the church were the growth of mass education and the change from paid to gratuitous teachers.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

An overview of the history of Sunday School provided a fundamental understanding of the progression and major directional shifts of the institution. Of particular interest were the differing opinions and perspectives on Sunday School's beginning and progress. Stephen Orchard, in his contribution to *The Sunday School Movement: Studies in the Growth and Decline of Sunday Schools*, makes an interesting observation of people who study the history of Sunday School. Orchard suggests that those who study the history have a

tendency to look for distinctive evidences of providence in the lives of individuals predisposes the source material towards looking for a specific start to Sunday Schools rather than allowing for the emergence of similar ideas in different places at roughly the same time.¹

These different opinions and perspectives further complicate the journey toward clarity regarding the movement of Sunday School. Different perspectives also serve to add confidence that Sunday School was an important institution during this time. Strong feelings, whether in favor of or opposed to Sunday School, reveal at minimum that the institution was included in the conversations surrounding religious and mass education.

Sunday School has played a major part in both Christian and secular education. Edwin Rice states that, before Sunday School, "education of the masses of England was almost entirely neglected."² This reality led Frank Smith to conclude that the growth of

¹Stephen Orchard, "From Catechism Class to Sunday School," in *The Sunday School Movement: Studies in the Growth and Decline of Sunday Schools*, ed. Stephen Orchard and John H. Y. Briggs (Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster, 2007), 16.

²Edwin Wilbur Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917 and the American Sunday-School Union 1817-1917* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1917), 36.

Sunday Schools was a “phenomenon in the history of education which is without a parallel”³ because they were responsible for performing “the gigantic task of assembling together, under some sort of discipline, the majority of children of the poor, and of giving to them some notions of behavior and some ideas of religion.”⁴

Observed Challenges in Understanding the Movement of Sunday School

Sunday School’s transition into the church encountered obstacles. A perception existed that teachers’ wages violated the Sabbath, and that rebellion might ensue from the lower class should they be educated.⁵ The morality of the people was another obstacle. Sunday activities faced opposition because of the weight placed on their consciences.⁶ Obstacles were encountered inside the church as well. An early concern viewed Sunday School as a threat to the parents’ role as primary disciple makers.⁷ Another concern surrounded the pace at which Sunday School grew. An example of this growth concern is seen in 1784. According to John Money, the Sunday School rules in Birmingham “expressly forbid the teaching of anything but what is immediately to the design of the Sabbath Day.”⁸ However, by 1790, even though its members were required to attend public worship and the school continued teaching moral education, Money states that

³Frank Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902* (London: University of London Press, 1931), 65.

⁴Ibid.

⁵W. F. Lloyd, “Memoir of Robert Raikes: The Founder of Sunday Schools,” *The Religious Magazine or Spirit of the Foreign Theological Journals and Reviews* 2 (July to December 1828): 95-99.

⁶Michael J. Anthony and Warren S. Benson, *Exploring the History & Philosophy of Christian Education: Principles for the 21st Century* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2003), 265.

⁷William James Dawson and Newell Dwight Hillis, *The New Onward Movement: Season of Evangelism at Plymouth Church: Sermons and Addresses* (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1904), 49-50.

⁸John Money, *Experience and Identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands 1760-1800* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1977), 142.

Sunday Schools engaged in “teaching writing, arithmetic, geography, book-keeping, as well as elements of natural and revealed religions.”⁹ These teaching subjects of Sunday School seen in Birmingham are similar to those seen in other places.¹⁰ Because Sunday School lacked a clear purpose, its rapid growth and expansion lacked clear guidance.

Tracing the movement of Sunday School from society to the church was difficult partly due to the absence of an intentional direction shift. Instead of following a discernible pattern, churches moved slowly through different stages. The first stage was having no involvement with the Sunday Schools, viewing them as unnecessary to the work of the church.¹¹ This separation was followed by the decision to allow Sunday School meetings to take place in church rooms. Ultimately, the decision to provide meeting space contributed to a change in the purpose and process of Sunday School to a Bible study. The *History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church* provides a helpful outline:

In 1748 the preachers were directed to form the children into “a little society” for “suitable exhortations.” In 1766 detailed instruction for the religious training of children was published. From 1784-1797 much emphasis was placed upon the religious instruction of children in their homes and in classes formed for them and upon organizing of Sunday schools for poor children. In 1798 the Methodist Sunday School Society was formed. In 1805 the work of the Sunday School was well supported. In 1808 careful attempt was made to link the Sunday School more closely to the church by making the preacher a member of the Sunday School committee, and by urging the attendance of the children upon public worship.¹²

Records exist of clergy taking notice of the need for Sunday Schools. Lewis Pray observes,

Some of the clergy in different parts of the country, bent upon attempting a reform among the children of the lower class, are establishing Sunday Schools, for

⁹Money, *Experience and Identity*, 142.

¹⁰Benjamin Parsons, *Education: The Birthright of Every Human Being, and the Only Spiritual Preparation for The Millennium* (London: John Snow, 1845), 106.

¹¹S. R. Townshend Mayer, *The Origin and Growth of Sunday Schools in England* (London: Beveridge and Co., 1878), 28.

¹²Addie Grace Wardle, *The History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1918), 33-34.

rendering the Lord's Day subservient to the ends of instruction, which has hitherto been prostituted to bad purposes.¹³

The awareness that lower class children needed instruction may have led to the creation of Sunday Schools. It is not clear whether those schools were part of a church program or maintained only a loose relationship.

Subsequent sections discuss in detail what was generally presented in chapter 1. Due to the nature of the project and the specific focus on a certain time period and geographical area, this chapter is largely arranged into three distinct time periods: Sunday School prior to the movement initiated by Robert Raikes, Sunday School from the late-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, and Sunday School following the mid-nineteenth century. These three periods are examined in detail to uncover the structure of Sunday School before it transitioned into the church, as well as Sunday School's structure after the transition into the church. The aim of this project is to determine the significant factors that contributed to the transition of Sunday School.

Sunday School Prior to the Movement of Robert Raikes

Leading up to 1780, many people conducted religious, or biblical instruction, similar to that found in Sunday School. One example is the meeting of clergy with children for catechism. In 1549, in *The Book of The Common Prayer*, Thomas Cranmer states that the "curate of every parish" should take a half an hour every sixth Sunday and examine children in some part of the Catechism before confirmation occurred.¹⁴ This examination time extended to every Sunday in 1552.¹⁵ Evidenced here is the fact that the church recognized religious education for children was important at least two hundred

¹³Lewis G. Pray, *The History of Sunday School and of Religious Education From the Earliest of Times* (Boston: W. M. Crosby and H. P. Nichols, 1847), 152.

¹⁴Thomas Cranmer, *The Book of the Common Prayer* (London: Edward, Whitchurch, 1549), 63.

¹⁵Frederic Bulley, *A Tabular View of the Variations in the Communion and Baptismal Offices of the Church England From the Year 1549 to 1662* (London: John Henry Parker, 1842), 137.

years before the Sunday School of Raikes, but it has taken on different forms.

Institutions of religious instruction more similar to the modern Sunday School movement by Raikes were being formed around this time in England and elsewhere.¹⁶ John Carroll Power notes the role Sears played in 1527, of providing a foundation for German Sunday Schools.¹⁷ St. Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, spent a large part of his life teaching children, which is evidenced by the large number of Sunday School-analogous institutions he left behind after his death in 1584.¹⁸ Henry Clay Trumbull recorded that the Church of Scotland had Sunday School as early as 1560. A Presbyterian minister in Scotland had a Sabbath-school in his own home as early as 1756.¹⁹ Ireland saw the beginning of Sunday School around the year 1770, by Reverend Kennedy. This particular school in Ireland, begun by Kennedy and Robert Henry, eventually led to a hearing before the House. The outcome of that hearing was that the government unanimously agreed to support the Sunday Schools.²⁰

Sunday Schools were believed to have existed in Glasgow around the year 1701.²¹ John Wesley taught children on Sundays in Savannah, Georgia.²² Thomas

¹⁶John Robinson started a Sabbath School in Plymouth, MA, in 1680. John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield are said to have had a part in beginning and sustaining a school started in Savannah, GA, in 1737. There appears to have been a school started in Bethlehem, CT, in 1740 by Joseph Bellamy. John Carroll Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools: A Biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox* (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1863), 20.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Alfred Gregory, *Robert Raikes: Journalist and Philanthropist, A History of the Origin of Sunday-Schools* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1881), 37. See also Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Sunday-School: Its Origin, Mission, Methods, and Auxiliaries* (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles, 1888), 71.

¹⁹Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 103.

²⁰Ibid., 104.

²¹Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 24.

²²Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 15.

Laqueur notes Jean Baptiste de la Salle had a Sunday School in 1669, in Paris.²³ Also in France, John Frederick Oberlin established a school requiring the children in his area to attend a class every Sunday that included singing, a lesson, and memorizing Scripture.²⁴ Ferdinand Kindermann formed another school, a Bohemian Sabbath School, in 1773.²⁵

Progression of Sunday School Leading up to 1780

While the examination of Sunday School style²⁶ institutions in other countries provides a larger perspective, this project focuses specifically on the movement of Sunday School in England. A number of institutions similar to Sunday School were established in England before 1780. Trumbull recorded similar establishments being instituted in the Church of England in 1603.²⁷ Lewis Pray and John Power both mentioned Joseph Alleine, the author of *The Alarm to the Unconverted*, as one of the earliest names connected with Sabbath education of children in 1668.²⁸ Beginning in 1689, Robert Frampton was said to have catechized the children of his parish church and reviewed with them the sermon.²⁹ In 1698, Augustus Hermann Franke established a charity school that focused on the downtrodden children of society. Pray notes that Franke's school "had its origin in a spirit of the purest benevolence, so it seems to have

²³Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850* (London: Yale University Press, 1976), 24.

²⁴Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 21.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Even though the term "Sunday School" is used at a later date, many institutions that are similar in function and purpose existed before the name Sunday School was introduced. For the purpose of consistency, it is easier to reference the related institutions as a type.

²⁷Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 111.

²⁸Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 127; Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 21.

²⁹T. Simpson Evans, *The Life of Robert Frampton: Bishop of Gloucester* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1876), vii.

been conducted on truly enlarged, enlightened, and Christian principles.”³⁰ Around 1699, George Fowler provided the rent from his land to aid the education of poor children in the town of Walsall.³¹ Approximately two years later, Catherine Boevey had children eat with her in small groups while reviewing catechisms.³² Between these years and the middle of the eighteenth century, limited information exists regarding Sunday Schools in England.³³

The early eighteenth century saw a major decline in the practice of religion, which contributed to a decreasing number of Sunday School type institutions. Trumbull laments, “In whatever aspect it be viewed, the contrast between the religious life of the Protestant world in the sixteenth century and in the eighteenth, is a sad one.”³⁴ Some believed the recovery of religion was influenced by a renewed focus on Sunday School. Trumbull observes,

Only God knows what would have been the result to the church and to the world, if the church Bible-School agency had not been revived and made newly prominent under the circumstances which led to its extension and to its expansions in a measure beyond all precedent.³⁵

³⁰Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 111.

³¹E. L. Glew, *History of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall: In the County of Stafford; with an Interesting Tour of Inspection, Including a Faithful Report of the Government Inquiry Into the Charities* (Walsall, England: J. R. Robinson, 1856), 182.

³²J. Startford, *Robert Raikes and Others: The Founders of Sunday Schools* (London: Sunday School Union, 1880), 56.

³³A. Caswell Ellis writes, “In spite of the work of the few faithful, Sunday Schools declined, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the exception of the Moravians and a few other small sects, the entire Christian world seemed nearly as unconcerned about the Bible schools and early church training as it had been in the Dark Ages.” A. Caswell Ellis, “Sunday School Work and Bible Study in the Light of Modern Pedagogy,” in *The Pedagogical Seminary: An International Record of Educational Literature Institutions and Progress* (Worcester, MA: J. H. Orpha, 1894), 3:381.

³⁴Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 97.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 105.

A number of people began new Sunday Schools that helped to rekindle the growth and attention paid to Sunday School.³⁶

Sunday School Organized from Its Constituents

A pattern began to develop in the Sunday School. Laymen and women, who were to become the foundation of Sunday School, became active not only in current schools, but in founding new ones.³⁷ In 1727, Count Nikolaus Von Zinzendorf, a German religious and social reformer in Herrnhut, created classes that established the precedent of having one teacher with ten pupils.³⁸ Pray asserted the direction begun by August Franke and followed by Zinzendorf is a probable beginning point from which Sunday School gradually moved forward.³⁹ The arrangement of these classes by Franke and Zinzendorf are similar to those began by Robert Raikes, the man commonly connected with the beginning of the Sunday School movement. Theophilus Lindsey, an English clergyman, “established a Sunday School at Catterick, in Yorkshire” in 1764.⁴⁰ Catherine Cappe, a writer who was influenced by Lindsey, in the year 1765, established a type of Sunday

³⁶Trumbull comments, “To begin with, there were remarkable revivals of religion near the middle of the eighteenth century, in connection with the work of Zinzendorf in Germany, of Wesley and Whitefield in Great Britain, and of Edwards and Whitefield in the United States but these revivals and the work of these great men, could, in the very nature of things, have permanent power only as the methods and agencies put into fresh operation by them corresponded to God’s appointment, and were, in his providence, suited to the work to which they were applied. As in the case of Luther and Calvin and Knox, and again of Loyola and Xavier, Zinzendorf and Wesley realized that no revival could be permanent in its results, nor could any reformation be an abiding one, except by means of reaching and systematically training the young; and it was the light of this fundamental truth that they prosecuted their evangelizing and upbuilding work most successfully.” Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 106.

³⁷Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 24.

³⁸William Hurd, *A New Universal History of the Religious Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs of the Whole World* (Newcastle, England: K. Anderson, 1811), 727.

³⁹Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 113.

⁴⁰John Palmer, *The Sunday School: Its History and Development* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co, 1880), 9.

School in which she gathered poor children and taught them how to read and engaged with them in catechism and devotional hymns.⁴¹ Hannah Ball, a Wesleyan Methodist, opened a Sunday School in Wycombe in 1769. Her pattern was to teach children on Sunday and Monday with the hope of “promoting the interest of the Church of Christ.”⁴² In 1778, David Simpson, a minister at Christ Church, began a Sunday School in Macclesfield, and Thomas Stock formed a Sunday School in Ashbury in Berkshire.⁴³

Acts of Provision for Sunday School’s Establishment

One often-overlooked aspect in the progression of Sunday School was an act passed in 1779 “for the further relief of protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters.”⁴⁴ This act is referred to by different names—The Nonconformist Relief Act (19 Geo. 3, c. 44) is the official title, however, it is also referred to as the Enabling Act, and the Dissenter’s Relief Act.⁴⁵ According to Kurian and Lamport, before this Act was passed, “people outside the Anglican Church were legally banned from sponsoring schools.”⁴⁶ Rice explained that no one was allowed to “keep public or private school, or to act as a tutor, if they did not subscribe and conform to the Church of England.”⁴⁷

⁴¹Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 131.

⁴²Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 16.

⁴³Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 40.

⁴⁴Danby Pickering, *The Statues at Large from Magna Charta to the End of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain* (Cambridge: John Archdeacon, 1778), 258-60.

⁴⁵“Dissenters’ Relief Act,” in Edgar Taylor, *The Book of Rights or Constitutional Acts and Parliamentary Proceedings Affecting Civil and Religious Liberty in England, from Manga Charta to the Present Time* (London: A. Maxwell, Bell-Yard, Lincoln’s Inn, 1772), 248-51; “Nonconformist Relief Act,” in James Sutherland Cotton, ed., *The Practical Statutes of The Session 1896* (London: Horace Cox, 1896), 17; and “Enabling Act” in Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 16. *The Nonconformist Relief Act* (19 Geo. 3, c. 44).

⁴⁶George Thomas Kurian and Mark A. Lamport, eds., *Encyclopedia of Christian Education* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), s.v. “The Sunday School.”

⁴⁷Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 16.

According to *The Dictionary of English History*, an Act passed in 1571, applied only to clergy but required them to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion that parliament approved before they should be “admitted to a benefice.”⁴⁸ In 1603, The canons took this Act a step further by, stating, “no one should teach, either in a school or in a private house, unless he subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles and obtained a license from a bishop.”⁴⁹ This continued to be the way of operation until the year 1689.

In 1689, the Toleration Act (1 William and Mary, c. 18) removed some of the demands of the Thirty-Nine Articles by omitting some of the articles.⁵⁰ According to *The Dictionary of English History* The Toleration Act was the “beginning of a period of indulgence and security from persecution to Dissenters, which went on till 1779.”⁵¹ The other acts proposed in 1772 and 1773 similar to the 1779 act both failed. The Nonconformist Relief Act in 1779, enabled Dissenters to be schoolmasters and preach the Bible without any subscription to the Articles.⁵² The Act stated that teachers or ministers must make a declaration before a magistrate of their Christian beliefs and their commitment to Scripture.⁵³ This decision provided the opportunity for people to creatively approach religious and secular education in different ways. With a significant restraint removed by this act, the beginning of the modern Sunday School movement was made possible.

⁴⁸Sidney J. Low and Frederick Sanders Pulling, eds., *The Dictionary of English History* (London: Cassell & Company, 1884), s.v. “Articles of Religion.”

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰Low and Pulling, *The Dictionary of English History*, 81. Israel Mauduit, *The Case of the Dissenting Ministers Addressed to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal* (London: J. Wilkie, 1772), 4. *Toleration Act 1689* (1 William and Mary, c. 18).

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³Edgar Taylor, *The Book of Rights or Constitutional Acts and Parliamentary Proceedings Affecting Civil and Religious Liberty in England, from Magna Charta to The Present Time* (London: Maxwell, Bell-yard, Lincoln’s Inn, 1833), 248-51.

Sunday School in the Late-Eighteenth to Mid-Nineteenth Century

Sunday School is commonly connected to Robert Raikes and the work he did among children working in factories. Raikes, a journal editor and philanthropist, inherited *The Gloucester Journal* upon the death of his father.⁵⁴ He developed the idea of Sunday School while visiting a suburb of his hometown to hire a gardener.⁵⁵ On this visit, Raikes encountered the deplorable situation of children running through the streets on their one day off during the week, Sunday. What Raikes observed inspired him to do something about the situation. He sought to hire teachers who were willing to host and teach children.⁵⁶ The schools that Raikes helped establish are similar in character and essential features to other schools from earlier dates.⁵⁷ In *The Evolution of Sunday School*, Henry Fredrick Cope notes, “Raikes is the father of the Sunday School, not as its inventor, still less as its maker or perfecter, but as its prophet.”⁵⁸ The year 1780 is commonly accepted as the beginning of the modern Sunday School movement.⁵⁹ Three years after Raikes’ first Sunday School, real momentum came through his newspaper. On November 3, 1783, in the *Gloucester Journal*, Raikes published the first column pertaining to Sunday School, and thus the knowledge of the institution began to spread.⁶⁰

⁵⁴Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 31.

⁵⁵Ibid., 34.

⁵⁶Sylvanus Urban, “Raikes Letter,” *The Gentlemen’s Magazine* 14 (October 1784): 516.

⁵⁷Trumbull, *The Sunday School*, 111.

⁵⁸Henry Fredrick Cope, *The Evolution of Sunday School* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1911), 50-51.

⁵⁹Trumbull, *The Sunday School*, 108.

⁶⁰Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 67.

Church Sunday Schools and Dissenting Sunday Schools

The Sunday School movement was not restricted to any denomination in the early years of Sunday School. Very quickly, however, Sunday Schools identified with the Church of England or with Dissenting denomination.⁶¹ Dissenters were Methodists, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and other denominations or groups that taught doctrines different from the Church of England's articles.⁶² The issues that led Dissenters to separate from the Church of England included the view of Christ as the head of the church instead of a human man, the rites and ceremonies conducted, infant baptism, and lack of qualification for the Lord's Supper.⁶³

The Sunday School Society, established in 1785, to promote Sunday School in all churches, was an early attempt at interdenominational unity which broke down because of suspicions between Anglicans and Dissenters.⁶⁴ The Church of England's ceremonies and viewpoints were not the only cause of division between Dissenters and the Church of England. The arrival of "revolutionary and atheistical thought from France" only contributed to widen the chasm between the schools of thought.⁶⁵ M. G. Jones notes that in an effort "to protect the Church from this alleged anti-social and anti-religious danger, the leaders of the Anglican Church charged the parochial clergy to withdrawal from association with Dissent and establish Sunday Schools under their own

⁶¹Jeffery C. Alexander and Paul Colomy, eds., *Differentiation Theory and Social Change: Comparative and Historical Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 170.

⁶²John Angell James, "Dissent and the Church of England or a Defense of the Principles of Nonconformity," in *The Church Members Guide* (London: Frederick Westly and A. H. Davis, 1831), 96.

⁶³John Gill, *The Dissenters Reasons for Separating from the Church of England: Which Were Published at the End of Dr. Gill's Answers to a Welch Clergyman*, 4th ed. (London: 1776), 7-11.

⁶⁴M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 154.

⁶⁵Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, 153.

control.”⁶⁶ Once these declarations occurred, Dissenters and the Church of England rapidly withdrew association with each other.⁶⁷

There were wide ranging perspectives concerning Dissenting Sunday Schools. The purpose stated in *The Norwich Spectator* for “the Dissenting Sunday School is to give religious instruction to the young, just as the Chapel is intended for the adult congregation.”⁶⁸ The numbers of children in the Dissenting Sunday Schools were much larger than that in the Church of England Sunday Schools. According to *The Edinburgh Review*, much of the success of the Dissenting Sunday Schools as compared with those of the Church of England lies in the fact that “the organization of dissenting bodies is better adapted to lay agency which is the life of the Sunday School, than that of the Church is.”⁶⁹ The Dissenting Sunday Schools were an early facilitator of gratuitous teaching.

Not all people saw Dissenting Sunday Schools as positive. As noted by *Thirtieth Annual Report of The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in The Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales*, Dissenting Sunday Schools were accused of “criticizing the extreme tenuity of the connecting-link between the young members of their community and the system which has the credit of keeping them together.”⁷⁰ Aversion to Sunday School stemmed from the belief that it wasted time on worldly pursuits when time could better have been used for religious

⁶⁶Ibid.,

⁶⁷Ibid., 154.

⁶⁸“On Dissenting Sunday Schools,” *The Norwich Spectator* 2 (August 1863): 237.

⁶⁹“Census of Great Britain, 1851: Education in England and Wales with Reports and Tables,” in *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal for July, 1855 1855 to October, 1855* (Edinburgh: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), 102:382.

⁷⁰“Sunday-Schools,” in *Thirtieth Annual Report of The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in The Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales* (London: J. G. and F. Rivington, 1841), 245.

improvement.⁷¹ There were objections against church Sunday Schools adhering to any of the principals utilized in the Dissenting Sunday Schools. Objections included that Dissenters were against the parochial system, they included a mingling of socio-economic classes, and too much authority was given to untrained teachers.⁷² Tensions also surrounded who would do the inspections of the Sunday Schools following the legislation of 1833.

Parsons notes that, ultimately, “the activity of Dissenters in education, and especially Sabbath-school tuition, has been acknowledged by many Churchmen, and has had a powerful influence in awakening the slumbering energies of the Church.”⁷³ The movement and activity was effective in the growth of Sunday School. Parsons further states, “The proposal of Raikes and others to employ Sunday tuition for the young would in all probability have been rejected but for the Dissenters; they seized the idea immediately; among them the principle ran like lightning.”⁷⁴ The use of Sunday School by Dissenters provided momentum for the movement, as well as purposed them for more than secular instruction. Parsons also identifies that the Dissenters’ Sunday Schools appealed “to the Scripture; for the chief design of every Sunday-School among Dissenters is to make the children acquainted with God’s Word, and consequently they must be the patrons of learning.”⁷⁵ The Dissenting influence moved Sunday School toward religious education. Horace Mann, a lawyer, proposed,

As day schools multiply and secular instruction gets diffused, the Sunday School, relieved from the task of teaching children to read, will become more, and more

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²*The Sunday School Repository or Teachers’ Magazine* 1 (1813): 683.

⁷³Parsons, *Education*, 79.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Parsons, *Education*, 77.

effectively an intuition for religious education, and, by inevitable consequence, denominational extension.⁷⁶

Dissenters recognized the value of Sunday Schools before the Church of England. This early recognition led dissenting churches to start or adopt the movement of Sunday School earlier than other denominations.

The Continued Emergence of New Sunday Schools

The years 1784 and 1785, witnessed a number of new Sunday Schools that profoundly impacted the direction of Sunday School. Samuel Webb formed a Sunday School in Painswick that grew at an astounding rate.⁷⁷ Likewise, schools were established all over Gloucestershire.⁷⁸ London saw its first Sunday School established in 1784, which was formed in connection with the Reverend Rowland Hill's congregation at Surry Chapel.⁷⁹ In 1785, John Lancaster started and led the London Road Wesleyan Sunday School from a cellar in Manchester.⁸⁰ Also in 1785, Richard Rodda founded a school in Bolton with a different nature. This particular school is noted by Alfred Gregory as one of the first "at which masters gave their services without payment."⁸¹ This school prompted a highly favorable response from John Wesley: "It seems Sunday School will be one great means of reviving religion throughout the nation, I wonder why Satan has not yet sent out some able champion against them."⁸² As the work of Sunday School was

⁷⁶Horace Mann, "On the Statistical Position of Religious Bodies in England and Wales," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 18 (March 1855): 154.

⁷⁷Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 136.

⁷⁸These schools included Badminton, Didmarton, Acton Turville, Woodchester, Stroud, Stonehouse, Nymphsfield, Tetbury, and Mitcheldean. Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 71.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 90.

⁸⁰Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 23.

⁸¹Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 89.

⁸²Able Stevens, *The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century Called*

prospering, others were inspired to contribute to the movement.

Sunday School's Progress through the Creation of Supporting Agencies

Agencies which supported Sunday School were established during this period and were of great assistance to the schools. William Fox formed one such agency, the Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday-schools throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain, in 1785.⁸³ The Society enjoyed a time of favor and assisted mightily in the extension of Sunday School by leasing rooms for schools, hiring teachers, providing literature, offering necessary oversight, and general support. However, Rice identifies that because the Society was unwilling to adjust its approach to teaching, curriculum, and structure, it lost ground to other societies and schools who were utilizing “voluntary teachers” and “selling their literature as opposed to giving it away.”⁸⁴

Another society worth noting, the Sunday School Union, had a profound impact on the expansion of the Sunday School system.⁸⁵ The Union sought to improve teaching methods, promote new schools, and supply literature at reasonable rates.⁸⁶ William Gurney, Thomas Thompson, and James Nisbet were responsible for developing and communicating three shaping objectives.⁸⁷ The first objective was to stimulate and encourage each other in the religious instruction of children and youth. Second, through mutual communication, they sought to improve each other's method of instruction. Last,

Methodist (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1859), 2:485.

⁸³Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 91.

⁸⁴Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 22.

⁸⁵Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 100.

⁸⁶Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 23.

⁸⁷Phillip B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England: 1780-1980* (Cambridge: University Press, 1986), 74.

they wanted to promote the opening of new schools by influence and personal assistance where it might be deemed beneficial. The Sunday School Union focused much of its work on the improvement of classroom teaching and borrowed ideas from people such as John Foster, Joseph Lancaster, James Gall, and David Stow, while seeking to make teaching more effective.

One of the most influential changes the Union brought forth was the transition from paid to gratuitous teaching.⁸⁸ The Union also raised awareness of the need for more schools. In the years before the Union, people assumed one school was enough for each district; however, following the formation of the Union, William Groser, a Baptist ministered notes, “Churches and congregations now began to feel that each needed a Sunday School of its own.”⁸⁹ The recognition of this need led the Sunday School Union to begin a campaign in pursuit of starting more Sunday Schools.⁹⁰

The British and Foreign Bible Society was also formed around this time. Although this Society was not fully established until March 7, 1804, it greatly impacted the beginning of many Sunday Schools and was responsible for resourcing the schools with books and Bibles.⁹¹ Two factors aided the unions and societies in supporting Sunday Schools: (1) most of the schools during the late eighteenth century were not closely tied to specific denominations and (2) they served a diverse group of people.⁹² Rice noted

⁸⁸Ibid., 75.

⁸⁹William H. Groser, *A Hundred Years' Work for the Children: Being a Sketch of the History and Operations of the Sunday School Union, From its Formation in 1803 to its Centenary in 1903* (London: The Sunday School Union, 1903), 6.

⁹⁰Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 81. Also, Sunday School's extension continues. Gregory notes that by 1810, Sunday Schools are in the West Indies, by 1815, they are in France, and around the same time schools are begun in Asia, and in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) by Wesleyan missionaries, and in Serampore by Baptist missionaries. Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 107.

⁹¹Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 103.

⁹²K. D. M. Snell, “The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working-Class Culture,” *Past & Present* 164 (August 1999), 136.

that, after a hundred years of service, the union reported affiliations with 8,584 Sunday Schools and 2.2 million pupils.⁹³ The work supporting agencies propelled the work of Sunday School forward.

Sunday School's Growth amid Criticism

Sunday School's progress and work were not without critics. Many believed Sunday School contributed to a reduction in religion. The belief that Sunday School would lead to a reduction in religion was based on a perception that church attendance would drop with an increase in Sunday School attendance. Thomas Laqueur noted a strong inverse relationship between the two variables of attendance, proposing that within "certain urban areas, particularly in the north, Sunday Schools replaced church or chapel as the focus of the working-class religious life."⁹⁴ This charge against the school carried into the nineteenth century: "Sunday Schools were seen as the first step toward a lay religion with the consequent demise of the established church, good order, and stability."⁹⁵ In the late 1790s, *The Gentlemen's Magazine* published two lowly opinions of Sunday Schools. The first opinion stated it was a "vain and chimerical invention of a visionary projector," and the second referenced it as a "distraction from religious purposes on Sunday."⁹⁶ Legislation was even proposed to discontinue Sunday School or restrict its functioning.⁹⁷ In 1786, Bishop Porteous cautioned that Sunday Schools should not be adopted without some "qualifications and restrictions." These qualifications and restrictions referred to the "character of the teachers, the books used in the schools, and

⁹³Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917*, 26.

⁹⁴Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 59.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 75.

⁹⁶Sylvanus Urban, "Reporter in Common Pleas," *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 67 (July 1797): 819. Sylvanus Urban, "The Subject of Sunday-Schools Impartially Discussed," *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 68 (September 1798): 31.

⁹⁷Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 73.

the utmost caution not to make Sunday a day of rigor.”⁹⁸ Ultimately, Porteous saw the benefits that could come from Sunday Schools and recommended they be started in his diocese.⁹⁹

Despite a noticeable number of critics, Sunday School continued to spread in England and in other nations. The work of Sunday School continued in Wales under the leadership of Thomas Charles of Bala. Raikes reveals his Sunday Schools were evangelistic in hopes of “removing the dense spiritual ignorance” and offered education for all ages.¹⁰⁰ Cope adds that Thomas Charles “conducted a public campaign which called attention to the need for such schools organized in churches, enlisted the attendance of adults as well as children, [and] made the Bible the principal subject of all their study.”¹⁰¹ Around this time, Griffith Jones of Llanddowvion was the first to “hold public meetings in the interest of Sunday School so that the twentieth-century ideal of many was approached, as in his care the Sunday School wore more the aspect of a church in orderly operation than a school.”¹⁰² In 1789, Shute Barrington, Lord Bishop of Sarum, encouraged all clergy in his diocese to begin Sunday Schools because of the positive work he had witnessed.¹⁰³ Barrington was an ordained deacon and later a priest who heavily promoted education.¹⁰⁴ The year 1789, also saw the beginning of Hannah

⁹⁸Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 78.

⁹⁹Robert Raikes, “Memoir of Robert Raikes,” *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* 7 (December 1811): 463.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 101.

¹⁰¹Cope, *The Evolution of Sunday School*, 72.

¹⁰²Executive Committee of the International Sunday-School Association, *The Development of the Sunday-School 1780-1905: The Official Report of the Eleventh International Sunday-School Convention* (Boston: International Sunday-School Association, 1905), 5.

¹⁰³Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 80.

¹⁰⁴Robert Gray, *A Sermon Preached in Bishopwearmouth Church on Sunday, the 2nd of April on Occasion of the Death of the Honorable and Right Reverend Shute Barrington* (Sunderland, England: Reed and Son, 1826), 6.

Moore's classes to the less fortunate for the purpose of enlightenment.¹⁰⁵ In *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780-1980*, Phillip Cliff notes a major shift in thinking around 1800. This shift included a difference in attitude, vocabulary, and modification to be more human. Moreover, he observed the "teacher is different," the schools have more permanent homes, and there is a "new confidence aboard."¹⁰⁶ Coinciding with the shift in thinking was the fact that children were viewed differently, mainly as "souls to be saved rather than objects of charity."¹⁰⁷

Sunday School's Narrowed Purpose

As the institution of Sunday School was adjusted, many realized its potential usefulness in the church. While this perspective was not altogether new, it had gained viability among a growing number of people. John Angell James and his church, Carrs Lane, were among the first to utilize Sunday School effectively. In 1812, Carrs Lane experienced a revival of its "Sabbath School" due to James' introduction of a clear gospel purpose for the program.¹⁰⁸ Beyond focusing on the Sunday School as a vital part of church health and growth, James began to understand the necessity of passionate and capable teachers. He stated, "Hireling teachers can scarcely be expected to possess either zeal or ability of those who now engage in the work from motives of pure benevolence."¹⁰⁹ Jeffery Steven Wright, a recent researcher in the area of Sunday School, argues in his dissertation that James highly esteemed his church's volunteer system, and that he could

¹⁰⁵Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 87.

¹⁰⁶Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 94.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁰⁸Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 143.

¹⁰⁹John Angell James, *The Sunday School Teachers Guide* (Birmingham, England: Thomas Knott, 1817), 22.

not allow children to be taught by teachers who were not called specifically to reach children.¹¹⁰ Although gratuitous teaching was recorded earlier than this period, here it becomes the default method of operation. An English worker writes, “We hail with delight the present glorious movement in favor of daily education. May it soon become universal! Teaching reading on the Sabbath will be abandoned.”¹¹¹ Daily education would influence the future of Sunday School in the areas of teaching and subjects.

Methodists Aid in Furthering the Purpose of Sunday School

Many strides were made in the 1820s to focus the goal and purpose of Sunday School, especially among the Methodists. In 1822, The Methodist Conference issued a statement:

All the managers and teachers should consider the eternal salvation of the children as their grand object in those institutions; and should be careful that every part of the instruction given to them is such as may, through the blessing of God, lead them to the knowledge of the Savior, finally to eternal glory.¹¹²

Throughout the years, Sunday School became more focused on religious education. This change was partly due to the impact mass education had on the structure and purposes of Sunday School. Robert Lynn and Elliot Wright acknowledge, “When public schools opened, and it was a slow process, the Sunday Schools were freed of the taint of ‘charity’ and released from pressure to teach reading and writing. Religious instruction alone became the main undertaking.”¹¹³ In 1826, the Methodist Conference at Liverpool confirmed, “Sunday Schools ought to be strictly and entirely religious institutions” and

¹¹⁰Jeffery Steven Wright, “Domestic Piety in the Ministry of John Angell James” (Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2013), 68-69.

¹¹¹Executive Committee, *The Development of Sunday School 1780-1905*, 9.

¹¹²*Minutes of The Methodist Conferences from The First, Held in London* (London: J. Kershaw, 1825), 5:62-63.

¹¹³Robert W. Lynn and Elliot Wright, *The Big Little School: Two Hundred Years of the Sunday School* (Birmingham, AL: Religious Education Press, 1971), 37.

should be “connected as closely as possible with the church of Christ.”¹¹⁴ These adopted rules provided clarity and set the standard for Sunday School in the Methodist church.

The Tension between Sunday School and Mass Education

For the remainder of the nineteenth century, outlooks regarding the relationship between education and religion encountered a multiplicity of opinions. Many attempts were made to define, refine, and separate Sunday School from secular education. This entanglement made progress difficult to perceive; however, mass education and Sunday School were able to grow and refine their respective purposes. In *The First Fifty Years of the Sunday School*, William Henry Watson recorded a writer in the *British Review* who held a highly favorable opinion of Sunday School: “Sunday Schools must be for Sunday purpose connected with Sunday duties and dedicated to Him whom the Sunday, by an everlasting proclamation of his will, especially belongs.”¹¹⁵ This defense of Sunday School’s purpose came in response to a bill presented by Henry Lord Brougham in 1820, titled “A Bill for better providing the means of Education for His Majesty’s Subjects.”¹¹⁶ In Brougham’s opinion, the bill would have provided a better means of education and thus rendered Sunday Schools unnecessary. Watson notes the Sunday School Union concluded that the bill would be

injurious, as it would withdrawal the scholars, and undermine the foundation of benevolent and gratuitous instruction. . . . The measure would deprive Sunday scholars of the invaluable means of moral and religious instruction they now enjoyed, without providing any substitute.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴*Minutes of The Methodist Conferences from The First*, 5:425-426. Also see Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 29.

¹¹⁵W. H. Watson, *The First Fifty Years of the Sunday School* (London: Sunday School Union, 1873), 124.

¹¹⁶John E. Eardley-Wilmot, *Lord Brougham’s Acts and Bills: From 1811 to the Present Time* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1857), 49-67.

¹¹⁷Watson, *The First Fifty Years of the Sunday School*, 122.

Others proposed to limit or terminate Sunday School around this time because they also felt Sunday Schools were inadequate at education; however, none of them marshaled enough support to alter its direction.

As the Sunday School Union was able to assist Sunday School, similar organizations were able to aid mass education. Two societies, working with different foundational purposes, helped drive the idea of elementary education. The National Society helped the Church of England found and support parochial schools and their use of catechisms, while the British and Foreign School Society sought to unite Protestant congregations on the Scriptures to the exclusion of catechism, to avoid the Church of England indoctrination.¹¹⁸ The year 1833, brought governmental help in the promotion of education. Parliament, on the motion of Lord Althorp, devoted an annual grant of 20,000 pounds to aid the extension of education, which was initially distributed through the aforementioned societies for the purpose of erecting schools.¹¹⁹

From 1839 to 1846, many attempts were made to define and categorize or combine educational efforts. James Kay-Shuttleworth notes,

The indirect influence of the Sunday School has therefore been most favorable to social harmony and public order. . . . It has also laid the foundation of public education for the poor deeply in the religious organization of the country. This type of school has, to a great extent, predetermined the constitution of the daily school, and provided the fabric which, by a natural transition, may be employed in the establishment of an efficient system of elementary instruction, tending, in harmony with the Sunday Schools, the work of Christian civilization, which has been so auspiciously commenced.¹²⁰

Some wished to combine religious and secular education in an official capacity in the form of government action. However, others vehemently opposed the combination of secular and religious education and stood their ground for separation. Clergy from the

¹¹⁸James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, & 1862 in Papers* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), 2:442.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, 2:443.

¹²⁰Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, 2:441.

Church of England and ministers of Dissenting congregations united to reject the plan, James Kay-Shuttleworth records, “The majority of them calling upon Government to continue the system of encouraging the extension and improvement of elementary education provided by grants in aid of schools.”¹²¹ Shuttleworth accounts that, ultimately, the government never moved from its official position adopted in 1839: “Religion should be mixed with the entire matter of instruction in the school, and regulate the whole of its discipline.”¹²² Thus, with this affirmation all attempts at change were subdued, at least for a time.

The first time period reviewed showed the status and structure of Sunday School before Robert Raikes’ involvement, roughly summarizing all of Sunday School’s growth and movement before 1780. The second time period, roughly 1780-1850, highlighted the transition of Sunday School as it moved into the church. It is now necessary to examine the status of Sunday School in the final period of review, post 1850, and the long-term effects of these changes.

Sunday School after the Mid-Nineteenth Century

In 1851, a prominent event referred to as Census Sunday occurred. George Graham notes this census was “the first time in the history of this country [England] a Census of Religious Worship has been obtained by the Government.”¹²³ Snell reveals the census findings “indicated very tight relationships between church or chapel and Sunday School. The school was often held in a distance building, separate from the place of worship, but it was almost always organized under denominational authority.”¹²⁴ In 1854,

¹²¹Ibid., 2:506.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³George Graham, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship in England and Wales: Abridged from the Official Report Made by Horace Mann* (London: George Routledge and Company, 1854), v.

¹²⁴Snell, “The Sunday-School Movement,” 137.

Sunday Schools were considered alongside other educational institutions. In light of the census, Mann suggested the only realistic understanding of “England’s real educational condition” must consider the “position which the Sunday School should occupy amongst the various institutions now in operation for instructing and improving the community.”¹²⁵ Mann notes one perspective viewed Sunday School as only able to give secular instruction, while the other considered it “a means of religious training.”¹²⁶ He inferred these different points of view change the estimation of the influence of Sunday School. Although improvements were necessary, Graham notes the *Census of Great Britain* discovered that Sunday School was “most invaluable for promoting the religious education of the people”¹²⁷ due to the zeal of its voluntary teachers and the “amount of practical skill and wisdom” its leaders possess.¹²⁸

John Carroll Power ended *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools* by stating,

In 1863, there is probably not a parish in Protestant Christendom, without its Sabbath School, and that many places where the voice of the living ministry of Christ has never been heard, have been blessed by the smiling face, and cheerful voice of the Sabbath School teachers, as it were a forerunner of those who were soon to herald the glad tidings of salvation.¹²⁹

Cliff notes a shift in acceptance by the middle class in their attitudes toward Sunday School, as a direct result of the World Sunday School Conference in 1862.¹³⁰ Rice suggests that meetings were occurring regularly to get a worldwide perspective of Sunday School’s work; however, “the first form conference of general Sunday-School convention of this type was held in London, in connection with the International Industrial

¹²⁵Graham, *Census of Great Britain, 1851*, 67.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Ibid., 71.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 279.

¹³⁰Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 144.

exhibition, September, 1862.”¹³¹ Additional worldwide conferences were held in subsequent years. The purposes of these meetings were to (1) gather information concerning conditions of Sunday Schools through the world, (2) extend the work and increase the efficiency of Sunday Schools, and (3) improve the method of organization and instruction.¹³² Resulting from this first conference was the conviction that classes should strictly focused on religious education. Cliff suggests, “Perhaps this marks the transition from the older aims and objectives to those to be shaped after the 1870 settlement of the country’s education structure, which left the Sunday Schools free to carry on with purely religious education.”¹³³ The Education Act of 1870 impacted the future of the country’s education. Sunday School curriculum before this time included spelling books that contained the alphabet, spelling lessons, and arithmetic lessons alongside scripture readings, hymns, and catechisms.¹³⁴

Government Influence on Education and the Purpose of Sunday School

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 (33 and 34 Vict. c.75), also known as the Forster’s Education Act, was the first of many acts of the English government from 1870 to 1893, dealing with education and specifically to provide public elementary education.¹³⁵ The contents of this Act are numerous, an excerpt is provided in the appendices, but for this project, the primary concerns are in the Regulations for Conduct of Public Elementary School. These regulations pertain to Sunday School’s transition.

¹³¹Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 367.

¹³²*Ibid.*, 368.

¹³³Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 144.

¹³⁴Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 113-14.

¹³⁵Walter Dalgeish, *A Plain Reading of the Elementary Act* (London: John Marshall & Co., 1870), accessed November 14, 2016, www.bl.uk/collection-items/synopsis-of-the-forster-education-act-1870. *The Elementary Education Act of 1870* (33 and 34 Vict. c. 75).

First, there was no requirement on attendance or abstention in regard to Sunday School, religious instruction, or religious observance. Second, religious instruction or observance was only to be done at the beginning or end of the day, must be approved by the Education Department, and the schedule should not be adjusted. Parents were also given the freedom to withdrawal their children at any time from any religious instruction or observance without forfeiting the other benefits of the school. Third, Walter Dalgiesh explains, “The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of Her Majesty’s inspectors, so however, that it shall be no part of the duties of such inspector to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects given at such school.”¹³⁶ The act required parents to pay for schooling if they had the means; if they did not, the government would pay. The result was the retention of religious instruction but not in support of any one denomination.¹³⁷ This act raised concerns from many sides, J. N. Larned indicates, “Adherents of the Established Church and of the Roman Catholic Church were opponents of the public system, while the Dissenters and Nonconformists of all sects gave it strenuous support.” The Church of England wanted their own denominational orthodoxy taught, while Dissenters favored exclusion of theological differences.¹³⁸

According to John Palmer, Raikes did all he could to make the “Sunday School part of the Church’s system,” but he also “acknowledged the aid which the Nonconformists gave in raising the superstructure.”¹³⁹ The specific point at which Sunday School was absorbed by the church, and the precise factors which influenced this, are not undisputed. Some, like J. A. Lyons, despite claiming the relationship between the

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Eric E. Rich, *The Education Act of 1870* (London: Longmans, 1970), 39.

¹³⁸J. N. Larned, *History for Ready Reference from the Best Historians, Biographers, and Specialist* (Springfield, MA: C. A. Nichols, 1913), 3:195.

¹³⁹Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 23.

Sunday School and the church is obvious, maintained it was still a question in need of examination.¹⁴⁰ Lyons' discussion led him to the conclusion that Sunday School as an organization had one "avowed purpose of soul-saving Scripture study . . . maintained by labors purely voluntary."¹⁴¹ In a later chapter in *The Sunday School and Its Methods*, Lyons stated it was "the duty of every Church to organize a Sunday-school" because it would "be hard to find a congregation worthy the name of a Church without a school."¹⁴²

Sunday School Adapts to a New Situation

Sunday School did move into the church. Lyons notes, "Every live Church seeks to teach, and seeing its opportunity in the Sunday-School, never fails of embracing it as the plainest and best way to the discharge of the its office as a public teacher of Christianity."¹⁴³ Palmer describes the Sunday School in four ways: (1) a medium for the spread of biblical instruction, (2) a medium for instructing the young in the church principles, (3) a nursery for the church, and (4) a means of bringing clergy and laity together and help raise laity interest in church work.¹⁴⁴ Palmer was quick to remind, however, that in spite of all it accomplished, Sunday School was still in need of some improvement. Sunday School's success would depend on "strengthening of the bond of union between the Church and the school, the superintendent and the teacher, and the teacher and the taught."¹⁴⁵ The fact that a transition actually took place is important to

¹⁴⁰J. A. Lyons, *The Sunday School and Its Methods: A Practical Treatise for Earnest Workers in this Department of the Church of Christ* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1883), 65.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁴³Lyons, *The Sunday School and Its Methods*, 102.

¹⁴⁴Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 45-48.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 38.

this project. Laqueur states Sunday School's "general independence from church or chapel" as evidence that Sunday School was "an institution of the working class."¹⁴⁶ Moreover, Laqueur writes, "The breakup of interdenominational schools forced their operations onto the neighborhood level; a burgeoning Sunday School subculture and long-lived tensions between clergy and laity reinforced the independence of the school from the congregation."¹⁴⁷ This independence was overcome, however, as evidenced by Sunday School's transition into the church. Writing in 1880, Palmer states, "The Sunday-school has at length emerged from the obscurity in which its operations were for many years carried on, and assumed its proper and rightful place as an important auxiliary of the Church."¹⁴⁸ The remaining task is to see the process and factors that make this adoption possible.

Conclusion

It cannot be disputed that Sunday School started and spread to many areas. Trumbull records, "With the approval of some church dignitaries, and against the opposition of others it extended itself into the field of all religious denominations throughout the United Kingdom, and afterwards over the ocean."¹⁴⁹ As Sunday School spread, it brought attention to the desperate need for education throughout the country. John Richard Green argues that Sunday Schools, as started by Robert Raikes, were the beginning of popular education.¹⁵⁰ In *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Lecky presents Sunday School as the catalyst for a "revived interest in popular

¹⁴⁶Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 62.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁴⁸Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 31.

¹⁴⁹Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 114.

¹⁵⁰John Richard Green, *History of the English People* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1900), 3:7.

education.”¹⁵¹ As the necessity for mass education became more apparent, a decision about Sunday School had to be made: would Sunday School continue with a dual purpose of religious education and secular education, while giving prominence to the former, or did it position itself as a strictly religious institution? Furthermore, as a religious institution, how closely did it relate itself to the establishment of the church?

As can be seen from recorded history, that both the movement of Sunday School into the church and its refocusing almost exclusively on religious education were incremental. Sunday School undoubtedly paved the way for dealing with ignorance in a country which had ignored the obvious for too long. Sunday School’s influence leads John Bright to state in *The Magazine of Christian Literature*, “I believe that there is no field of labor, no field of Christian benevolence, which has yielded a greater harvest to our national interests and national character, than the institution of Sunday-schools.”¹⁵² Laqueur explains that even though Sunday School was not seen as an “adequate substitute for extended day education,” it did have a “significant impact” on mass literacy in the nineteenth century.¹⁵³ Thus, the rising need of mass education played a significant role in the movement and transition of Sunday School.

Elaine Brown, in her dissertation on the working class and education in England from 1780 to 1870, states, “Even before developing working-class movements perceived the importance of education, there was a growing awareness of its necessity.”¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, she substantiated this thought by noting evidence is found

¹⁵¹William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1887), 6:277.

¹⁵²John Bright, quoted in Samuel MaCauley Jackson, ed., “Sunday School,” *Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge, The Magazine of Christian Literature* 4 (April-September 1891): 884.

¹⁵³Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 96-105, 113-23.

¹⁵⁴Elaine Brown, “Working-Class Education and Illiteracy in Leicester, 1780-1870” (Ph.D. diss., University of Leicester, 2002), 26.

through “references to self-education in autobiographies, membership of mutual improvement and Sunday School classes, and an interest in discussions at reform clubs.”¹⁵⁵ This recognition of the need for education led her to the same conclusion noted by Laqueur—that Sunday School’s role changed during the last half of the nineteenth century. By the 1870s, secular education was largely absent from Sunday School due to the growth of mass education.¹⁵⁶ Likewise, Cliff records, “The battle with the State over treasonable activity had been won, Sunday was now ‘Sunday School Day.’”¹⁵⁷

Cope states that in a forty-year period, from 1850-1890, the perception of Sunday School changed from “the nurseries of the church” to the “Bible schools of the church.”¹⁵⁸ The Sunday School was no longer responsible for holding babies in the hopes that they would grow up and remain in the church—it was now charged with teaching Scripture to all ages. He further noted that, by 1890, many people, in speeches and writings, report the “responsibility for direct religious instruction rested on the church.”¹⁵⁹ In 1882, Mundella wrote an insightful column on religious education in *The Church-Worker Magazine* where he asserts, “Since 1870 a marked change has taken place in the relative progress of Sunday and day-schools.”¹⁶⁰ He notes the growth in attendance of the day schools and the reduction or plateau of growth for the Sunday Schools. Mundella continues, “When secular education was made obligatory upon the whole population, it was absolutely necessary not to divorce religious instruction from

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 249.

¹⁵⁷Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 162.

¹⁵⁸Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 129.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 144.

¹⁶⁰M. P. Mundella, “Religious Education,” *The Church-Worker: A Magazine for Sunday School Teachers and Church-Workers Generally* 1 (1882): 187.

education, but to separate religious and secular instruction.”¹⁶¹ In choosing a school, parents had the freedom to pick the type and location of their child’s religious instruction.

The recorded histories of Sunday School are indications that Sunday School had become an institution of the church for the purpose of religious education. The review of literature pertaining to Sunday School’s transition revealed the need to uncover the factors that impacted the transition of Sunday School. It is the intention of this project to reveal that both mass education and the shift from paid to gratuitous teaching had a major impact on Sunday School becoming part of the church.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

CHAPTER 3
THE IMPACT OF MASS EDUCATION
ON SUNDAY SCHOOL

Many people believed that enrolling children in a course of schooling best prevented rebellious ideas.¹ David Wardle explains, “When it was proposed to undertake the education of the poor in general in the 1780s it was necessary to start from scratch, and the first attempt at providing universal elementary education was the Sunday School movement.”² As the Sunday School increased in importance during the late 1780s, many proposed that weekly classes were inadequate. One report by the Education Commission went so far as to call Sunday Schools a necessary evil: “Necessary because in the present state of things without them many children would get no education all; evils because the very imperfect education given in the Sunday School often stands in the way of parents sending their children to the day school.”³ As this mindset gained momentum, people sought ways to provide instruction on the other days of the week.⁴ Historical records show that modern national school systems can trace their origin and development back to the church schools.⁵

¹David Wardle, *English Popular Education 1780-1975* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 24.

²*Ibid.*, 62.

³Education Commission, *Reports of the Assistant Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1861), 3:159.

⁴Wardle, *English Popular Education*, 24.

⁵A. R. Taylor, “The Relation of the Sunday-School to the Public School,” in *The Development of the Sunday-School 1780-1905*, ed. W. N. Hartshorn, George Merrill, and Marion Lawrance (Boston: Fort Hill Press, 1905), 185.

Contained in the memoir of Robert Raikes is an opinion held by Thomas Christie in 1789, which suggested that some were willing to make concessions for Sunday Schools: “A part, at least, of the Sunday may be usefully employed in instructing those who will not go to church, and indeed cannot be expected to go, because they can neither read, write, nor understand.”⁶ Reading and writing were not only important to daily life, but they also provided a foundation from which to teach children the Bible and religion. While the debate continues as to whether Sunday School’s original intent was educational or evangelistic, it was beneficial to the church and to society. This chapter shows how the creation and growth of mass education in England was related to Sunday School, and how the progression of mass education resulted in moving Sunday School into the church.

Sunday School’s Role in the Genesis of Mass Education

James Kay-Shuttleworth, a political and educational figure from Britain, and also Trumbull held the opinion that mass education owed its beginning and success to Sunday School. Kay-Shuttleworth explains, “The establishment of Sunday Schools prepared public opinion for more general efforts to form voluntary associations for the promotion of elementary education by means of day-schools.”⁷ Trumbull notes, “the Sunday School was not only the beginning of the English system of public school education, but that step by step that system was prompted and promoted by the success of Sunday School teaching, is evident by the records history.”⁸ Sunday School was

⁶Robert Raikes, “Memoir of Robert Raikes,” *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* 7 (December 1811): 464.

⁷James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education as Reviewed in 1831, 1839, 1846, 1862, in Papers* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts 1862), 2:442.

⁸Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Sunday-School: Its Origin, Mission, Methods, and Auxiliaries*, (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles, 1888), 119.

undoubtedly important to the church and to the foundation of mass education.⁹ This dual influence had a profound impact on the trajectory of Sunday School.

Sunday School was important in raising awareness for educating the public en masse, especially the lower and working classes. Frank Smith writes,

It was through the Sunday School that the idea of universal education was first conceived possible. While discussion was still raging whether the laboring poor should be taught to write, a knowledge of reading was spreading throughout the country, the Sunday School was all-embracing and free, and the faith of those early promoters was heroic.¹⁰

Smith applauded the early Sunday School advocates who persevered and provided an opportunity for children, and later adults, which before had not been available to the multitudes. Perhaps more important, this opportunity allowed the general public a chance to understand the deeper things of faith and life. Laqueur correctly asserted, “From the very beginning the Sunday Schools must be regarded, in part at least, as indigenous institutions of the working-class community rather than an imposition on it from the outside.”¹¹ Painter affirmed, “The education of the masses of England was almost entirely neglected prior to the rise of the Sunday School movement.”¹² The literature points to the fact that those in the upper class had no intentions of allowing the working class to improve their situation, or providing them with the opportunity to understand the finer points of government and enterprise.¹³ The goal of maintaining class status was evident

⁹William Henry Watson, *The First Fifty Years of the Sunday School* (London: Sunday School Union, 1862), 25-40, 107-12, 118-25.

¹⁰Frank Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education, 1760-1902* (London: University of London Press, 1931), 63.

¹¹Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850* (London: Yale University Press, 1976), 61.

¹²Franklin Verzelius Newton Painter, *A History of Education* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), 302-4.

¹³William Thorp, *The Destinies of the British Empire, and the Duties of British Christians at the Present Crisis* (Philadelphia: E.G. Dorsey, 1841), 101.

even when the upper classes considered education for the poor. In 1834, *The Quarterly Journal of Education*, contained the following sentiment:

There will probably be many opponents to such a measure of national education, people who think the education of the higher and upper classes good enough, and who wish the poorer classes to receive education as charity at their hands. As to the education of the poor, if their charity be real, and not subservient to selfish views, they ought to see with pleasure that done by government completely which they can only do imperfectly. There will be still sufficient opportunities for the rich to oblige the poor and render themselves popular in numerous ways, if their inclinations lie that way.¹⁴

The upper class was content for education to be subservient to one's class status because they had no desire to disrupt the class structure.¹⁵

One distinct difference scholars noted between Raikes' Sunday Schools and similar efforts during the same time period was the literature they utilized. Many schools used catechisms, creeds, and confessions as their primary literature, while Raikes' schools used them only as supplemental works. In *The Sunday School or Catechism*, John Furniss records, "It is very usual in England, for children to continue after their first communion, frequenting the Sunday School and learning catechism."¹⁶ During the time catechisms were being used, those written by Watts and Luther were the most prominent.¹⁷ Raikes'

¹⁴"English Boarding-Schools," *The Quarterly Journal of Education* 7 (January-April 1834): 47.

¹⁵P. W. Musgrave writes, "Each social class had a different view of what its own education should be, and the upper classes also had opinions on what education the other social classes should have. These definitions of education might be explicit in public statements or in writings. Even after the Reform Act of 1832, the English aristocratic upper class was for many years a powerful group. To members of this class, education for their children was not needed for any immediate practical purpose, but more to acquire social graces. This was a leisured class of rules and their leisure was regarded by them as one important symbol of high status. If this class considered the education of the other classes at all, its view was that their education, as any other commodity they needed, should be bought." P. W. Musgrave, *Society and Education in England since 1800* (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 1968), 7.

¹⁶John Furniss, *The Sunday School or Catechism* (Dublin: Richardson and Son, 1861), 279. Furniss states, "The mass of the poor children receive the chief part of their religious education in the Sunday School. The Sunday school or catechism is nearly the only means, at least it is the great and chief means a priest possesses of promoting the spiritual advancement of the children. It is chiefly in the Sunday School or catechism, the children their own peculiar instruction, are prepared for confession, holy communion and confirmation." *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁷Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Origin and Expansion of the Sunday School* (Philadelphia: The

schools used the Bible as the primary textbook and teaching source.¹⁸ This dependency on the Bible was a distinctive factor that allowed Sunday School to separate itself as a religious institution. Sunday Schools always used the Bible to teach reading and writing, and as mass education grew in popularity, the Sunday Schools were able to teach the foundational truths found therein unapologetically.

The debate over the desirability of popular, or mass, education lasted from around 1750 to 1833.¹⁹ In *Education, Economic Change, and Society in England 1780-1870*, Michael Sanderson writes that, before 1830, no serious effort was made to “maintain the elementary education of the population whose literacy in the industrial areas was allowed to decline.”²⁰ Around 1830, the working-class began to support the idea of mass education, although their demand for any specific type of education was lacking.²¹ Simultaneously, the church became aware of the desperate need for action in order to avoid losing a generation of children. An article in *The Quarterly Christian Spectator* that brought attention to the fact that if “something was not done to bring the schools nearer to the church and the clergy, the great body of their children and youth will pass out of their hands into unregeneracy.”²² This realization coincided with the awakening to the need for mass education. Sunday school and mass education were not in opposition; they were similar institutions with different convictions resulting in different

Sunday School Times Co., 1906), 77-85.

¹⁸Jonas Hanway, *A Comprehensive View of Sunday-Schools* (London: Dodsley and Sewel, 1786).

¹⁹Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People: A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), 4.

²⁰Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780-1870* (New York: Cambridge Press, 1995), 28.

²¹Musgrave, *Society and Education*, 11.

²²“Religious Education of Children,” *The Quarterly Christian Spectator* 16 (March 1837): 12.

trajectories. The genesis of one did not require the death of the other, but rather a refocusing and repositioning. Some of the adjustments to Sunday School originated from the need for survival; however, the expansion of mass education was a significant factor in the movement of Sunday School into the church. Even though the two could coexist, Sunday School would have to be modified in order to endure.

Sunday School's Separation from Mass Education

Sunday School adjusted and adapted as education matured. In *The Church of England Sunday School Quarterly Magazine*, Sunday School is referred to as being in “moral and mental isolation,” and described as a “green oasis in a sandy desert.”²³ Laqueur noted it was the “only means of secular education available,” but he hoped as it, “became more religious, it would draw nearer the Church.”²⁴ Cope, in *The Evolution of Sunday School*, notes Sunday School had to adjust as the world's thought changed, resulting in forward motion for both Sunday School and education.²⁵ Mass education served as the catalyst to move Sunday School nearer to the church and to the clergy. This propulsion allowed Sunday School to separate from secular education and focus more strategically on religious education.

The transition of Sunday School was apparent during the middle of the nineteenth century. Cope writes,

During the nineteenth century the Sunday Schools of Great Britain became more religious in character, the Bible came to have the principal, and at length generally, the only place in the curriculum. Under those circumstances it was only natural that the school should gravitate toward the church. By the end of the century nearly all met in buildings attached to churches.²⁶

²³The Church of England Sunday School Institute, *The Church of England Sunday School Quarterly Magazine* 2 (March 1848): 3.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Henry Fredrick Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1911), 136.

²⁶Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 75.

Further evidence of these changes is obvious in in the *Minutes of the Committee of Council of Education* from December 1839. In this meeting, the committee noted that preference would be given to schools that “do not enforce any rule by which the children will be compelled to learn a catechism, or attend a place of Divine worship, to which their parents, on religious grounds object.”²⁷ This thought was further clarified in 1846, when the Council of Committee reiterated their point that preference would be given to schools that allowed freedom of religious choice. They did not want to make “any requirement as to the character of such religious teaching” other than they would be satisfied, “if the managers certify that the pupil’s teacher has been attentive to their religious duties.”²⁸ These official statements and viewpoints pushed Sunday School toward religious education as mass education increased.²⁹

Sunday School’s Challenges in Transitioning

Difficulties surrounding Sunday School’s original purpose and to what authority Sunday School would submit arose from the historical reality that English Sunday Schools were born outside of the church and remained there for some time. Sunday School was perceived by many as a philanthropic effort to instruct children in the basics of education.³⁰ This mindset, along with its original purpose, led to obstacles that Sunday School would have to overcome. Initially, many of the Sunday Schools in churches were not viewed as important parts of the church. The schools were not included in the church budgets, their

²⁷Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education as Reviewed*, 470.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 483.

²⁹T. W. Thirlwall writes, “We may bless God that we not only possess a system of religious training, but that we are year by year improving upon it. But the religious education is given to the people in our Sunday Schools. The national schools are, in fact, only nurseries for our Sunday Schools; they are only what government schools would be. The mainstay of religious education is to be found in our Sunday Schools.” T. W. Thirlwall, “Dr. Hook’s Scheme of State Education,” *The English Journal of Education* 4 (1846): 230.

³⁰Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 77.

boards where not elected by the church, and pastors were largely uninvolved.³¹ Sunday Schools were only church schools insofar as they met in the buildings of the church. Cope explains, “The English people did not feel at any time during the nineteenth century or prior to that the deep need for separate schools of religion. Religious subjects were taught daily in all schools. The great public schools for the upper classes were on religious foundations.”³² This opinion, that schools for religious instruction were unnecessary, hindered the development of the new Sunday School and mass education.

Cope also notes that even though the idea of “free universal elementary education developed much later in England, than in America,” it developed nonetheless.³³ Cope notes, “The adoption of the Sunday School by the church and the recognition of this school as an agency or department of the church for the religious training of the young was the most important step in the development of the Sunday-School.”³⁴ This sentiment was invariably true of the Sunday Schools in England, despite the longer journey from community to the church. A challenge Sunday School faced while transitioning into the church was the difficult task of transferring leadership from the “benevolent individuals” to the pastor of the church.³⁵ Rice notes five maxims that evolved out of his studies and experiments. Specific to this study is that “the Sunday School may be the instrument under God of awakening spiritual life in the children and, supplemented by day classes, can form the basis of national education.”³⁶ Sunday School highlighted the need for

³¹Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 76.

³²Ibid., 77.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., 74.

³⁵Addie Grace Wardle, *The History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1918), 33.

³⁶Edwin Wilbur Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917 and the American Sunday-School Union 1817-1917* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1917), 16.

widespread mass education, and led the country—possibly inadvertently—toward forming such a structure.³⁷ The following paragraph is contained in *The English Journal of Education* in the Preliminaries to the Establishment of the Committee of Education Council:

Towards the close of the 18th century the first step towards a provision for the education of the poor was taken by the creation of Sunday Schools. To the Sunday School a large portion of the population chiefly owe the power to read, their acquaintance with the scriptures, their connection with a religious congregation, and the influence of a religious example. It has laid the foundations of public education for the poor deeply in the religious organization of the country, and its type has influenced the constitution of the daily schools, and provided the fabric which may be employed in establishing an efficient system of elementary instruction, tending, in harmony with Sunday Schools.³⁸

The Church of England Sunday School Monthly Magazine for Teachers included an article stating, “It must ever be bore in mind that all the good work in this country, in reference to the education of lower classes, had its origin in the Sunday School system.”³⁹ In forming the basis of mass education, Sunday School served as a useful tool for the edification of the body of Christ.

Sunday School’s Narrowing Focus as Influenced by the Expansion of Mass Education

As mass education developed and expanded, its unavoidable influence on the role of Sunday School was more noticeable. During the period from the late eighteenth century until midway through the nineteenth century, the church remained an agent of change and progressive force for education. Gates notes in *Faith Schools: Consensus or*

³⁷Cope notes, “Raikes was a prophet of the modern system of public education and the school on Sundays was his first expression of his vision. Of course Raikes was not the first prophet of public education. But, but using the one spare day of the week, he gave a practical demonstration of that public education which was no more than a dream in the minds of a few leaders in England.” Cope, *The Evolution of Sunday School*, 55.

³⁸George Moody, ed., “An Explanation of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education in August and December, 1846,” *The English Journal of Education* 1 (January 1847): 164.

³⁹The Church of England Sunday School Institute, *The Church of England Sunday School Monthly Magazine for Teachers* 15 (January 1863): 257.

Conflict that even up to 1870, the “educational provision in England and Wales derived its primary sponsorship from the institutional churches and individual charitable acts and foundations, most of which acknowledged some Christian inspiration.”⁴⁰ Gates further explains, “The more determined drive during the nineteenth century to extend this opportunity continued to be church led, but two different perspectives on the question of ownership and responsibility for the provision came into direct tussle.”⁴¹ These perspectives centered on the way to provide education for the poor and religious guidelines.

Mass Education for All with Strict Religious Guidelines: Special Provision for the Poor

One viewpoint on how education should proceed came from within the established church and was based on a desire for all children to be educated. This was not a popular view, especially among those who benefited from child labor. This view also lacked support due to lack of affordability. In *The Education of the People*, Sturt writes, “The two fundamental problems facing those who wished to use education to help the poor were the cost of schools and the lack of teachers.”⁴² Furthermore, the inclusion of the “fourth R,” religion, was earnestly affirmed by the clergy. As is the case for most movements during the time period being reviewed, a society was formed to push this initiative. The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church was formed in 1811, and was tasked with finding a way to provide education to those without the opportunity.⁴³

⁴⁰Brian Gates, “Faith Schools and Colleges of Education since 1800,” in *Faith Schools: Consensus or Conflict?* ed. Roy Gardner, Jo Cairns, and Denis Lawton (London: Routledge Falmer, 2005), 17.

⁴¹Gates, “Faith Schools and Colleges,” 17.

⁴²Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 19.

⁴³Gates, “Faith Schools and Colleges,” 17.

Mass Education for All with Tolerant Religious Guidelines: General Provision for All

A second view for the way education should be approached was not denominationally specific, and resulted in the formation of the British and Foreign School Society for the Education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society of Every Religious Persuasion. Their task was to create schools where “Scripture and general Christian principles” were a part of the curriculum, but were not specific to one denomination.⁴⁴ Most dissenting churches, plus liberal Anglicans, some Catholics, and Jews, favored this view due to the freedom it afforded to each denomination to carry out education as they thought best. A third view did exist, which favored no religious reference, but it was held by a small minority. Gates explains that the “tussling between the other two [views] delayed the introduction of a fully comprehensive school system funded by public taxation.”⁴⁵ Monetary support for mass education was of high concern, which is possibly why Sunday Schools remained favorable for a long period of time.⁴⁶ While the Sunday Schools were not without cost, the amount of money necessary for Sunday Schools to function was relatively low.

Mass Education Free from Religious Regulations: An Appeal for Independence

Lord Brougham notes an underlying fear for both sides of this debate⁴⁷ in his evidence to the Parliamentary Committee. He stated that it “would be wrong to give

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Katarina Tomasevski, *Education Denied: Costs and Remedies* (London: Zed, 2003), 47.

⁴⁷Interesting to note that Brougham brought forth a plan in 1820, that would, in his opinion, provide better education than that currently provided by Sunday School. However, this measure was opposed by many, and revealed that Brougham had not studied Sunday School close enough to understand the good it provided. For more information, see Watson, *The First Fifty Years*, 25-40, 107-12, 118-25.

governments the means of dictating opinions and principles for the people.”⁴⁸ Therefore, due to the competing values moving forward, in 1833, Gates notes, “Annual grants towards school provision were given to each of the Societies, in proportion to their own respective funding bases.”⁴⁹ These grants, which provided up to 20,000 pounds per year to certain religious societies, were to be used for educational buildings and maintenance.⁵⁰ In 1839, the grant amount rose to 30,000 pounds, which led many to believe a “special body” was needed to oversee the grant.⁵¹ As the grant system grew, there was concern regarding inspection from the government on how schools’ religious stances would be evaluated. Eventually, this was sorted out when the churches allowed for the inspection, but maintained their own people in head leadership roles.

The evaluation of Sunday School from a secular educational viewpoint was less than favorable. Considering the effort, time, and money contributed to them, many felt that Sunday Schools “achieved disappointing results.”⁵² More complaints arose. Wardle notes, “[T]he hours of attendance were inadequate, the curriculum was almost invariably confined to reading and religious instruction, and the teaching was frequently inefficient.”⁵³ In the early nineteenth century, Sunday School’s failure to solve the social and political problems it set out to alleviate left some searching for a better option. Although Sunday School had not been the perfect solution, it provided the groundwork for the ensuing phase.

⁴⁸J. S. Maclure, *Educational Documents: England and Wales, 1816 to the Present Day* (London: Methuen, 1965), 40.

⁴⁹Gates, “Faith Schools and Colleges,” 17.

⁵⁰Musgrave, *Society and Education*, 6.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²Wardle, *English Popular Education*, 63.

⁵³*Ibid.*

Sunday School's Distinct Purpose

As Sunday School became increasingly separated from mass education, and thus, solely a program of the church, its purpose became specifically religious. Laqueur noted that by the 1830s, “regular, diligent and religiously inspired words by teachers, free from the onerous duties of secular instruction, was what was needed to make Sunday Schools religiously useful.”⁵⁴ Two denominations published articles around this time supporting Laqueur’s observation. *The Baptist Magazine* reported, “The main purpose of Sunday School instruction was to lead children to a knowledge of themselves as sinners and to show them the need of a Savior,”⁵⁵ and the *Methodist New Connexion Magazine* proposed that Sunday Schools were “institutions intended to convert and save the souls of children.”⁵⁶

As the movements of Sunday School and mass education progressed, an important difference became obvious. Taylor explains, “Strictly speaking, the secular school limits itself to the preparation of the child for performing the functions of the life that now is, while the Bible or Sunday School has always striven to prepare it both for the present life and the life that is to come.”⁵⁷ This notable deviation between the approaches of the two different institutions is key to their coexistence. Moreover, the acceptance of both entities is of interest. Cliff makes an interesting observation when he notes that in “the Sunday School world there is a lag of about thirty years between the words of the change-agent, and its acceptance as the grass roots; There is Raikes of 1780 and general acceptance of Sunday Schools by 1810.”⁵⁸ Sunday School’s gained acceptance in that

⁵⁴Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 168.

⁵⁵“To Sabbath School Teachers,” *The Baptist Magazine* 24 (January 1832): 387.

⁵⁶“Our Sabbath Schools: The Query of ‘Aliquis,’” *The Methodist New Connexion Magazine and Evangelical Repository* 13 (March 1845): 176.

⁵⁷Taylor, “The Relation of The Sunday-School to the Public School,” 186.

⁵⁸Phillip B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England: 1780-1980* (Cambridge: University Press, 1986), 236.

thirty-year period was possibly connected to the growing realization that religious education was a necessity for the church and for a nation seeking some semblance of morality.

Conclusion

Sunday School was one early catalyst of a mass national education system in England. While this was perhaps unintentional, it exposed a need and a possible way to address the need. More and more people recognized the availability of education to all children as Sunday School grew. Many understood the fact that Sunday School's focus should remain on religious education and the saving of souls, which resulted in separate paths for Sunday School and mass education. However, Sunday School's contribution to the beginning of mass education cannot be dismissed. J. F. Kitto highlights Sunday School's impact in his address to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the centennial celebration of Sunday School in 1880:

It is very difficult for us in this day accurately to estimate the effect which has been produced upon our nation by the attention which was so forcibly directed at that time [1780-the beginning of Sunday School] to the necessity of the education of the young. We believe that it is scarcely too much to say that the system of national elementary education which has been called into existence during the last hundred years owes its origin in great measure to the preserving efforts of those who were instrumental in the foundation of Sunday Schools.⁵⁹

These remarks, alongside similar views from the same period, convey the importance of Sunday School and its impact on education. Orchard notes that even though mass education may find its beginnings in the Sunday School, as it grew it greatly impacted the function of Sunday School:

The provision of universal elementary education in the late nineteenth century removed the child's capacity to work six days a week and left only further education for the voluntary church movements, or extended Christian education whose object was formational, even catechetical.⁶⁰

⁵⁹The Church of England Sunday School Institute, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report* (London 1880-1881), 47.

⁶⁰Stephen Orchard, "From Catechism Class to Sunday School," in *The Sunday School*

Interestingly, the rise of mass education impacted the purpose and function of Sunday School.

This chapter traced the relationship of Sunday School to mass education and examined how the rise of mass education created a directional change to the purpose of Sunday School. Sunday School initially provided a glimpse into how a concentrated effort toward educating the masses could impact society. This glimpse revealed the need, in the country of England, for educating the masses, especially those in the lower and middle classes. Mass education began with voluntary attendance in England, but was made mandatory by education acts in the late nineteenth century.⁶¹ As mass education took on the responsibility of general secular education, Sunday School focused more on religious education, which allowed Sunday School to become more narrow in scope and useful to the church, which ultimately resulted in Sunday School's inclusion into the church.

Movement: Studies in the Growth and Decline of Sunday Schools, ed. Stephen Orchard and John H. Y. Briggs (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), 16.

⁶¹Wardle, *English Popular Education*, 170.

CHAPTER 4
THE IMPACT OF GRATUITOUS TEACHING
ON SUNDAY SCHOOL

Many different teaching approaches and arrangements were utilized when Sunday Schools first began. Edwin Rice argues, “Contrary to the representations of the early biographers of Raikes (Lloyd, Power, Gregory, Pray, and others), and contrary to the popular notion, it has been clearly shown by Raikes’ latest biographers that Raikes applied the voluntary principle from the first.”¹ Rice incorrectly does not include teachers, but does admit that payment was disbursed in the Sunday School. Rice continues,

The paid mistress or master of Raikes’ schools was a superintendent. The strictly class teachers were unpaid, and voluntary examiners or supervisors, appointed or selected by Raikes, visited the schools to see that the instruction was given according to his wishes and to those of the supporters of the enterprise.²

Rice’s stance that teachers were voluntary from the beginning is vague even in his own writing. In *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917*, Rice himself quotes J. Henry Harris’s work, *The Story of Robert Raikes for the Young*, which states, “[t]he paid teacher at first was responsible for the good behavior, cleanliness, and ability of the children to read and report their lessons.”³ Rice does, however, record accurately the importance of the transition from paid positions to volunteer Sunday School positions.⁴

¹Edwin Wilbur Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917 and the American Sunday-School Union 1817-1917* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1917), 17.

²Ibid.

³J. Henry Harris, *The Story of Robert Raikes for the Young* (Philadelphia: The American Sunday-School Union, 1900), 50.

⁴Rice writes, “The most important step in the founding of the system, therefore, was the replacing of the paid mistress or the paid master by voluntary masters, superintendents, and teachers.

While Rice's view was worth noting, Alfred Gregory presents a more supported perspective: "The teachers in those early schools were most of them paid for their labors at the rate of one shilling per Sunday."⁵ Gregory notes that Raikes' work began with the employment of four teachers: "Mr. Raikes and the Rev. T. Stock went to Mr. King's house, and engaged the services of Mrs. King as the first teacher, at a salary of Is.6d. per Sunday of which sum Mr. Raikes contributed a shilling and Mr. Stock, sixpence."⁶ In a letter that clarifies the situation, Raikes writes, "Within four years the paid teacher was beginning to pass from the scene and the voluntary teacher generally accepted. However, from the very beginning monitors over the classes and voluntary workers were unpaid."⁷ Henry Clay Trumbull also records that the very first teachers of Raikes' schools were paid for instructing children, and Sunday School leaders later secured voluntary teachers.⁸

The fact that teachers and overseers received compensation on some level for a period of time is pertinent to the movement of Sunday School. The utilization of volunteers was one of the most important aspects of Sunday School's growth. The predominant viewpoint concerning the gradual shift from paid teachers to gratuitous teachers is charted in this chapter. Through tracing the adjustments of Sunday School's structure and examining outside forces, this chapter proves that the movement from paid

Raikes had used voluntary class teachers from the first, he had paid the mistress partly for rent and partly for supervision." Rice, *The Sunday School Movement 1780-1917*, 17.

⁵Alfred Gregory, *Robert Raikes: Journalist and Philanthropist, A History of the Origin of Sunday-Schools* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1881), 65.

⁶Ibid., 64.

⁷"Original Letter from Robert Raikes to Mr. Harris, Chelsea, England," in Lewis G. Pray, *The History of Sunday School and of Religious Education From the Earliest of Times* (Boston: W. M. Crosby and H. P. Nichols, 1847), 127; and John Carroll Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools: A Biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox* (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1863), 144-47.

⁸Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Origin and Expansion of the Sunday School* (Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1906), 119, 123.

to gratuitous teachers greatly influenced Sunday School's inclusion into the church.

Progression of Sunday School's Structure

At the outset of the Sunday School movement, workers were paid to host and teach. Raikes, in a letter dated November 25, 1783, writes, "To receive as many children as I should send upon the Sunday, whom they are to instruct in reading and in the church catechism. For this I engaged to pay them each a shilling for their day's employment."⁹ This engagement was a major building block in the foundation of the Sunday School movement initiated by Raikes. Thomas Laqueur explains,

Between 1780 and 1800 the middle class dominated interdenominational Sunday Schools, and some country schools run by the parish priest drew their instructors mostly from ordinary weekday school teachers who were supplemented by the services of 'decent laboring men, warehousemen and other irreproachable character' hired for the occasion.¹⁰

In 1888, Trumbull notes that the first volunteer Sunday School teacher began in 1785, in Bolton, England.¹¹ He states that this first mention of volunteer teaching was generally accepted as fact. There is, however, another claim regarding the origin of voluntary teaching. In 1880, Sir Charles Reed claims the first teacher to instruct voluntarily was found in Oldham.¹² Though there is some discrepancy regarding the origin and date of voluntary teaching, these two cases provide an approximate time frame.

The progression of Sunday School brought excitement and challenges. Laqueur notes that in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, Sunday School had grown large enough to "develop communal identity" and needed a "formal

⁹Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 50.

¹⁰Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850* (London: Yale University Press, 1976), 91.

¹¹Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Sunday-School: Its Origin, Mission, Methods, and Auxiliaries* (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles, 1888), 119.

¹²Ibid.

organizational structure.”¹³ The growth of Sunday School attendance is difficult to evaluate in the early years due to the lack of records. However, by 1818, it is estimated that nearly a half million children attended Sunday School in England and Wales.¹⁴ Furthermore, by 1851, it is estimated that this figure grew to approximately 2.4 million children in England and Wales.¹⁵ The Sunday School Union included 2,019 affiliated Sunday Schools in 1819. Due to this increase in volume, that number rose to 7,842 schools in 1835.¹⁶ Sunday School’s development and expansion required more overseers and teachers in order to maintain growth and serve more children.

One approach Sunday School took to address this challenge was enlisting former students as teachers. Special training was provided for those who sought this route.¹⁷ As more children were engaged and the need for teachers increased, these graduates filled an important role. Wardle identifies, “It was the use of amateur teachers, which became general after the early years of the movement, which allowed Sunday Schools to attain a pupil-teacher ratio immensely better than any other nineteenth-century educational institution.”¹⁸ This use of amateur teachers helped fulfill the necessary quota, but may have inadvertently lowered the quality of teaching in the Sunday Schools.

Sunday School’s expansion eventually reached a financial breaking point. According to Rice, “Experience soon proved that even the paid mistress and master made

¹³Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 63.

¹⁴Kenneth Morgan, *The Birth of Industrial Britain: Social Change, 1750-1850* (London: Pearson Longman, 2004), 54.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 38.

¹⁷Ibid., 92.

¹⁸David Wardle, *English Popular Education 1780-1915* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 162.

the system expensive and tended to limit its usefulness.”¹⁹ Gregory concurs, “One of the greatest hindrances to the progress of the Sunday-school system was the expense of hiring teachers, whom it was the custom to pay from one schilling to two schillings each per Sunday for their services.”²⁰ From 1786 to 1800, the Society for the Establishment of Sunday Schools expended \$4,000 (roughly the equivalent of \$73,000 in 2017)²¹ in the payment of teachers.²² In that same span of years, the Sunday School Society alone paid upwards of \$17,000 (roughly \$309,000 in 2017) for hired teachers.²³ Cliff notes, “The payment of wages was an annual expense, and led to the closure of some schools when funds began to dry up around 1800. Payment affected the whole approach to the work.”²⁴ Due to the amount of fundraising necessary to sustain this system, Sunday School proponents began seeking other ways to compensate teachers without stifling the growth of schools.

The many committees, societies, and unions were not able to raise enough financial support to pay the required number of teachers. John Carroll Power records the story of Mr. Gurney, a young man, nineteen years of age, who, along with three of his friends, set the example for gratuitous teaching by volunteering their services in a struggling Sunday School: “The results of these efforts was to convince all who saw them that the voluntary system of instruction by those who hearts were interested in the welfare

¹⁹Rice, *The Sunday School Movement 1780-1917*, 17.

²⁰Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 97.

²¹United States Department of Labor, “CPI Inflation Calculator,” accessed October 27, 2017, https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.

²²Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 97.

²³Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 167.

²⁴Phillip B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England: 1780-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 57.

of the children was the only true way of conducting Sunday Schools.”²⁵ In 1803, these three men started the London Sunday School Union.²⁶ Power also notes, “The early movement for gratuitous teachers gained such strength that in 1794, of thirty employed in the Stockport school, twenty-four were rendering their services for free.”²⁷

Unavoidable Transition to Gratuitous Teaching

The inescapable transition to gratuitous teaching reached its apex in the early nineteenth century. Cliff identified a major event guiding the direction toward gratuitous teaching in *The Oeconomy of Charity*, written in 1787 by Sarah Trimmer.²⁸ This book disclosed Queen Charlotte’s concept of opening a school in Windsor that allowed passionate lay people an outlet to use their services.²⁹ This approach led ultimately to the Manchester Committee speaking of a respectable class of people coming forward to teach on a voluntary basis.³⁰ Pray states, “By 1800 the voluntary system of gratuitous teaching had gradually made its way into favor, and from this time forth, having become general, the only material impediment to their complete success had been finally removed.”³¹ Once this hindrance had been removed, it encouraged denominations to ensure the continuation of gratuitous teaching. John Wesley notes,

In the year 1802 the leaders in the Methodist Sunday Schools in London formed a committee for the purpose of corresponding with the ‘Friends of Sunday Schools’

²⁵Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 186.

²⁶Ibid., 187.

²⁷Ibid., 190.

²⁸Sarah Trimmer, *The Oeconomy of Charity* (London: Bye and Law, 1787).

²⁹Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 57.

³⁰A. P. Wadsworth, “The First Manchester Sunday Schools,” in *Essays in Social History*, ed. M. W. Flinn and T. C. Smout (Oxford, England, 1974), 100-122.

³¹Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 167.

with a view of promoting the plan of establishing schools on the basis of gratuitous teaching only, throughout the kingdom.³²

Laqueur echoed this sentiment in his notation that voluntary teachers replaced paid teachers around the year 1800.³³

Lack of resources was a major factor that contributed to Sunday School's inevitable adoption of volunteer teaching. Power records,

By the year 1805, gratuitous teaching prevailed in nearly or quite all the schools—hence we find that in their proceedings of that year, they decided that as the Society was without any permanent income except about five hundred pounds, they would no longer continue the practice of paying teachers.³⁴

Furthermore, the teaching arrangements were adjusted in Raikes' hometown five years later: Gregory explains, "In 1810, about twelve months before Raikes' death, unpaid teaching was made general in Gloucester."³⁵ This decision removed a hindrance that could have halted the momentum of Sunday School.

The transition of the Sunday School teacher from a paid role to a voluntary position impacted the direction of Sunday School instruction as a whole. Raikes writes, "The work of Sunday School as a religious agency passed into other hands whose work was purely voluntary."³⁶ The purpose of teaching in Sunday School changed; a passion to teach was celebrated. Raikes indicates, "The reason for the transition from paid to voluntary workers seems to have occurred when the school passed from a secular to a religious agency."³⁷ The movement from paid to gratuitous teaching, and the shift in

³²John Wesley, ed., *The Methodist Magazine for the Year 1802* (London: Methodist Conference Office, 1802), 388-90; and Addie Grace Wardle, *The History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1918), 26.

³³Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 83.

³⁴Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 191.

³⁵Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 98.

³⁶"Original Letter from Robert Raikes to Mr. Harris, Chelsea, England," in Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 144-47.

³⁷*Ibid.*

purpose from secular to religious, coincided and had an equal impact on one another. Gregory states, “There can, however, be no doubt that the work received an immense impetus from the introduction of gratuitous teaching.”³⁸ It is undeniable that the denominations and dissenters began to form Sunday Schools with volunteer teachers, many housed inside church buildings. Samuel Leigh’s *New Picture of London* describes the teaching predicament of Sunday School as

an association of gratuitous teachers, who instruct between forty and fifty thousand children in London every Sunday, and who perform the labour from a sense of duty, they do it much better, generally speaking, than paid teachers; but if they were paid only 2s. for each Sunday, which would be very humble pay, considerably about 20,000 [pounds] per annum would be required for salaries alone!³⁹

As churches began to claim more of the ministry of Sunday Schools, the ministers and clergy became overseers and vision casters. The transition to volunteer teachers did not come without obstacles. One of the major concerns centered on who would have a voice in shaping the direction and structure of Sunday School. Laqueur acknowledges, “To meet the demand for education they would have to secure large numbers of lay teachers who would almost certainly demand some voice in the operation of the school and threaten to usurp some of the functions of the clergyman himself.”⁴⁰ This concern was valid for the church because of its biblical mandate to make disciples. Including too many different perspectives could result in a loss of clear direction.

The change from paid to gratuitous teaching was not an overnight adjustment, and at times it was intentionally slowed. Laqueur explains,

The reluctance of some Churchmen to give the lay-dominated Sunday School a free hand is reflected by the fact that in 1851 twelve percent of the Church’s teaching force still consisted of paid teachers who were far less independent than their voluntary counterparts and were only minimally identified with the school.⁴¹

³⁸Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 98.

³⁹Samuel Leigh, *Leigh’s New Picture of London* (London: Bladwin and Cradock, 1820), 250.

⁴⁰Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 74.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 76.

With payment came the ability of the clergy, or others in charge, to provide direction for those paid to teach. While this hurdle was eventually addressed, and volunteers came under the leadership of the church, this slow phase out of payment did allow for some guidance toward a religious purpose.

Altered Teaching Arrangements Due to Government Provisions for Mass Education

As state-sponsored education began, government provisions altered teaching arrangements. The training and recruitment of teachers changed due to government rules and laws. Rice identifies, “Joseph Lancaster’s monitorial system enjoyed only a small time of popularity because it was ‘necessarily cured since it must use untrained teachers,’ however, it did improve and extend the plan of unpaid or voluntary teaching in Sunday-schools.”⁴² The attractiveness of this student to teacher ratio, combined with the proximity of the teachers of Sunday School, provided a different experience for the students. Laqueur records, “Sunday School classes were small and instruction adjusted to the individual; publicly provided schools reduced the child to a small cog in a great and impersonal education machine.”⁴³ As the differences grew between Sunday School and public education, the need for both institutions became more apparent. In *Educational and Social Movements: 1780-1850*, A. E. Dobbs notes, “The Sunday school seems to have afforded the teacher a more general opportunity for exercising a personal influence than was possible in the large classes of a day school under the monitorial system.”⁴⁴

With the inception of mass education, the number of children engaged in primary education rose drastically. According to Peter Yeandle, “Between 1870 and 1895

⁴²Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917*, 25.

⁴³Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 160.

⁴⁴A. E. Dobbs, *Education and Social Movements: 1700-1850* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1919), 154.

the number of certified teachers increased from approximately 12,000 to 53,000 and to 114,000 by 1900 if one includes those who had not studied for their certificate.”⁴⁵

Certification was a process of training and observation, one could teach as long as they were working to complete all the requirements.⁴⁶ As mass education and teaching requirements both increased, those teachers who desired to teach school subjects gravitated toward the compulsory educational schools, while those who sought to voluntarily teach for the purpose of religion remained with the Sunday Schools.

Compulsory education by the government led to more control of the teachers who taught in their schools. The career of teaching became a recognized profession, and a gap was created between those who voluntarily taught and those who were trained and paid for their services. Michael Apple reveals,

The elementary school teachers seemed to view themselves as having risen above the working class, if not having reached the middle class . . . clearly, the varied attempts of elementary teachers to professionalize constituted an attempt to raise their class position from an interstitial one between the working class and middle class to the solidly middle class position of a profession.⁴⁷

The transition of trained and paid teachers toward mass education made it possible for voluntary teachers to fill roles in Sunday School for religious purposes.

Conclusion

Even though different perspectives exist, a clear majority of writers believe Sunday School began with paid teachers and later transitioned to voluntary, or gratuitous, teachers. The most obvious issue for this evolution was the expense of hiring teachers. The number of paid teachers needed to keep pace with the growth of Sunday School

⁴⁵Peter Yeandle, *Citizenship, Nation, Empire: The Politics of History Teaching in England, 1870-1930* (Manchester, England: Manchester Press, 2015), 27.

⁴⁶Hugh Owen, *The Elementary Education Acts, 1870, 1873, 1874, & 1876, with Introduction, Notes, and Index* (London: Knight and Co., 1879), 373.

⁴⁷Michael W. Apple, *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education* (London: Routledge, 1988), 213.

made recruitment and payment difficult. Another factor that impacted the shift in teaching approach was the government's involvement in mass education. The money made available by the government, in connection with the requirements for teaching, adjusted the purpose of the Sunday Schools. Last, the transition to voluntary teachers impacted the level of lay service provided by the church—members of the church could now find places to serve in the Sunday Schools.

The revised purpose of Sunday School naturally resulted in the church enlisting those who felt led to teach religious education. Raikes in a letter wrote that “the employment of paid teachers and gradual supervision by voluntary teachers has, not unnaturally, given rise to popular misconception. The most important, indeed vital, working principle of the Sunday School, was from the first voluntaryism.”⁴⁸ From the beginning of the Sunday School organization, the work of volunteers was necessary, even though teachers were initially paid. Geo Richard writes,

The Sunday-school has made room for the layman, and affords opportunity for the exercise of his gifts. We may even pass beyond the Church and trace the influence of Sunday School in the social and political order. It is acknowledged by historians that it prompted and promoted public-school education in England.⁴⁹

The church benefited because laymen continued to volunteer for roles in Sunday School.

Cliff records,

The teachers continued to come from the churches. From 1880 to 1903, an average of 81.5%, with a low of 74% and a high of 89%, were teachers from the membership of the respective churches. Similarly, an average of 82%, with a low of 73%, and a high of 91%, had been former scholars.⁵⁰

⁴⁸“Original Letter from Robert Raikes to Mrs. Harris, Chelsea, England,” in Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917*, 438.

⁴⁹Geo W. Richards, “An Historic View of the Sunday School,” in *The Development of the Sunday-School 1780-1905, 1905*, ed. W. N. Hartshorn, George Merrill, and Marion Lawrance (Boston: The Fort Hill Press, 1905), 143.

⁵⁰Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement*, 182.

Pray notes, “In one Sunday School Union, that of Newcastle, England, of 2,242 teachers, 872 had been taught in their schools; and 1,290 were members of Christian churches.”⁵¹

The previous chapter of this project noted mass education’s impact on Sunday School, and vice versa. Mass education influenced not only the subjects taught, but also those enlisted to teach them. Beginning in the 1870s, the new, primarily religious, focus of Sunday School provided direction for instruction. When the 1851 census was completed, there were 2.4 million children on the books of Sunday School, and on the day of the census 1.8 million were in attendance.⁵² Mann points out that the teachers in the Sunday School had a major influence on their children.⁵³ John Lawson and Harold Silver explain, “The motive was, in fact, a blend of Christian mission and the need to provide a simple level of care for the most deprived children, if education was possible at all.”⁵⁴ Although the motives were understood and generally accepted as altruistic, some believed the lack of trained teachers in the Sunday School was a disadvantage. Owen Chadwick notes the perspective that “the better trained teachers of the day school were now seen by children or parents to contrast with the untrained teachers of the Sunday School.”⁵⁵ From an educational perspective, an untrained volunteer might be ineffective in Sunday School, but from a religious perspective, this arrangement made the institution viable.

⁵¹Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 241.

⁵²George Graham, *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship in England and Wales, Abridged from the Official Report made by Horace Mann* (London: George Routledge and Company, 1854), 147.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 69.

⁵⁴John Lawson and Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* (London: Routledge, 1973), 279.

⁵⁵Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church Part Two: 1860-1901* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1987), 192.

The lasting effect of volunteerism on Sunday School is obvious upon examination of its continued expansion and closer alignment with the church. A report by the West London Auxiliary accounts, “It is most gratifying to know that nearly 300,000 teachers are giving themselves to the work each returning Sabbath; and that the staff of teachers is constantly recruiting from among the senior Scholars.”⁵⁶ This adjustment to Sunday School work produced satisfying results. Power explains, “Gratuitous teachers were raised up, and in a few schools, such as Stockport, hired teachers were early dispensed with. I am not informed of a single instance where the plan gratuitous teaching was tried, that they returned to the pay system.”⁵⁷ Rice favorably writes, “This feature of wholly voluntary instruction and management adapted the Sunday School to the needs of poor communities and parishes, and aided in its remarkable spread through Great Britain.”⁵⁸ The advancement provided by gratuitous teaching ultimately abetted Sunday School an important place in history.

The adjustment of Sunday School’s structure was a major factor that contributed to its inclusion in the church. This chapter indicated that the movement away from paid teachers was one of the most influential structure changes. Sunday School’s adoption by the church created a place of service for members of the church, an avenue of continual resources, and the opportunity for church oversight. Sunday School’s eventual incorporation into the church benefitted both institutions.

⁵⁶“A School with Two Thousand Scholars,” *The Sunday School Teacher’s Magazine* 6 (January 1855): 503.

⁵⁷Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 184.

⁵⁸Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917*, 18.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The movement of Sunday School is multifaceted. The compassionate intent of Sunday School's beginning, combined with the effort to continue the effectiveness of the institution, make for an interesting historical unfolding. Even though Sunday School did not begin as a ministry of the church, its usefulness was recognized relatively quickly.

The Sunday School Repository or Teachers' Magazine contains the following,

If then, God has, by means of the Sunday School, placed the religious education of the bulk of the nation's childhood within the grasp of the Church, and if by the same means he has demonstrated that the sequence of their religious education may be the conversion of the children, is it not clear that God is seeking by the Sunday School to teach his Church that the time has arrived in which she should seek to evangelize the nation by specific, patient endeavors to convert its childhood?¹

This question presents the realization that the church took advantage of the opportunity in its path. This project attempted to fill a portion of the literature gap regarding Sunday School's transition from society to the church. While the works by Laqueur and Cliff have excelled at tracing the movement of Sunday School, they have not provided direct focus on the factors that contributed to the incorporation of Sunday School into the church. Their works, along with many others, provided insight and facts that were invaluable to this project. Many of the documents written by previous scholars have been connected in order to provide a focused perspective on one specific movement within Sunday School's long journey. Although this is not an exhaustive work, it adds depth to the literature concerning mass education and the transition to gratuitous teaching within Sunday School.

¹"The Great Lesson the Sunday School Is Teaching to the Church," *The Sunday School Repository or Teachers' Magazine* 1 (October 1814): 176.

The Movement of Sunday School

Although difficult to quantify, many of the opportunities made available due to the spread of Sunday School were previously unattainable. Sunday School provided children the ability to read, but it also brought forth other possibilities. A prominent magazine comments regarding the opportunity of Sunday School:

The possibility of the conversion of children in large numbers, is a thought which God has been forcing into the mind of the Church by means of the Sunday School, from its origin until now. Yet the thought was not born with the institution. Its founder had no conception of it. All Raikes proposed to do was to teach the children to read, and give them some knowledge of the Catechism. But afterward, Mr. Wesley, that sagacious man, saw beyond his compeers, into the possibilities of this new institution.²

Sunday School's ability to impact the secular realm in addition to the religious, while initially overlooked, did come to fruition.

The evolution of Sunday School is well summarized by Gerald Knoff in *The World Sunday School Movement: The Story of a Broadening Mission*. He states, "Sunday Schools changed from 'ragged schools,' to Bible schools for children, and then to religious schools for persons of all ages."³ The number of Sunday Schools and the number of scholars continued to increase in the 1880s.⁴ Sunday School's prosperity decelerates at some point, but the time period reviewed for this project records Sunday School's status as healthy. The significance of Sunday School's creation is obvious when considering two lasting results: Sunday School became a significant ministry of the church, and Sunday School initiated the beginning of mass education.

²Ibid.

³Gerald E. Knoff, *The World Sunday School Movement: The Story of a Broadening Mission* (New York: Seabury, 1979), 2.

⁴Edwin Wilbur Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917 and the American Sunday-School Union 1817-1917* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1917), 33.

Lasting Impact of Mass Education on Sunday School

Sunday School's original purpose, as discussed in this project, was not purely religious. Originally, the goal of Sunday School was to teach reading and basic social skills, introduce religious instruction, and encourage church attendance. Sunday School's purpose, however, did not remain vague and highly inclusive. As mass education grew in popularity, Sunday School was free to focus exclusively on religious instruction. Before this stricter focus, there were numerous debates regarding the degree to which religious education would be included in the teaching; religious instruction was largely excluded. Once Sunday schools modified their focus, they became widely regarded for their contribution to religious education. Author explains,

Whatever differences may exist with regard to the religious power of the religious instruction given in day schools, there is none concerning the great service which has been rendered by the religious instruction given in Sunday Schools to the moral and religious life of the nation.⁵

This religious teaching consisted of biblical instruction, church behavior, and gospel presentation.

The structures of mass education and Sunday School became distinctly different. The realization that education required more than once-a-week meetings set mass education apart immediately. Mass education became compulsory in the late nineteenth century, while Sunday School attendance remained voluntary.⁶ The mandatory attendance of mass education did not have a major adverse effect on the attendance in Sunday Schools.⁷ Sunday School's voluntary attendance allowed its programming to function distinctly with the church's purpose in mind. The *Elementary Education Acts* reported that mass education and Sunday School impacted each other favorably. Education teachers were

⁵*Elementary Education Acts: Final Report of The Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Elementary Education Acts, in England and Wales* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888), 298.

⁶Laurence Brockliss and Nicola Sheldon, *Mass Education and the Limits of State Building: 1870-1930* (London: Macmillan, 2012), 65.

⁷*Elementary Education Acts*, 297.

allotted time to teach subjects such as writing, math, and reading, while Sunday School teachers were only able to spend around three hours on Sunday teaching these subjects.⁸ Likewise, Sunday School teachers were now free to study their lessons comprehensively and, as Palmer states, “In some cases be as competent and in some cases more successful in giving a Sunday School lesson than a trained teacher belonging to the day school.”⁹

Within the two institutions, methods of enlistment and requirements of teachers differed. The effects of these varied teaching arrangements are reviewed later in this chapter, but it is sufficient to state that mass education provided a different teaching experience than did the Sunday School. In his article in *The Wesleyan Sunday School Magazine and Educational Journal*, John Clulow notes this conviction: “The writer does not hesitate to avow his conviction that the highest results of the whole arrangement (Sunday School), the religious effects of the school, as a whole would mainly depend on the proper selection of the teacher for these more important classes.”¹⁰ Teaching religious subjects, as opposed to secular subjects, required a distinct level of devotion.

The curriculum of mass education was broader than that of Sunday School. Mass education curriculum focused on the practical arts of math, reading, and writing.¹¹ In its initial structure, Sunday School included reading and writing, but as mass education took over those responsibilities, Sunday School gradually began to focus on biblical knowledge. This change in curriculum occurred around the middle of the nineteenth century¹² and eventually led to a uniform curriculum of Sunday School lessons.¹³

⁸Elementary Education Acts, 298.

⁹John Palmer, *The Sunday School: Its History and Development* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co: 1880), 45.

¹⁰“The Rev. J. Clulow’s Report,” *The Wesleyan Sunday School Magazine and Educational Journal* 1 (May 1866): 100.

¹¹Petra Munro Hendry, *Engendering Curriculum History* (London: Routledge, 2011), 102.

¹²Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850* (London: Yale University Press, 1976), 250.

The Sunday School not only drew nearer to the church in purpose and ministry usefulness, but also in the realm of physical location and resources. As the church recognized Sunday School as a vital ministry, it began to devise ways for the ministry to continue within the church building. As the location of Sunday School changed, so did its finances, which were now supported by the church's budget. This financial responsibility was a major step in the joining of forces between the Sunday School and the church. The church's adoption of Sunday School was key to the survival of Sunday School. The movement of Sunday School into the church resulted in its newfound purpose, altered structure, change in physical location, and provision of resources by the church.

Lasting Impact of Gratuitous Teaching on Sunday School

In *The Work of the Sunday School*, Ray Harker reminds readers that teachers were initially paid, and these payments limited the spread and permanence of Sunday School.¹⁴ Gratuitous teaching catapulted Sunday School forward in significance, prominence, and steadfastness. *The Sunday School Repository* denotes the fact that

if we were asked whose name stood next to that of Robert Raikes in the annals of Sunday Schools, we should say the person who first came forward and voluntarily proffered his exertions, his time, and his talents to the instruction of the young and the poor; since an imitation of his example has been the great cause of the present flourishing state of these institutions, and of all that future additional increase which may be reasonably anticipated.¹⁵

The adjustment of teachers from paid employees to volunteers aided in altering the mindset that refocused the purpose of Sunday School to that of a higher calling rather than just academic education. While the quality of teaching, from an educational perspective, may have suffered when Sunday School teachers ceased to be paid, the

¹³Lars P. Qualben, *A History of the Christian Church* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1933), 549.

¹⁴Ray Clarkson Harker, *The Work of the Sunday School: A Manual for Teachers* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1911), 26.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

advantages of dedication and caring far outweighed what might have been lost to the children.

Gratuitous teaching provided a way to maintain and stabilize the student-to-pupil ratio in the church. As mentioned, the cost incurred from paying teachers became overwhelming for the Sunday Schools, as well as their unions and societies. The only way forward was to reduce the cost of operation, and the move to voluntary leadership and teaching was the option of choice. This transition provided for the sustainability of Sunday School and kept the student-to-teacher ratios realistic.

The shift in teaching approach also created an area of service for church members. Palmer advises, “The most practical solution of the difficulty (of finding volunteer teachers) is for the church to give more attention to the training of its lay members for active work, and to put an end to the erroneous notion that it is the business of the clergy to do all the work of Church.”¹⁶ The move to gratuitous teachers came with the realization that not every job in the church required payment, and that lay people were willing and able to serve. As Sunday School progressed from 1870, this became the mainstay of its teachers. As those teachers who desired a professional position migrated toward mass education, those in the church with a passion to see children have a greater knowledge of the Bible filled the void.

The enlistment of church members generated a natural assimilation process for those who grew up in Sunday School. Power praises Sunday Schools when he writes,

It matters not upon what part of the civilized globe you are, you have only to visit the nearest place of worship, on a Sabbath morning, to find in the Sunday School the most durable cenotaph ever erected to man; durable, because susceptible of reproducing itself as it has long since been demonstrated that those who enter these schools as pupils make the most efficient teachers and superintendents.¹⁷

¹⁶Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 78.

¹⁷John Carroll Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools: A Biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox* (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1863), 201.

The reproduction of leadership allowed Sunday School to flourish for a long period of time. When people served out of the gratitude of their hearts, their commitment was based upon something other than monetary gain, which is a stronger dictator of a true calling.

As Sunday School became a more inclusive part of the church's ministry, the structure was altered to allow it to function more effectively in its new home. Sunday School's original organization comprised of one person overseeing a number of small Sunday Schools. Those schools typically included a teacher with a small number of students. As Sunday School grew, it enlisted the help of more overseers, teachers, monitors, and many more scholars. The growth continued, which led to the development of unions and societies for Sunday School guidance and funding. When Sunday School transitioned into the church, clergy became the overseers, teachers were predominantly church members and volunteers, monitors were Sunday School graduates, and scholars were taught the Bible and other religiously relevant topics. Instead of the Bible being used as a reading and writing textbook, its lessons were taught to the children.

Mass education moved Sunday School in a direction of viability for the church. At times during its journey, Sunday School was an institution searching for a reason to continue, and this reason was provided by mass education. As mass education became a requirement for children in England, it left Sunday School without the burden of providing general education, and instead gave it the freedom to teach only religious education. Gratuitous teaching provided Sunday School the opportunity to be a significant ministry of the church. Rice agrees: "Voluntary instruction with unpaid teachers, the use of the Bible as a textbook, and the economical character of the Sunday School movement made its expansion phenomenal, in Great Britain as elsewhere."¹⁸ This tightened focus made Sunday School very practical for the church.

¹⁸Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 37.

Conclusion

Despite the difficulties Sunday School had to overcome, it remains a significant part of church and educational history. In *The Sunday School: Its History and Development*, John Palmer records the number of positive press comments Sunday School received at its centennial celebration:

The Times considered that the Sunday School had “changed the face of the country.” And that few people, of even a university education, could take up an ordinary Sunday School manual without learning something, and having his interest excited to some new field of inquiry.” The Spectator wrote: “Sunday Schools, to us, appear to be among the very few solidly good institutions which the ‘religious world’ has succeeded in establishing.” The Saturday Review admitted that the “movement set on foot by Raikes was a most praiseworthy, and has proved on the whole a very beneficial, one.” The Daily News asserted that it was “impossible to over-estimate the extent of our obligation to Sunday Schools.” Amongst the church papers, the Guardian contended that the Sunday School needed “considerable extension both of scope and power,” and that “it would be a fatal error to allow the Sunday School work, so well begun by English churchmen, to pass entirely into other hands.” The Rock gave the movement its support from the commencement; while the Record, taking a survey of the speeches made at the principle meetings during the week of the Centenary, stated that, “the proceedings had been thoroughly sound and healthy in tone. The great movement, whose origin it commemorates, has been spoken of in no doubtful or hesitating terms; while among the trumpets that have been blown, the signal of advance has been sounded clear and full.”¹⁹

The positive feelings in these sentiments reveal the impact Sunday School had on education and the church. The institution should long be remembered for the development and furtherance of education and religious knowledge.

Additional data confirms the continued growth and sustained presence of the Sunday School institution throughout history. Rice notes,

A parliamentary census of England and Wales, in 1818, gave 5,463 Sunday Schools, with 477,225 scholars. A like census in 1833 put the membership at 1,548,890. An educational census of England and Wales in 1851 gave the number in Sunday Schools at 2,407,642 and this was 260,000 more than could then be found in the public and private schools of those countries. The centenary of Sunday Schools in 1880 placed the number of Sunday Schools in Great Britain at 6,060,667, taught by 674,704 teachers.²⁰

¹⁹Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 86.

²⁰Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 38.

Revealed in these numbers is the fact that, as mass education was becoming a requirement and gaining popularity, Sunday School was still healthy and growing.

The continuance of Sunday School since the nineteenth century depended almost exclusively on the church. Palmer notes, “The strength of the church is centered in the Sunday School, and the success of those opponents who are seeking her humiliation will be in proportion to the interest which churchmen take in promoting the efficiency of their Sunday Schools.”²¹ The raising up of Sunday School’s own teachers allowed for the development of future leaders and provided a way to ensure that expansion was possible if necessary.

This research project reveals several future opportunities and natural applications. From the beginning, Sunday School existed as an educational institution; therefore, a continued emphasis on the exchange of knowledge from teacher to scholar should not be lost. It is imperative that one generation pass biblical knowledge to the next. Sunday School’s structure also presents the necessity for God’s people to use their talents and abilities to serve. A biblical mandate to equip the saints for works of service could partially be fulfilled in the teaching and overseeing of the Sunday School institution. Furthermore, the ability to study God’s Word for self-fulfillment is a skill that can be directly applied through Sunday School.

This study focused primarily on a certain time period and specific country. A further study may examine a similar situation in a different country, possibly the United States. An examination and comparison between the factors that influenced the changes within Sunday School would be enlightening. Because churches were much more accepting of Sunday Schools initially in the US, the factors that influenced Sunday School becoming a church program would most likely differ. In addition, in the United

²¹Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 74.

States, government and mass education were not the significant factors that they were in England, because the two never opposed to each other.

An examination of the development of teaching within the Sunday School would also be interesting. Teachers initially received compensation, but eventually they transitioned to voluntary participants. It would be interesting to examine the changes in teaching arrangements as Sunday School progressed in England. Many works referenced by this study state that the quality of Sunday School instruction suffered as teaching became a voluntary position. A study examining where this was remedied would be of value.

A greater understanding of the incorporation of Sunday School into the church could advance the conversation concerning the future of the institution. Many claim different purposes for Sunday School; some stem from a historical understanding and others from a more recent outlook regarding its usefulness.²² In the closing pages of his book, Laqueur notes, “Sunday Schools provided a new unprecedentedly wide sphere of lay activity within both Anglicanism and Non-conformity.”²³ When this clarity of purpose and provision of workers is understood in connection with Sunday School’s original intentions, the broader knowledge base provided will allow for a more informed decision when determining Sunday School’s usefulness and future trajectory.

²²Many of the histories tracing Sunday School’s genesis and growth communicate the purpose of Sunday School has also been linked to religious education and instruction of the Scriptures. Some would say, although no records document evangelistic decisions, that Sunday School has been, in some ways, responsible for communicating the gospel. Pray states one of the purposes of the Sunday School was to “designed and fitted to enlighten, reform, improve, sanctify, and save the human soul.” Lewis Glover Pray, *The History of Sunday Schools and of Religious Education from the Earliest Times* (Boston: W. M. Crosby and H. P. Nichols, 1847), 238. Likewise, Palmer writes, “But if Churchmen looked with indifference upon the Sunday-School, Nonconformists were not slow to see the importance of the institution, not only as channel for instructing children in the truths of the Gospel, but also for obtaining a continuous supply of Church members; and it is no breach of charity to say that in this way Dissent has enlarged its boundaries, and numbers have been lost to the Church into which they had been baptized.” Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 31. While there is not a clear-cut statement about Sunday School being only about evangelism, there is enough evidence to suggest that certain people at minimum saw the need to communicate the truth of Jesus through this effort.

²³Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 244.

While the scope of this thesis is a specific transition in the history of Sunday School, this information provides insight into the future of the institution. The contributing factors of gratuitous teaching and mass education influenced the direction of Sunday School's mission, which impacted its inclusion into the ministry of the church. These facts are not only relevant to its past, but also to the present and future of Sunday School.

APPENDIX 1

SELECTED EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF SUNDAY SCHOOL

- 1527—Samuel Spear held a religious school on the Lord's Day.
- 1584—Charles Borromeo had a system of religious instruction at his church.
- 1688—Joseph Alliene provided religious instruction for children on Sabbath.
- 1727—Count Zinzendorf provided classes for kids after revival.
- 1735—John Wesley taught children at church in Savannah, GA.
- 1737—John Wesley & George Whitefield created catechism songs for children.
- 1738—Wesleyan Church of England started prayer and bible study.
- 1740—Joseph Bellamy had instruction for children.
- 1748—Methodist Conference ordered that pastors should meet with kids for exhortation.
- 1763—Theophilus Lindsey catechized young people between services.
- 1764—Catherine Carpe established a sort of Sunday School, and read catechisms.
- 1769—Hannah Ball of Wycombe has a school to train children in Scripture.
- 1773—Ferdinand Kindermann established schools in Bohemia.
- 1775—James Heys led boys in his home on Sunday.
- 1778—David Simpson established a Sunday School in Mansfield.
- 1778—Reverend Stock started a Sunday School in Asbury.
- 1779—The Dissenting Minister's Act passed, allowing dissenters to have public and private schools.
- 1780—Religious instruction for Methodist movement in Sunday School is noted.
- 1780—Robert Raikes began his first Sunday School in Gloucester, England.
- 1783—Raikes published info on Sunday School in Gloucester Journal.
- 1784—Birmingham Sunday Schools are started.
- 1785—John Lancaster founded the London Rd. Wesleyan Sunday School in a cellar.
- 1785—Sunday School Society of London formed.
- 1785—Society for the Establishment & Support of Sunday School in Great Britain is created.
- 1786—Sunday School Celebration at parish in Gloucester is directed by Raikes.
- 1787—Carrs Lane Church started Sunday Schools.
- 1788—John Stock claimed responsibility for starting Sunday School.
- 1789—Hannah Moore opened first Sunday Charity School.
- 1797—Sunday Schools established in Germany.
- 1798—Methodist Sunday School Society formed.
- 1800—Gratuitous teaching began to gain favor.
- 1802—Methodists formed committee to start schools with gratuitous teaching only.
- 1803—The Sunday School Union is established.
- 1807—British and Foreign Society is established.
- 1808—Legislation was written on the relation of Sunday Schools to public worship.

1811—Charles of Bala began Sunday Schools for adults in Wales.
1811—Raikes dies & National School Society is established.
1816—John Angel James wrote the Sunday School Teacher's Guide.
1817—Sunday School hours not to interfere with worship.
1817—Methodists made their Sunday Schools strictly religious institutions.
1822—Purpose of Sunday Schools began to change from education to salvation.
1825—8,000 Sunday Schools included in the Sunday School Union.
1827—Methodists fixed Sunday Schools as a catechetical bible school with the goal of salvation.
1827—Sunday School Union was formed.
1828—London Hibernian Society had 750 schools under its care.

APPENDIX 2

NONCONFORMIST RELIEF ACT 1779

This appendix is a copy of the *The Nonconformist Relief Act* (19 Geo. III c. 14). This act brought more relief for dissenting ministers and schoolmasters. This act was important to the beginning of the Sunday School movement. Danby Pickering, *The Statues at Large from Magna Charta to the End of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain* (Cambridge, England: John Archdeacon, 1778), 258-60.

258

Anno decimo nono GEORGII III. C. 44. [1779]

C A P. XLIV.

An act for the further relief of protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters.

Preamble;
reciting the
toleration
act 1 Gul. &
Mar.

WHEREAS, by an act made in the first year of the reign of King William and queen Mary, (intituled, An act for exempting their Majesties protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws,) persons dissenting from the church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, and preachers or teachers of any congregation of dissenting protestants, are required, in order to be entitled to certain exemptions, benefits, privileges, and advantages, to declare their approbation of, and to subscribe, the articles of religion mentioned in the statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, (except as in the said act, made in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, is excepted:) and whereas many such persons scruple to declare their approbation of, and to subscribe, the said articles not excepted as aforesaid: for giving ease to such scrupulous persons in the exercise of religion, may it please your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That every person dissenting from the church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, being a preacher or teacher of any congregation of dissenting protestants, who, if he scruple to declare and subscribe as aforesaid, shall take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration against popery, required by the said act, in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, to be taken, made, and subscribed by protestant dissenting ministers, and shall also make and subscribe a declaration in the words following; *videlicet*,

Protestant
dissenting mi-
nisters, who
shall take the
oaths and sub-
scribe the de-
claration
against popery
required by
the said act,
and shall also
make and sub-
scribe the fol-
lowing decla-
ration,

I A. B. do solemnly declare, in the presence of almighty God, that I am a christian and a protestant, and as such, that I believe that the scriptures of the old and new testament, as commonly received among protestant churches, do contain the revealed will of God; and that I do receive the same as the rule of my doctrine and practice.

shall be intit-
led to all the
privileges
granted by the
toleration act,
and by an act
10 Ann. for
confirming the
same, &c.

shall be, and every such person is hereby declared to be, entitled to all the exemptions, benefits, privileges, and advantages, granted to protestant dissenting ministers by the said act, made in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary; and by an act, made in the tenth year of the reign of Queen Anne, (intituled, An act for preserving the protestant religion, by better securing the church of England, as by law established; and for confirming the toleration granted to protestant dissenters by an act, intituled, An act for exempting their Majesties protestant subjects, dif-

dissenting from the church of *England*, from the penalties of certain laws; and for supplying the defects thereof; and for the further securing the protestant succession, by requiring the practisers of the law in North Britain to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned;) and the justices of the peace at the general session of the peace to be holden for the county or place where any protestant dissenting minister shall live, are hereby required to tender and administer the said last-mentioned declaration to such minister, upon his offering himself to make and subscribe the same, and thereof to keep a register; and such minister shall not give or pay, as a fee or reward to any officer or officers belonging to the court aforesaid, above the sum of sixpence for his or their entry of such minister's making and subscribing the said last-mentioned declaration, and taking the oaths, and making and subscribing the declaration against popery, required by the said act, made in the first year of the reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to be taken, made, and subscribed by protestant dissenting ministers; nor above the sum of sixpence for any certificate thereof to be made out and signed by the officer or officers of the said court; and every such person, qualifying himself as aforesaid, shall be exempted from serving in the militia of this kingdom; and shall also be exempted from any imprisonment, or other punishment, by virtue of an act, made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of King *Charles* the Second, intituled, *An act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating, bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England*; or by an act made in the fifteenth year of the same reign, intituled, *An act for relief of such persons as by sickness, or other impediment, were disabled from subscribing the declaration in the act of uniformity, and explanation of part of the said act*; for preaching or officiating in any congregation of protestant dissenters, for the exercise of religion permitted and allowed by law.

and shall be exempted from serving in the militia, and from any punishment by virtue of the act of uniformity, &c.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no dissenting minister, nor any other protestant dissenting from the church of *England*, who shall take the aforesaid oaths, and make and subscribe the above-mentioned declaration against popery, and the declaration herein-before mentioned, shall be prosecuted in any court whatsoever, for teaching and instructing youth as a tutor or school-master; any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

Dissenters, qualifying themselves as aforesaid, allowed to instruct youth.

III. Provided always, That nothing in this contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to the enabling of any person dissenting from the church of *England* to obtain or hold the mastership of any college or school of royal foundation, or of any other endowed college or school for the education of youth, unless the same shall have been founded since the first year of the reign of their late majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, for the immediate use and benefit of protestant dissenters.

No dissenter to hold the mastership of any college or school of royal foundation, &c.

IV. And whereas it hath been doubted whether the said act, made

The said act in 1 Gul. & Mar.

and this act,
to be deemed
publick acts.

in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, be a publick or private act; be it enacted and declared, That the said act, and also this present act, shall be adjudged, deemed, and taken to be publick acts; and shall be judicially taken notice of as such, by all judges, justices, and other persons whomsoever, without specially pleading them, or either of them.

APPENDIX 3

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT 1870

This appendix offers an excerpt of *The Elementary Education Act*. This act was vital to the beginning of compulsory mass education. The act is lengthy and can be seen in its entirety in *The Elementary Education Act 1870, 33 & 34 Victoria, Chapter 75: Being the Act to Provide Public Elementary Education in England and Wales* (London: William Amer, 1870), 7-9.

CHAP. 75.

An Act to provide for public Elementary Education in
England and Wales. [9th August 1870.]

BE it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows; (that is to say,)

Preliminary.

1. This Act may be cited as "The Elementary Education Act, 1870." Short title.
2. This Act shall not extend to Scotland or Ireland. Extent of Act.
3. In this Act—
The term "metropolis" means the places for the time being within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works under the Metropolis Management Act, 1855 : Definition of terms.

(The rest of this page is blank)

The term "borough" means any place for the time being subject to the Act of the session of the fifth and sixth years of the reign of King William the Fourth, chapter seventy-six, intituled "An Act to provide for the regulation of municipal corporations in England and Wales," and the Acts amending the same :

The term "parish" means a place for which for the time being a separate poor rate is or can be made :

The term "person" includes a body corporate :

The term "Education Department" means "the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education :"

The term "Her Majesty's inspectors" means the inspectors of schools appointed by Her Majesty on the recommendation of the Education Department :

The term "managers" includes all persons who have the management of any elementary school, whether the legal interest in the schoolhouse is or is not vested in them :

The term "teacher" includes assistant teacher, pupil teacher, sewing mistress, and every person who forms part of the educational staff of a school :

The term "parent" includes guardian and every person who is liable to maintain or has the actual custody of any child :

The term "elementary school" means a school or department of a school at which elementary education is the principal part of the education there given, and does not include any school or department of a school at which the ordinary payments in respect of the instruction, from each scholar, exceed ninepence a week :

The term "schoolhouse" includes the teacher's dwelling house, and the playground (if any) and the offices and all premises belonging to or required for a school :

The term "vestry" means the ratepayers of a parish meeting in vestry according to law :

The term "ratepayer" includes every person who, under the provisions of the Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act, 1869, is deemed to be duly rated :

The term "parliamentary grant" means a grant made in aid of an elementary school, either annually or otherwise, out of moneys provided by Parliament for the civil service, intituled 'For public education in Great Britain.'

(I.) LOCAL PROVISION FOR SCHOOLS.

School districts, &c. in schedule.

4. For the purposes of this Act the respective districts, boards, rates and funds, and authorities described in the first schedule to this Act shall be the school district, the school board, the local rate, and the rating authority.

Supply of Schools.

School district to have suffi-

5. There shall be provided for every school district a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools

(as herein-after defined) available for all the children resident in such district for whose elementary education efficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made, and where there is an insufficient amount of such accommodation, in this Act referred to as "public school accommodation," the deficiency shall be supplied in manner provided by this Act.

cient public schools.

6. Where the Education Department, in the manner provided by this Act, are satisfied and have given public notice that there is an insufficient amount of public school accommodation for any school district, and the deficiency is not supplied as herein-after required, a school board shall be formed for such district and shall supply such deficiency, and in case of default by the school board the Education Department shall cause the duty of such board to be performed in manner provided by this Act.

Supply of schools in case of deficiency.

7. Every elementary school which is conducted in accordance with the following regulations shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act; and every public elementary school shall be conducted in accordance with the following regulations (a copy of which regulations shall be conspicuously put up in every such school); namely,

Regulations for conduct of public elementary school.

- (1.) It shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs:
- (2.) The time or times during which any religious observance is practised or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school shall be either at the beginning or at the end or at the beginning and the end of such meeting, and shall be inserted in a time table to be approved by the Education Department, and to be kept permanently and conspicuously affixed in every schoolroom; and any scholar may be withdrawn by his parent from such observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school:
- (3.) The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of Her Majesty's inspectors, so, however, that it shall be no part of the duties of such inspector to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects given at such school, or to examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book:

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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSITION OF SUNDAY SCHOOL FROM SOCIETY-BASED TO CHURCH-BASED IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2017
Chair: Dr. Timothy Paul Jones

This thesis is an examination of Sunday School and the transition of the institution from a society-based program to a church-based program. Primary emphasis is given to Sunday School's placement under church leadership and the change in purpose that impacted Sunday School's functionality. Although there were many contributing factors for this transition, this thesis proposes that two—the rise in wide-spread mass education and the shift from paid to gratuitous teachers—are significant factors which contributed to the shift of Sunday School from society to the church. Religious education became one of the main purposes of Sunday School when it transitioned into the church.

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