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PLACE AND PEDAGOGY: SUNDAY SCHOOL IN THE
EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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PLACE AND PEDAGOGY: SUNDAY SCHOOL IN THE
EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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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.

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PREFACE

The assistance of many people is required to complete this type of work. Dr. Timothy Paul Jones was a wise and gracious supervisor. My cohort was a great source of support and feedback along this journey. Many members of Taylor Memorial Baptist Church provided more help and words of encouragement than I can recall. I am thankful for their prayers during this time.

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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 three important factors that influenced the transition of Sunday School from a society-based organization into an educational 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

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

² Robert Lynn and Elliot 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 supported Sunday School as it moved closer to a program specifically of the church. Rice

³ Barna 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>.

⁴ Ed 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).

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

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 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

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

⁷ Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 17.

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

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

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

¹¹ Addie Grace Wardle 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

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.

Introduction of Dissertation 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

religious instruction.” Addie Grace Wardle, *The History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1918), 15. Lewis 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.

¹² Matthew 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.

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

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 study 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, a change from paid to gratuitous teachers in the nineteenth century, and an innovative use of catechism during the years of the Reformation.

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.”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

In addition to studying the transition of Sunday School as an organization of society to becoming a ministry of the church, and the transition that took place in its purpose, the use of catechesis will also be examined as a form of pedagogy. Catechisms provided both a foundation of core information for children and adults to learn, and a method in which to learn the information and a process for evaluating if the information was being absorbed. The catechism functioned as a restriction to help guide the theological and biblical accuracy of what was being taught. The use of catechisms as they pertain to Sunday Schools in England, and specifically those catechism used leading up to the Reformation, and those used during the Reformation will be examined. These catechisms will be examined as they are assumed to have set the course for catechetical use in Sunday School.

Terminology and Definitions

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

¹⁴ Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 32. Rice continues, “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” (40).

¹⁵ Charles 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.

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

Catechism. Catechism generally can refer to numerous ideas. According to the *Evangelical Dictionary of Christian Education* catechism in “church history evolved to describe three entities: the actual content of religious instruction; the pedagogical process; and eventually, the literature itself, in the form of small tracts and books.”¹⁷ J.I. Packer and Gary Parrett in their book *Grounded in the Gospel* offer this definition surrounding the idea of catechism; “Catechesis is the church’s ministry of grounding and growing God’s people in the Gospel and its implications for doctrine, devotion, duty, and delight.”¹⁸ Packer and Parrett also note that catechism is “often used today to refer to content in some particular printed format; sometimes, another “catchall” word for this form of ministry.”¹⁹ While a proper understanding of catechism is larger and more board, for the purpose of this study catechism as a pedagogical form of oral instruction administered by the church, typically for children and proselytes will be the focus.²⁰ 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.”²¹ The most prominent catechisms used in Sunday School were those of

¹⁷ Michael J. Anthony, Warren S. Benson, Daryl Eldridge, and Julie Gorman, eds., *Evangelical Dictionary of Christian Education* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), s.v. “Catechism,” 111.

¹⁸ J.I. Packer and Garry A Parrett, *Grounded In The Gospel: Building Believers The Old-Fashioned Way* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2010), 29.

¹⁹ Packer and Parrett, *Grounded In The Gospel*, 28.

²⁰ J. McClintock and J. Strong, eds., *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* (New York: Harper, 1891), s.v. “catechism.” Charles 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.”

²¹ Robert Eden, *The Churchman’s Theological Dictionary* (London: John W. Parker, 1845), s.v. “catechism.” John David Trentham has made direct application of these foundation components of catechism to Christian education and life. He applies them as follows: faith and trust expressed in the Apostle’s Creed, hope and life expressed in the Lord’s Prayer, and love and way expressed in the Ten Commandments. Catechism’s sustained influence is evidence of its essentialness as a pedogeological form and curriculum. John David Trentham, “Rejoice in Glorious Hope! Catechetical Reflections for Summertime,” *Christian Education Journal: Research on Educational Ministry* 19 no. 2 (2022): 205.

Isaac Watts and Martin Luther. Some in the Methodist church claim their catechetical classes were “absorbed by the Sunday School.”²² 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.”²³

Thomas Simmons and Henry Nolloth note that before the sixteenth century, the word *catechism* “never meant book, but actual verbal teaching by question and answer; eliciting an ‘echo’ or reply.”²⁴ Some of the earliest forms of catechism, or religious instruction, according to J. Hammond Trumbull, centered on “the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, with or without explanation and comment.”²⁵ For most, the end goal of catechism was not the foundational memorizing of answers, but to know and understand the answers so one could have practical knowledge of Scripture and doctrine.²⁶ Over time, *catechism* referred to many things; however, the majority of references are to a set or body of information that was fundamental in understanding truths of Scripture administered in question and answer format.

Charity schools. Charity schools were not formed for religious education, but for common education for those who otherwise could not afford education.²⁷ 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

²² Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 32.

²³ Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 108.

²⁴ Thomas Simmons and Henry Nolloth, *The Lay Folks’ Catechism* (London: Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1901), xxx.

²⁵ J. Hammond Trumbull, “Catechisms of Old and New England,” *The Sunday School Times*, September 8, 1883, 563.

²⁶ Isaac Watts, *Catechisms: Or, Instructions in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and the History of Scripture* (London: Bible and Crown in the Poultry, 1730), 115.

²⁷ M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1938), 20.

children from their current situation but rather teach them the skills their current circumstances lacked.²⁸ 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 vehicle for “imparting religious instruction to the young.”²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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

²⁸ Mary 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.

²⁹ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 43.

³⁰ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 43.

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.³¹

Sunday School was referred to by different names: church School, Sabbath School, or Sunday School.³² According to Ken Garland in the *Evangelical Dictionary of Christian Education*, Sunday School as recognized today, “had its beginnings in Gloucester, England, in 1780 by a newspaper publisher named Robert Raikes who began a school on Sundays for the children of Gloucester who were working the other six days in local factories spawned by the Industrial Revolution.”³³ Gary Newton notes in the *Evangelical Dictionary of Christian Education* that the early Sunday School was successful for four main reasons: it was mainly led by laypersons, it was characterized by a “nonsectarian and interdenominational emphasis”, it adapted to various contexts, and it gained “national recognition through major benefactors and society leaders.”³⁴ 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 dissertation advances as follows: introduction and overview on the formation 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

³¹ Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Sunday-School: Its Origin, Mission, Methods, and Auxiliaries* (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles, 1888), 3.

³² C. Marshall, “The Sunday School Appreciated by the Working Classes,” *The Church of England Sunday School Quarterly Magazine* 1-2 (1849): 271-78.

³³ Michael J. Anthony, Warren S. Benson, Daryl Eldridge, and Julie Gorman, eds., *Evangelical Dictionary of Christian Education* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), s.v. “Sunday School,” 671.

³⁴ Michael J. Anthony, Warren S. Benson, Daryl Eldridge, and Julie Gorman, eds., *Evangelical Dictionary of Christian Education* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), s.v. “Sunday School Early Origins,” 673.

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 study 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 explores the use of catechetical instruction in Sunday School. The catechisms created and matured in the period leading up to and continuing throughout the Reformation are those predominantly commissioned in the Sunday School. The

substance, method, and structure of catechism is examined as it relates to the type of pedagogy utilized in Sunday Schools. A transition takes place in presentation and format of the catechism as more and more are utilized and created. The relationship of catechism to Sunday School will be observed and positioned.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation 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

This study examined the development of Sunday School as it transitioned from society to the church. Comprehension of this movement is aided by understanding some of the fundamental factors. Historical literature reveals that Sunday School initially did exist outside the church but did transition into an educational ministry of the church. The factors that contributed to Sunday School's transition are multiple, but this study found that the initiation of mass public education and a shift in teaching arrangements were two of the most influential. The structure of Sunday School was adjusted as its purpose and relationship with the church changed. This study also examined the curriculum utilized and the teaching method applied as Sunday School came under the oversight of the church.

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

¹ Stephen 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.

² Edwin 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 Sunday Schools engaged in “teaching writing, arithmetic, geography, book-keeping, as

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

⁴ Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902*, 65.

⁵ W. 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-December 1828): 95-99.

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

⁷ William 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.

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

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 rendering the Lord’s Day subservient to the ends of instruction, which has hitherto been prostituted to

⁹ Money, *Experience and Identity*, 142.

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

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

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

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

¹³ 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), 152.

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

¹⁵ Frederic 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.

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 1560.¹⁹ A Presbyterian minister in Scotland had a Sabbath-school in his own home as early as 1756.²⁰ 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.²¹

Sunday Schools were believed to have existed in Glasgow around the year 1701.²² John Wesley taught children on Sundays in Savannah, Georgia.²³ Thomas

¹⁶ John 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, 1863), 20.

¹⁷ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 20.

¹⁸ Alfred 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.

¹⁹ Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 111.

²⁰ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 103.

²¹ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 104.

²² Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 24.

²³ Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 15.

Laqueur notes Jean Baptiste de la Salle had a Sunday School in 1669, in Paris.²⁴ 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.²⁵ Ferdinand Kindermann formed another school, a Bohemian Sabbath School, in 1773.²⁶

Progression of Sunday School Leading up to 1780

While the examination of Sunday School style²⁷ institutions in other countries provides a larger perspective, this project focuses specifically on the development 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 1603.²⁸ 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 1668.²⁹ Beginning in 1689, Robert Frampton was said to have catechized the children of his parish church and reviewed with them the sermon.³⁰ 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

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

²⁵ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 21.

²⁶ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 21.

²⁷ Even 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.

²⁸ Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 111.

²⁹ Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 127; Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 21.

³⁰ T. Simpson Evans, *The Life of Robert Frampton: Bishop of Gloucester* (London: Longmans, Green, 1876), vii.

been conducted on truly enlarged, enlightened, and Christian principles.”³¹ Around 1699, George Fowler provided the rent from his land to aid the education of poor children in the town of Walsall.³² Approximately two years later, Catherine Boevey had children eat with her in small groups while reviewing catechisms.³³ Between these years and the middle of the eighteenth century, limited information exists regarding Sunday Schools in England.³⁴

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.”³⁵ 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.”³⁶

³¹ Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 111.

³² E. 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.

³³ J. Startford, *Robert Raikes and Others: The Founders of Sunday Schools* (London: Sunday School Union, 1880), 56.

³⁴ A. 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.

³⁵ Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 97.

³⁶ Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 105.

A number of people began new Sunday Schools that helped to rekindle the growth and attention paid to Sunday School.³⁷

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.³⁸ 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.³⁹ Pray asserted the direction begun by August Franke and followed by Zinzendorf is a probable beginning point from which Sunday School gradually moved forward.⁴⁰ 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 1764.⁴¹ Catherine Cappe, a writer who was influenced by Lindsey, in the year 1765, established a type of Sunday

³⁷ Trumbull 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)

³⁸ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 24.

³⁹ William Hurd, *A New Universal History of the Religious Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs of the Whole World* (Newcastle, England: K. Anderson, 1811), 727.

⁴⁰ Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 113.

⁴¹ John Palmer, *The Sunday School: Its History and Development* (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1880), 9.

School in which she gathered poor children and taught them how to read and engaged with them in catechism and devotional hymns.⁴² 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.”⁴³ 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.⁴⁴

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.”⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ According to Kurian and Lamport, before this Act was passed, “people outside the Anglican Church were legally banned from sponsoring schools.”⁴⁷ 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.”⁴⁸ According to *The Dictionary of English History*, an Act passed in 1571, applied only to

⁴² Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 131.

⁴³ Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 16.

⁴⁴ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 40.

⁴⁵ Danby Pickering, *The Statues at Large from Magna Charta to the End of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain* (Cambridge: John Archdeacon, 1778), 258-60.

⁴⁶ “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.

⁴⁷ George Thomas Kurian and Mark A. Lamport, eds., *Encyclopedia of Christian Education* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), s.v. “The Sunday School.”

⁴⁸ Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 16.

clergy but required them to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion that parliament approved before they should be “admitted to a benefice.”⁴⁹ 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.”⁵⁰ The understanding that teachers should be approved by the bishop and confirm their confession 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.⁵¹ 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.”⁵² 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.⁵³ The Act stated that teachers or ministers must make a declaration before a magistrate of their Christian beliefs and their commitment to Scripture.⁵⁴ 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.

⁴⁹ Sidney J. Low and Frederick Sanders Pulling, eds., *The Dictionary of English History* (London: Cassell, 1884), 49.

⁵⁰ Low and Pulling, *The Dictionary of English History*, 49.

⁵¹ Low 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.

⁵² Low and Pulling, *The Dictionary of English History*, 81.

⁵³ Low and Pulling, *The Dictionary of English History*, 82.

⁵⁴ Edgar 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.⁵⁵ He developed the idea of Sunday School while visiting a suburb of his hometown to hire a gardener.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ The schools that Raikes helped establish are similar in character and essential features to other schools from earlier dates.⁵⁸ 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.”⁵⁹ The year 1780 is commonly accepted as the beginning of the modern Sunday School movement.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

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

⁵⁵ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 31.

⁵⁶ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 34.

⁵⁷ Sylvanus Urban, “Raikes Letter,” *The Gentlemen’s Magazine* 14 (October 1784): 516.

⁵⁸ Trumbull, *The Sunday School*, 111.

⁵⁹ Henry Fredrick Cope, *The Evolution of Sunday School* (Boston: Pilgrim, 1911), 50-51.

⁶⁰ Trumbull, *The Sunday School*, 108.

⁶¹ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 67.

Church of England or with Dissenting denomination.⁶² Dissenters were Methodists, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and other denominations or groups that taught doctrines different from the Church of England's articles.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴

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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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 control."⁶⁷ Once these declarations occurred, Dissenters and the Church of England rapidly withdrew association with each other.⁶⁸

⁶² Jeffery C. Alexander and Paul Colomy, eds., *Differentiation Theory and Social Change: Comparative and Historical Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University, 1990), 170.

⁶³ John 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.

⁶⁴ John 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.

⁶⁵ M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1938), 154.

⁶⁶ Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, 153.

⁶⁷ Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, 153.

⁶⁸ Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, 154.

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.”⁶⁹ 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.”⁷⁰ 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.”⁷¹ Aversion to Sunday School stemmed from the belief that it wasted time on worldly pursuits when time could better have been used for religious improvement.⁷² 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.⁷³ Tensions also

⁶⁹ “On Dissenting Sunday Schools,” *The Norwich Spectator* 2 (August 1863): 237.

⁷⁰ “Census of Great Britain, 1851: Education in England and Wales with Reports and Tables,” *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal* 102 (July 1855-October 1855):382.

⁷¹ “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.

⁷² “Sunday-Schools,” 245.

⁷³ *The Sunday School Repository or Teachers’ Magazine* 1 (1813): 683.

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.”⁷⁴ 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.”⁷⁵ 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.”⁷⁶ 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 effectively an intuition for religious education, and, by inevitable consequence, denominational extension.”⁷⁷ 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.

⁷⁴ Parsons, *Education*, 79.

⁷⁵ Parsons, *Education*, 79.

⁷⁶ Parsons, *Education*, 77.

⁷⁷ Horace Mann, “On the Statistical Position of Religious Bodies in England and Wales,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 18 (March 1855): 154.

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.⁷⁸ Likewise, schools were established all over Gloucestershire.⁷⁹ London saw its first Sunday School established in 1784, which was formed in connection with the Reverend Rowland Hill's congregation at Surry Chapel.⁸⁰ In 1785, John Lancaster started and led the London Road Wesleyan Sunday School from a cellar in Manchester.⁸¹ 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."⁸² 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."⁸³ As the work of Sunday School was 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

⁷⁸ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 136.

⁷⁹ These schools included Badminton, Didmarton, Acton Turville, Woodchester, Stroud, Stonehouse, Nymphsfield, Tetbury, and Mitcheldean. Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 71.

⁸⁰ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 90.

⁸¹ Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 23.

⁸² Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 89.

⁸³ Able Stevens, *The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century Called Methodist* (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1859), 2:485.

Great Britain, in 1785.⁸⁴ 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.”⁸⁵

Another society worth noting, the Sunday School Union, had a profound impact on the expansion of the Sunday School system.⁸⁶ The Union sought to improve teaching methods, promote new schools, and supply literature at reasonable rates.⁸⁷ William Gurney, Thomas Thompson, and James Nisbet were responsible for developing and communicating three shaping objectives.⁸⁸ 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, 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.⁸⁹ The Union also raised awareness of the need for more

⁸⁴ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 91.

⁸⁵ Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 22.

⁸⁶ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 100.

⁸⁷ Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 23.

⁸⁸ Phillip B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England: 1780-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1986), 74.

⁸⁹ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement*, 75.

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.”⁹⁰ The recognition of this need led the Sunday School Union to begin a campaign in pursuit of starting more Sunday Schools.⁹¹

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.⁹² 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.⁹³ Rice noted that, after a hundred years of service, the union reported affiliations with 8,584 Sunday Schools and 2.2 million pupils.⁹⁴ 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

⁹⁰ William 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: Sunday School Union, 1903), 6.

⁹¹ Cope, *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.

⁹² Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 103.

⁹³ K. 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.

⁹⁴ Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917*, 26.

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.”⁹⁵ 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.”⁹⁶ 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.”⁹⁷ Legislation was even proposed to discontinue Sunday School or restrict its functioning.⁹⁸ 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 the utmost caution not to make Sunday a day of rigor.”⁹⁹ Ultimately, Porteous saw the benefits that could come from Sunday Schools and recommended they be started in his diocese.¹⁰⁰

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

⁹⁵ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 59.

⁹⁶ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 75.

⁹⁷ Sylvanus Urban, “Reporter in Common Pleas,” *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 67 (July 1797): 819. See also Sylvanus Urban, “The Subject of Sunday-Schools Impartially Discussed,” *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 68 (September 1798): 31.

⁹⁸ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 73.

⁹⁹ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 78.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Raikes, “Memoir of Robert Raikes,” *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* 7 (December 1811): 463.

evangelistic in hopes of “removing the dense spiritual ignorance” and offered education for all ages.¹⁰¹ 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.”¹⁰² 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.”¹⁰³ 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.¹⁰⁴ Barrington was an ordained deacon and later a priest who heavily promoted education.¹⁰⁵ The year 1789, also saw the beginning of Hannah Moore’s classes to the less fortunate for the purpose of enlightenment.¹⁰⁶ 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

¹⁰¹ Raikes, “Memoir of Robert Raikes,” 101.

¹⁰² Cope, *The Evolution of Sunday School*, 72.

¹⁰³ Executive 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, 1905), 5.

¹⁰⁴ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 80.

¹⁰⁵ Robert 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.

¹⁰⁶ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 87.

aboard.”¹⁰⁷ 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.”¹⁰⁸

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.¹⁰⁹ 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.”¹¹⁰ 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 not allow children to be taught by teachers who were not called specifically to reach children.¹¹¹ 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

¹⁰⁷ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 94.

¹⁰⁸ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 87.

¹⁰⁹ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991), 143.

¹¹⁰ John Angell James, *The Sunday School Teachers Guide* (Birmingham, England: Thomas Knott, 1817), 22.

¹¹¹ Jeffery Steven Wright, “Domestic Piety in the Ministry of John Angell James” (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2013), 68-69.

universal! Teaching reading on the Sabbath will be abandoned.”¹¹² 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.”¹¹³ 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.”¹¹⁴ In 1826, the Methodist Conference at Liverpool confirmed, “Sunday Schools ought to be strictly and entirely religious institutions” and should be “connected as closely as possible with the church of Christ.”¹¹⁵ These adopted rules provided clarity and set the standard for Sunday School in the Methodist church.

¹¹² Executive Committee, *The Development of Sunday School 1780-1905*, 9.

¹¹³ *Minutes of The Methodist Conferences from The First, Held in London* (London: J. Kershaw, 1825), 5:62-63.

¹¹⁴ Robert W. Lynn and Elliot Wright, *The Big Little School: Two Hundred Years of the Sunday School* (Birmingham, AL: Religious Education, 1971), 37.

¹¹⁵ *Minutes of The Methodist Conferences from The First*, 5:425-26. Also see Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 29.

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.”¹¹⁶ 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.”¹¹⁷ 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 withdraw 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.”¹¹⁸ 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

¹¹⁶ W. H. Watson, *The First Fifty Years of the Sunday School* (London: Sunday School Union, 1873), 124.

¹¹⁷ John 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.

¹¹⁸ Watson, *The First Fifty Years of the Sunday School*, 122.

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.¹¹⁹ 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.¹²⁰

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.¹²¹

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 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.”¹²² Shuttleworth accounts that,

¹¹⁹ James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, & 1862 in Papers* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), 2:442.

¹²⁰ Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, 2:443.

¹²¹ Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, 2:441.

¹²² Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, 2:506.

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.”¹²³ 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.”¹²⁴ 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.”¹²⁵ In 1854, 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.”¹²⁶ Mann notes one perspective viewed Sunday School as only able to give

¹²³ Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, 2:506.

¹²⁴ George Graham, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship in England and Wales: Abridged from the Official Report Made by Horace Mann* (London: George Routledge, 1854), v.

¹²⁵ Snell, “The Sunday-School Movement,” 137.

¹²⁶ Graham, *Census of Great Britain, 1851*, 67.

secular instruction, while the other considered it “a means of religious training.”¹²⁷ 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”¹²⁸ due to the zeal of its voluntary teachers and the “amount of practical skill and wisdom” its leaders possess.¹²⁹

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.¹³⁰

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 1862.¹³¹ 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 exhibition, September, 1862.”¹³² 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.¹³³ Resulting from this first conference was the conviction that classes

¹²⁷ Graham, *Census of Great Britain*, 1851, 67.

¹²⁸ Graham, *Census of Great Britain*, 1851, 71.

¹²⁹ Graham, *Census of Great Britain*, 1851, 71.

¹³⁰ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 279.

¹³¹ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 144.

¹³² Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 367.

¹³³ Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 368.

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.”¹³⁴ 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.¹³⁵

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.¹³⁶ 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. 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

¹³⁴ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 144.

¹³⁵ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 113-14.

¹³⁶ Walter Dalgeish, *A Plain Reading of the Elementary Act* (London: John Marshall, 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).

into any instruction in religious subjects given at such school.”¹³⁷ 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.¹³⁸ 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.¹³⁹

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.”¹⁴⁰ 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 Sunday School and the church is obvious, maintained it was still a question in need of examination.¹⁴¹ 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.”¹⁴² 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.”¹⁴³

¹³⁷ Dalgeish, *A Plain Reading of the Elementary Act*, 6.

¹³⁸ Eric E. Rich, *The Education Act of 1870* (London: Longmans, 1970), 39.

¹³⁹ J. N. Larned, *History for Ready Reference from the Best Historians, Biographers, and Specialist* (Springfield, MA: C. A. Nichols, 1913), 3:195.

¹⁴⁰ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 23.

¹⁴¹ J. 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, 1883), 65.

¹⁴² Lyons, *The Sunday School and Its Methods*, 70.

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

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.”¹⁴⁴ 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.¹⁴⁵ 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.”¹⁴⁶ The fact that a transition actually took place is important to 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.”¹⁴⁷ 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.”¹⁴⁸ 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

¹⁴⁴ Lyons, *The Sunday School and Its Methods*, 102.

¹⁴⁵ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 45-48.

¹⁴⁶ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 38.

¹⁴⁷ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 62.

¹⁴⁸ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 63.

the Church.”¹⁴⁹ 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.”¹⁵⁰ 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.¹⁵¹ In *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Lecky presents Sunday School as the catalyst for a “revived interest in popular education.”¹⁵² 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

¹⁴⁹ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 31.

¹⁵⁰ Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 114.

¹⁵¹ John Richard Green, *History of the English People* (New York: P. F. Collier, 1900), 3:7.

¹⁵² William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: D. Appleton, 1887), 6:277.

our national interests and national character, than the institution of Sunday-schools.”¹⁵³ 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.¹⁵⁴ 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.”¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, she substantiated this thought by noting evidence is found through “references to self-education in autobiographies, membership of mutual improvement and Sunday School classes, and an interest in discussions at reform clubs.”¹⁵⁶ 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.¹⁵⁷ Likewise, Cliff records, “The battle with the State over treasonable activity had been won, Sunday was now ‘Sunday School Day.’”¹⁵⁸

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.”¹⁵⁹ The Sunday School was no longer responsible for holding babies in the hopes

¹⁵³ John Bright, quoted in Samuel MaCauley Jackson, ed., “Sunday School,” *Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge, The Magazine of Christian Literature* 4 (April-September 1891): 884.

¹⁵⁴ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 96-105, 113-23.

¹⁵⁵ Elaine Brown, “Working-Class Education and Illiteracy in Leicester, 1780-1870” (PhD diss., University of Leicester, 2002), 26.

¹⁵⁶ Brown, “Working-Class Education,” 26.

¹⁵⁷ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 249.

¹⁵⁸ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School*, 162.

¹⁵⁹ Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 129.

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.”¹⁶⁰ 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.”¹⁶¹ 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 education, but to separate religious and secular instruction.”¹⁶² 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.

¹⁶⁰ Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 144.

¹⁶¹ M. P. Mundella, “Religious Education,” *The Church-Worker: A Magazine for Sunday School Teachers and Church-Workers Generally* 1 (1882): 187.

¹⁶² Mundella, “Religious Education,” 187.

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

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

² Wardle, *English Popular Education 1780-1975*, 62.

³ Education 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.

⁴ Wardle, *English Popular Education*, 24.

⁵ A. 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, 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

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

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

⁸ Henry 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

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

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

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

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

¹³ William 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

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

¹⁵ P. 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)

¹⁶ John 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. (Furniss, *The Sunday School or Catechism*, 12)

were being used, those written by Watts and Luther were the most prominent.¹⁷ Raikes' 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

¹⁷ Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Origin and Expansion of the Sunday School* (Philadelphia: Sunday School Times, 1906), 77-85.

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

¹⁹ Mary 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.

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

²¹ Musgrave, *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

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

²⁴ The Church of England Sunday School Institute, *The Church of England Sunday School Quarterly Magazine* 2 (March 1848): 3.

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

²⁶ Cope, *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

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

²⁸ Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education as Reviewed*, 483.

²⁹ T. 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.

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

boards were 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 widespread mass education, and led the country—possibly inadvertently—toward

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

³² Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 77.

³³ Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 77.

³⁴ Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School*, 74.

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

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

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 Conflict* that even up to 1870, the “educational provision in England and Wales derived

³⁷ Cope 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.

³⁸ George 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.

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

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

⁴⁰ Brian 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.

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

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

⁴³ Gates, “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

⁴⁴ Gates, “Faith Schools and Colleges,” 17.

⁴⁵ Gates, “Faith Schools and Colleges,” 17.

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

⁴⁷ It is interesting 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. 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.

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

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

⁵⁰ Musgrave, *Society and Education*, 6.

⁵¹ Musgrave, *Society and Education*, 6.

⁵² Wardle, *English Popular Education*, 63.

⁵³ Wardle, *English Popular Education*, 63.

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

⁵⁴ Laqueur, *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.

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

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

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

education whose object was formational, even catechetical.”⁶⁰ 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.

⁶⁰ Stephen 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: Paternoster, 2007), 16.

⁶¹ Wardle, *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

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

² Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement 1780-1917*, 17.

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

⁴ Rice writes, “The most important step in the founding of the system, therefore, was the

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

replacing of the paid mistress or the paid master by voluntary masters, superintendents, and teachers. 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.

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

⁶ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 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, 1863), 144-47.

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

structure and examining outside forces, this chapter proves that the movement from paid 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

⁹ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 50.

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

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

¹² Trumbull, *The Sunday-School*, 119.

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 the system expensive and tended to limit its usefulness.”¹⁹ Gregory concurs, “One of the

¹³ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 63.

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

¹⁵ Morgan, *The Birth of Industrial Britain*, 54.

¹⁶ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 38.

¹⁷ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 92.

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

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

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 whose hearts were interested in the welfare 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

²⁰ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 97.

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

²² Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 97.

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

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

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

²⁶ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 187.

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

²⁷ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 190.

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

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

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

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

³² John 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: Methodist Book Concern, 1918), 26.

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 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

³³ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 83.

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

³⁵ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 98.

³⁶ "Original Letter from Robert Raikes to Mr. Harris, Chelsea, England," in Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 145.

³⁷ "Original Letter from Robert Raikes to Mr. Harris, Chelsea, England," 146.

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 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

³⁸ Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 98.

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

⁴⁰ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 74.

⁴¹ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 76.

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 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

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

⁴³ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 160.

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

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

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 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

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

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

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 voluntarism.”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 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

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

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

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

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

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.

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

⁵² George 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 Graham, *Census of Great Britain, 1851*, 69.

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

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

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

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 benefited both institutions.

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

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

CHAPTER 5

USAGE OF CATECHISM IN THE EARLY SUNDAY SCHOOL AS AN EXAMPLE OF INNOVATIVE PEDGAGOGY

A form of pedagogy utilized in Sunday School was that of catechism. This pedagogical exercise in some ways influenced the administration of Sunday School. As Sunday School transitioned from a society program to a church ministry, catechism was used in innovative ways and methods. While the practice of catechism was not new in the years directly before or during the reformation, the utilization and engagement with catechizing happened in creative and different ways. Mary Charles Bryce recalls, “As one reviews the long sweep of history from the Reformation to the present, three characteristics emerge which dominated and ultimately defined the ministry of catechizing. First, catechesis become identified with a printed manual; secondly, catechesis was directed to children and youth; and finally, formal catechesis came to be associated with schooling.”¹ The understanding of catechism as a tool for schooling, along with curriculum, and the idea of a targeted audience comes into realization in the early Sunday Schools, however, catechisms were in existence much early in history.

Lewis Pray highlights the belief that “the earliest catechisms in the English language, of which we have found any trace, were written in the time of Henry the fifth, about A.D. 1420.”² Many believe catechetical instruction was in some means utilized by

¹ Mary Charles Bryce, “Evolution of Catechesis from the Catholic Reformation to the Present” in *A Faithful Church: Issues in the History of Catechesis*, ed, John H. Westerhoff III and O.C. Edwards, Jr (Wilton: MoreHouse-Barlow Co., 1981), 204.

² 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), 120.

the end of the first century.³ These first catechisms are far removed from the first Sunday Schools and the Reformation, yet the practice of catechism in form and substance had a significant role in the formation and continuation of Sunday School. Some of the early catechisms took place in the church setting and others were a conjoined effort between the church and the home.

The practice of catechism grew out of the ancient, rather than the modern, methods of studying the Bible.⁴ According to Packer and Parrett, Catechism in its entirety “should be understood as a ministry or rigorously grounding and growing believers in the Christian faith. This includes a comprehensive concern for our beliefs about God, our communion with God, and our obedience to God.”⁵ As seen in chapter 1, *catechism* can refer to a number of options that include both a statement of Christian doctrine and a pedagogical form of questions and answers, prepared for the purpose of being committed to memory.⁶ Kevin Lawson reveals:

The earliest example of a catechism—or a curriculum of instruction for new believers—found to date is the *Didache*, which means “teaching,” commonly called *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. Written in the late first or early second century AD to instruct gentile believers in a new way of life as Christians, the *Didache* addresses moral behavior and practices of baptism, fasting, prayer, The Lord’s Supper, hospitality, reconciliation, and giving. This curriculum provides insight into the moral issues Christians were facing, including abortion and infanticide, and how the church responded to those issues and instructed new believers in faithful living.⁷

Evaluating the intention and application of catechism in one of its early contexts helps to

³ Samuel B. Haslett writes, “Accordingly schools for this purpose were established probably in the latter part of the first century.” Samuel B. Haslett, *The Pedagogical Bible School: A Scientific Study of the Sunday School with Chief Reference to the Curriculum* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), 28.

⁴ Jesse L. Hurlbut et al., “The Use of a Doctrinal Catechism in Sunday-School Instruction: A Symposium,” *The Biblical World* 16, no. 3 (1900): 167.

⁵ Packer and Parrett, *Grounded In The Gospel*, 34.

⁶ Hurlbut et al., “The Use of a Doctrinal Catechism,” 166.

⁷ Kevin Lawson, “Historical Foundations of Christian Education,” in *Christian Education: A Guide to the Foundations of Ministry*, ed. Freddy Cardoza (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2019), 20.

understand an original purpose of catechism. Understanding early foundations of catechism will also be advantageous for correctly ascertaining their utilization and implementation. Lawson also notes that, “Both the Protestant tradition and the Roman Catholic tradition, with differing theological commitments, relied on a question-answer format and focused on the same four pillars of the catechetical curriculum: 1) the faith and the Apostles’ Creed, 2) the sacraments of the church, 3) the Ten Commandments and the divine law, and 4) the Lord’s Prayer as a pattern for prayer.”⁸ These foundational pillars, including the Didache, guide catechism as it progresses forward. Gary Parrett and Steve Kang record that early in the life of the church catechism began to refer to a specific form and substance. “In terms of form, catechesis generally was verbal instruction and that involved a good deal of repetition and memorization. In terms of substance, catechesis came to refer to instruction in the basics or essentials of the faith.”⁹ It is the aim of this chapter to evaluate the form of catechism, although the substance of catechism must necessarily coincide. The evaluation of the form will reveal in some ways the rightful place of catechism both in the church and in the Sunday School. “The ministry of catechesis was the cornerstone of educational practices in the church during the first several centuries following the New Testament era and again from the Reformation period and on through the times of the Puritans both in England and in America.”¹⁰ Catechism usage as a cornerstone foundation of educational ministry will be identified and evaluated as an innovative practice of pedagogy.

The definition is broadened as catechism advances in practice and setting. The purposes and development of catechism are worth evaluating. The purpose of catechism did transform and adjust throughout the years. An original purpose of catechism in

⁸ Lawson, “Historical Foundation of Christian Education,” 24.

⁹ Gary A. Parrett and Steve Kang, *Teaching the Faith, Forming the Faithful: A Biblical Vision for Education in the Church* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2009), 88.

¹⁰ Parrett and Kang, *Teaching the Faith, Forming the Faithful*, 89.

connection to the early Christian church necessitated from a need for education before baptism.¹¹ John Calvin writes, “The Church soon found it to be necessary to provide for the religious instruction of the new converts who presented themselves for baptism and church membership.”¹² Additionally the catechism was used to prepare people for the taking of the Lords Supper, as James Turrell explains, “Catechizing, rather than confirmation, was the real gate to the sacrament of the eucharist.”¹³ There is a transition in purpose to be more directed and that the main component of teaching be comprised of a centralized body of information for principles and doctrines.¹⁴ The evolution of the substance and methods of catechism provide advantageous information in understanding the transition of Sunday School more clearly.

Catechisms Origin and Expansion

Catechism becomes a central component relatively quickly in the educational aspect of the church.¹⁵ For the purpose of this project, Calvin’s Geneva is an adequate place to start, though numerous catechisms were written before this time.¹⁶ Samuel Haslett states, “As early as 1529 catechetical teaching was established by Luther to be given on the first day of the week.”¹⁷ Jean Gomes argues that religious education was greatly

¹¹ John Calvin writes, “The ministers are always to exhort the people to link [baptism] with the catechism. Children are to be brought at the beginning of catechism or sermon. Fathers are to be present, unless they have legitimate excuse of which cognizance will be taken by the consistory.” John Calvin, “Ordinances for the Supervision of Churches in the Country, February 3, 1547,” in *Theological Treatises*, ed. and trans. J. K. S. Reid (London: SCM, 1954), 78.

¹² Haslett, *The Pedagogical Bible School*, 28.

¹³ James Turrell, “Until Such Time as He Be Confirmed: The Laudians and Confirmation in the Seventeenth-Century Church of England,” *The Seventeenth Century* 20 (October 25): 217.

¹⁴ Turrell, “Until Such Time as He Be Confirmed,” 275.

¹⁵ Haslett notes, “In the eleventh century, Bruno of Wutzburg prepared a catechism on the general plan of the catechisms that appeared a few centuries later, that is with question and answer both attached.” Haslett, *The Pedagogical Bible School*, 32.

¹⁶ See appendix 6 for a sample of Calvin’s catechism.

¹⁷ Haslett writes, “The same year he published his catechism in two grades, a larger for the

impacted by Calvin's "threefold implementation at church services, home instruction, and school classes."¹⁸ This is not the first time the church and the home have had a combined focus on catechism, but the push by Calvin seemed to carry a different motivation.

Matthias Fruedenberg records what Calvin believed: "The church of God will never preserve itself without a Catechism, for it is like the seed to keep the good grain from drying out, and causing it to multiply from age to age . . . make provision for the children being instructed in a good Catechism, which may show them briefly, and in language level to their tender age."¹⁹ In 1542, Calvin adopted the dialogical form of question and answer in the Catechism of the Church of Geneva.²⁰ Calvin's catechism endeavored to teach children about four major topics: The Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments.²¹ The aim of catechesis was to educate children in the doctrines and Scripture while also providing the reasons why they believed them to be true.²² Calvin indubitably expressed his passion for catechism in a letter to Edward Seymour:

There ought to be . . . a common formula of instruction for little children and for ignorant persons, serving to make them familiar with sound doctrine so that they may be able to discern the difference between it and the falsehood and corruptions with may be brought forward in opposition to it. Believe me, Monseigneur, the church of God will never preserve itself without catechism, for it is like the seed to keep the good grain from dying out, causing it to multiply from age to age. And therefore, if you desire to build an edifice which shall be of long duration, and which shall not soon fall into decay, make provision for the children being instructed in a good catechism, which may show them briefly, and in language level

ministers and teachers and a shorter for the children and laymen." Haslett, *The Pedagogical Bible School*, 35.

¹⁸ Jean Francesco A. L. Gomes, "Reforming the Church, Home, and School: The Strategic Role of Catechesis in Calvin's Geneva," *Fides Reformata* 24, no. 1 (2019): 88.

¹⁹ Matthias Fruedenberg, "Catechisms," in *The Calvin Handbook*, ed. Jerman J. Selderhuis (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 206.

²⁰ Fruedenberg, "Catechisms," 209.

²¹ Randall C. Zachman, *John Calvin as Teacher, Pastor, and Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006), 41.

²² Zachman, *John Calvin*, 146.

to their tender age, wherein true Christianity consists. This catechism will serve two purposes: an introduction to the whole people, so that everyone may profit from what shall be preached, and also to enable them to discern when any presumptuous person puts forth strange doctrine. Indeed, I do not say that it may not be well and even necessary, to bind down the pastors and curates to a certain written form.²³

Calvin's concern for instructing people in the church, especially regarding scriptural understanding, is consistently expressed in his writings. As Calvin's catechism develops, it naturally improves and adjusts, leading Fruedenburg to note it is "pedagogically skillful, formed in dialogical question-and-answer format and thus more suitable for teaching child and youth."²⁴ Randall Zachman records that Calvin's last catechism undoubtedly reveals his heart's desire to "reach the unlearned audience."²⁵ One direct link of Calvin's catechisms to Sunday School is in the scheduling of catechism times. Children attended catechism every Sunday at noon until they could repeat from memory the essentials of their faith.²⁶ Although Calvin's Geneva approach is in no way solely responsible for the direction or structure of Sunday School, it undoubtedly provided a historical framework from which to glean information.

As catechism expands and develops, the original definition becomes more inclusive and general. As noted, catechism originally refers to oral instruction through questions and answers typically before one is baptized. Albrecht Peters gives four ways catechism is referenced during the Reformation: (1) is it the fundamental training in the Christian faith, (2) it indicated special worship services in which the core lessons of faith were taught, (3) it designated the central tenets of the catechism, and (4) it could refer to

²³ Jules Bonnett, *Letters of John Calvin: Compiled from the Original Manuscripts and Edited with Historical Notes* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1908), 177. Also noted as Calvin, "Letter 229, to the Protector Somerset," in *Navigating Study Ministry: Charting Your Course for the Journey*, ed. Tim McKnight (Nashville: B & H, 2022), 191. These are Calvin's words to Edward Seymour, who was the Duke of Somerset, in regard to the important of catechism.

²⁴ Fruedenburg, "Catechisms," 209.

²⁵ Zachman, *John Calvin*, 133.

²⁶ William Monter, *Calvin's Geneva* (Huntington: Robert E. Krieger, 1975), 101.

the book that contained the catechetical content.²⁷ During this time, catechetical instruction and preaching were directly connected. Those preaching utilized the text of the catechism, urging those listening to grasp tightly to correct doctrine, along with being able to recognize and prevent error.²⁸ A significant difference happened in the early years of the Reformation—the modern catechism, what most people reference when they hear the term *catechism*, was introduced. What is referenced as *modern catechisms* here are those set-in motion by the work of Luther and Calvin. In *The Dialogue in English Literature*, Elizabeth Merrill writes about the newer engagement with catechism: “It’s the barest type of the expository dialogue between a teacher who interrogates and a pupil who replies with great authority; sometimes the roles are reversed.”²⁹ Several catechisms begin to develop and are disturbed during this period, mainly aimed at the education of lay persons.

Luther and Calvin had a major role in developing catechisms during this period. The introduction of *Luther’s Shorter Catechism* is telling of desire and empathy for those to learn well the things of Scripture. After a trip to examine the parishes in a specific area of Luther’s shepherding, he wrote,

Merciful God, what misery have I seen, the common people knowing nothing at all of Christian doctrine, especially in the villages! Unfortunately, many pastors are well-nigh unskilled and incapable of teaching . . . (they) like poor cattle and senseless swine, though, now that the gospel is come, they have learnt well how they may abuse their liberty.³⁰

Luther’s concern and desire for people to know truth and apply it rightly is demonstrated in his vernacular. This general desire propels the use of catechism in Sunday Schools.

²⁷ Albrecht Peters, *Die Zehn Gebote*, Kommentar zu Luthers Katechismen, band 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 16-17.

²⁸ Gerhad Bode, “Instruction of the Christian Faith by Lutherans after Luther,” in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550-1675*, ed. Robert Kolb (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 160.

²⁹ Elizabeth Merrill, *The Dialogue in English Literature* (New York: Henry Holt, 1911), 14.

³⁰ Martin Luther, *A Short Exposition of Dr. Martin Luther’s Small Catechism*, trans. Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference (St. Louis: Concordia, 1912), 3-4.

Gerald Strauss notes the importance of catechizing: “Catechisms were, of course, the basic tool for giving sound Christian instruction. Every official directive from prince and consistory affirmed catechism teaching as the pastor’s first duty and gravest responsibility for educating laity.”³¹ First duty here was never to replace preaching, but to be of utmost importance in the equipping of those under the pastor’s care. Ian Green writes,

The attitude of the English church to basic catechizing was not very different from that of the mature Luther or Calvin in the stress that was out on the role of the minister. . . . In England from an early stage the brunt of the burden of ensuring the basic catechism was mastered and understood, especially by those who never attended a school, fell on parish clergy. . . . That the clergy were aware of their duty to catechize can be demonstrated by the number who in their publications insisted that catechizing was enjoined by public authority, or cited the appropriate rubric or injunction for their action, or praised the authorities for their care in insisting on the regular performance of catechizing in the church.³²

The catechism played a large role in centralizing what people were learning, seeking to guarantee they were learning the things of most importance.

Calvin’s dependence on catechism and its administration is apparent in his dedication to writing them and in his commentary. In one letter, Calvin states, “That a summary of doctrines and a catechism for the use of children be published. It becomes you . . . to be fully persuaded, that the Church of God, cannot be built up without a catechism.”³³ Calvin’s work was widely recognized and built upon with many people acknowledging his work, like Melchior Wolmar: “These things, I confess, have been well illustrated by others in this age, and principally by the great John Calvin, who has most accurately handled all these matters, very copiously in his Institutes, and more briefly in his Catechism of the Church, from which books also I confess, I have taken these

³¹ Gerald Strauss, “The Mental World of Saxon Pastor,” in *Reformation Principle and Practice: Essays in Honour of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens*, ed. Peter Newman Brooks (London: Scolar, 1980), 161.

³² Ian. M. Green, *The Christian’s ABC: Catechism and Catechizing in England 1530-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 51.

³³ John Calvin, quoted in Elijah Waterman, *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva with an Appendix* (Dartford, England: Sheldon & Goodwin, 1815), 61.

things.”³⁴ Calvin’s influence in regard to catechism and emphasis on right doctrine had significant influence on catechism use and purpose, this perhaps is most illustrated in imitation.

The Utilization of Catechism in the Reformation

The formation and utilization of catechism progresses from Calvin as others begin to see the positive influence it can have on learning for all ages, but especially with children. Pray writes,

Early in the sixteenth century there was a catechism in use, consisting of the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Decalogue, to which were added, as it is supposed by Archbishop Cranmer, in 1549, a few explanations and cautious remarks. Another early arrangement of the same kind was called the Catechism of Edward the Sixth . . . this was printed in Latin and in English in 1553.³⁵

Still others were being written and developed as the next century nears.³⁶ Pray continues, “In 1643 was convoked the celebrated Assembly of Divines at Westminster, prepared and published by authority their Larger and Shorter Catechism.”³⁷ The continuation of creating new catechisms is revelatory of the perceived need for their usefulness in the church for educating constituents to understand the scriptures.

Catechism use was never, at least in the mind of church leaders during this time, to rise to the level of preaching or to replace the teaching of the scriptures. Henry Trumbull proposes,

Reformers had not thought of overshadowing Bible-school teaching by pulpit preaching, nor yet of making the reciting and hearing of the catechism a chief element in catechetical teaching. The catechism was, in every instance, prepared, not as the lesson itself, but as a lesson-analysis, a lesson-guide, a lesson-paper. Duly authorized, for the time being, by a Church Lesson-Committee. It outlined the subject of study, but it was not designed to be the object of study.³⁸

³⁴ Melchior Wolmar, quoted in Waterman, *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*, 121.

³⁵ Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 122.

³⁶ See appendix 5 for a timeline of catechism development.

³⁷ Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 122.

³⁸ Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Origin and Expansion of the Sunday School* (Philadelphia:

Luther made it known in the introduction of his Smaller Catechism that it was the teacher's job to make sure "scholars not only knew what was said in the catechism answers, but knew what was meant by them; to take these forms before them, and explain them word by word."³⁹ The aim of the catechisms was not mere memory, but understanding. Richard Bernard stated in the section "Of Catechizing" in his book *Two Twins*, that "preaching doth little good without catechizing, therefore it is necessary, that men may profit by preaching."⁴⁰ In the years following the Reformation, memorization only became an issue, but that is not the case during the years under examination. Trumbull records, "Luther's Larger Catechism was not even arranged in the form of question and answer, but it was none the less a catechism, in name and in fact, for being in the form of the lesson-guides of the Early Church catechumens."⁴¹ One thing that can be seen from Luther's progression in his writing of catechisms is the development of teaching points, along with or in place of the traditional question and answers of the original format of catechism. "The young, he says, are carefully instructed in the catechism at the schools, and by means of familiar lectures from their pastors. The Sunday services for the catechumens comprise a recapitulatory explanation of those lectures of the catechism, in which they have been instructed in classes four days in the preceding week."⁴² Innovative ways of using catechism in pedagogically different forms is one factor that sets catechizing apart in the Sunday Schools of the Reformation period.

As catechism begins to be reformed, many aspects become normative. These observations can be seen in a section of Calvin's institutes:

Sunday School Times, 1906), 77.

³⁹ Julius Köstlin, *The Life of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1883), 369.

⁴⁰ Richard Bernard, *The Faithful Shepherd* (London: T. Snodman, 1613), 72.

⁴¹ Trumbull, *The Origin and Expansion of the Sunday School*, 78.

⁴² Pray, *The History of Sunday School*, 104.

But the best method of catechizing would be to have a simple manual drafted for this exercise, containing and summarizing in simple matter most of the articles of our religion, on which the whole believers' church ought to agree without controversy. A child of ten would present himself to the church to declare his confession of faith, would be examined in each article, and answer to each; if he were ignorant of anything or insufficiently understood it, he would be taught. Thus while the church looks on as a witness, he would profess the one true and sincere faith, in which the believing folk with one mind worship the one God. If this discipline were in effect today, it would certainly arouse some slothful parents, whose carelessly neglect the instruction of their children as a matter of no concern to them; for then they would not overlook it without a public disgrace. There would be greater agreement in faith among Christian people, and not so many would go untaught and ignorant; some would not be so rashly carried away with new and strange doctrines, in short, all would have some methodical instruction, so to speak, in Christian doctrine.⁴³

Catechism in the Reformation takes on many of the aspects that can be seen in the above summary: faith being declared publicly, foundational doctrine, the need to teach the young, a need for people in general to be educated in the faith. Outside the church it had an impact on communities as a more centralized systematic religious instruction was utilized and began to aid in the general education of young people. George Hebert, pastor in the church of England, was a proponent of the exercise:

The Country Parson values Catechizing highly: for there being three points of his duty, the one, to infuse a competent knowledge of salvation in every one of his Flock; the other, to multiply, and build up this knowledge to a spiritual Temple; the third, to inflame this knowledge, to press, and drive it to practice, turning it to reformation of life, by pithy and lively exhortations.⁴⁴

The continued influence of catechism broadens and expands as can be increasingly seen throughout the Reformation years. Many of these catechisms are written and infused into the life of the church and later into the Sunday School.⁴⁵

⁴³ John Calvin, *Institutio Christiane Religionis* (Genevae: Apud Johannem le Preux, 1536), 169.

⁴⁴ M. G. Herbert, *The Countrey Parson, His Character and Rule of Holy Life* (London: Henry Washbourne, 1842), 59.

⁴⁵ Samuel Haslett writes,

The catechism of Calvin appeared in 1536 and the Heidelberg Catechism in 1563; Bellarmin issued his in 1603; Bossuet published his in 1687 and the Catechism of the English Church was published in 1604. The Westminster Catechism was issued in its smaller form in 1646 and in its larger form in 1647, Cranmer published a catechism in 1548. King Edward VI's catechism came out in 1553, Bunyan's *Instruction for the Ignorant* in 1672 and Watt's *Catechism for Children and Youth* in 1730.

Alexander Mitchell asserts, “It may be said, without exaggeration of the catechisms framed on the system of doctrinal Puritans, and published in England between the years 1600 and 1645 that their name is legion.”⁴⁶ This adoption of catechism as curriculum for religious education continues through this period and into the next. Robert Baterson documents, “By the end of the eighteenth century, the new Sunday School movement had adopted the catechism as part of its syllabus.”⁴⁷ The progress of catechism in relationship to Sunday School is a sustained one. Catechism’s adoption into Sunday School proves to be a helpful and right course of action for striving to instruct the laity in the necessary things of doctrine and to aid them in rightfully being able to understand God’s Word.

Administration of the catechism also takes a different direction during this period. Previous to the Reformation era, it appears that laymen, deacons, and some who held the title of “catechists” administered the catechism.⁴⁸ Monks were also enlisted to aid in the catechizing.⁴⁹ During the Reformation a modification was made in who was involved in dispensing the catechism. Post-reformation, the church’s catechism was more central and organized. John Palmer explains, “The Curate of every parish should diligently, upon Sundays, and holy days, after the second lesson at evening prayer, should openly in the church instruct and examine so many children of his parish sent unto him as he should think convenient in some part of their Catechism.”⁵⁰ Phillip Cliff records, “This

The Catechism of the Council of Trent appeared in 1566 and remains to the present the chief catechism in the Catholic Church. (Samuel B. Haslett, *The Pedagogical Bible School: A Scientific Study of the Sunday School with Chief Reference to the Curriculum* [London: Fleming H. Revell, 1903], 36)

⁴⁶ Alexander Ferrier Mitchell, *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (London: James Nesbit, 1886), ix.

⁴⁷ Robert M. E. Paterson, “A Study in Catechism of the Reformation and Post-Reformation Periods” (MA thesis, Durham University, 1981), 34.

⁴⁸ John Palmer, *The Sunday School: Its History and Development* (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1880), 28.

⁴⁹ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 28.

⁵⁰ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 28.

pattern of activity on a Sunday, together with the idea of a form of “joint stock company” financing, provided the model for the Raikesian experiment.”⁵¹ The Sunday Schools of Robert Raikes are not birthed during the Reformation years, but the idea, foundation, and formulas he utilized have their origination in these years. Raikes’ Sundays Schools, along with others during his time, are highly influenced by the timing and substance of catechism and Sunday School during the period of the Reformation.

The Influence of Catechism on Post-Reformation Sunday Schools

As noted, an important set of Sunday Schools influenced by catechism after the Reformation were those of Robert Raikes. Timothy Paul Jones affirms, “Catechetical instruction in the church provided the template for some of the earliest expressions of Sunday school, particularly the forms of Sunday school promoted by Robert Raikes.”⁵² The Sunday Schools of Raikes, by his own admission, utilized catechism. John Power records the words of Raikes: “After church they were to be employed repeating the catechism till half past five, and then be dismissed with an injunction to go home without making a noise, and by no means play in the street.”⁵³ The church leaders of Raikes’ Sunday Schools were engaged in the process. Power notes, “One or two of clergymen gave their assistance by going around to the schools on Sunday afternoon to hear the children their catechism; this was of great consequence. . . . Another clergymen hears them their catechism once a quarter publicly in the church, and rewards their good behavior with some little gratuity.”⁵⁴ It is evident that Raikes, while desiring to teach religious instruction,

⁵¹ Phillip B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England: 1780-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1986), 70.

⁵² Timothy Paul Jones, “Appendix 1: Catechism Classes and Surprising Precedents for Age-Organized Ministries,” in McKnight, *Navigating Student Ministry*, 304.

⁵³ Robert Raikes, quoted in John Carroll Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools: A Biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox* (New York: Sheldon, 1863), 44.

⁵⁴ Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 45.

is by his own admission also interested in the general education of teaching children to read and guiding them in morals. In the *Gloucester Journal* on November 3, 1783, “persons duly qualified are employed to instruct those that cannot read; and those that may have learnt to read are taught that catechism and conducted to church.”⁵⁵ Jones’s research is also in agreement with the long-standing impact of catechisms: “Catechetical instruction was also a primary aim, and the template for this instruction seems to have been the venerable pattern that can be traced back through the Church of England to the ecclesiastical ordinances of sixteenth century Geneva.”⁵⁶ In addition to the Sunday Schools of Raikes, those of William Fox were also utilizing catechisms as the main component in their curriculum.⁵⁷ Palmer notes that in 1880 both catechizing and Sunday School are essential in the religious training of the young, and their current desire was to “insist upon now that the modern Sunday School does not claim to be a substitute for public Catechizing; but that it is an institution which, when rightly worked, is capable of rendering the more ancient form of instruction increasingly effective by adapting it to the exigencies of modern parochial life.”⁵⁸ Creative and adaptive uses of catechism are necessary as the entity of Sunday School continues to stay relative and effective.

Roughly 100 years after the Reformation, Bishop Lancelot Andrewes of the Church of England realized the religious teaching of the church was lacking, largely due to an apathy towards the catechism. Trumbull archives,

When catechizing was left off in the Church, it [the Church] soon became darkened and overspread with ignorance. The Papists therefore acknowledge that all the advantage which the Protestants have gotten of them [since the Reformation], hath come by this exercise [of catechetical instruction]; and it is to be feared that if ever

⁵⁵ Alfred Gregory, *Robert Raikes: Journalist and Philanthropist, A History of the Origin of Sunday-Schools* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1881), 67.

⁵⁶ Jones, “Appendix 1,” 327.

⁵⁷ Joseph Ivimey, *Memoir of W. Fox, Esq.* (London: Wightman, 1831), 20, 24, 30, 32, 59-61, 77.

⁵⁸ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 43.

they get ground of us, it will be by their more exact and frequent catechizing than ours.⁵⁹

At the beginning of the Reformation, the majority of churches were supportive of Sunday School and its mission.⁶⁰ John Dundas notes that in the churches in Scotland, their Book of Discipline recognized “one of the two ordinary and perpetual functions that travel in the world is the office of the doctor, who may be also called, catechizer, that is, teacher of the catechism and rudiments of religion.”⁶¹ Even though originally there was recognition of the catechism, particularly as it was used in the Sunday school, there was a transition in which the material and the process became the demise. Trumbull writes,

It was in order to promote interlocutory teaching that catechisms, presenting truth in the form of question and answer, were prepared in such fullness and variety by Protestant church leaders. But the use of those catechisms widely degenerated into a perfunctory serving of asking rote questions with the purpose of securing memorized rote answers in reply apart from any necessary interchange of thought or of knowledge between teacher and pupil. And thus it came to pass that catechism using stood in the way of catechetical teaching; the stepping-stone becoming a stumbling-block.⁶²

Catechism, and Sunday School, appear to have moments of popularity and condescension. Different periods of time, combined with contextual events, garner different perspectives on the use of catechism and the effectiveness of Sunday School. Even though for years, as Cliff notes, “the work of catechizing has always been the chief means of pastoral care . . . it had been worked to distraction in the late seventeenth century.”⁶³ As the eighteenth century approached, there had been many different types and forms of catechisms, and different methods and means of administration, but as Cliff observes the “teaching and

⁵⁹ Trumbull, *The Origin and Expansion of the Sunday School*, 73.

⁶⁰ Trumbull, *The Origin and Expansion of the Sunday School*, 74.

⁶¹ John Dundas, *An Abridgement of the Acts of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland: Beginning with the General Assembly held at Glasgow in the Year 1638 and Ending with the General Assembly held at Edinburg in May 1720* (Edinburgh: John Mosman, 1721), 76.

⁶² Trumbull, *The Origin and Expansion of the Sunday School*, 75.

⁶³ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement*, 17.

hearing of the catechism had almost lapsed at this time.”⁶⁴ Cliff notes, “For many years before the Reformation it had been the duty of priests and parents to teach the children to be able to repeat the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments in their mother tongue.”⁶⁵ After the Reformation, catechisms are still utilized throughout the seventeenth century. As the nineteenth century dawns there is a push to reinstate the use of catechism. In 1867 at a lecture at Midlands Conference of Sunday School teachers, R. W. Dale said he “believed that Just Bible teaching was dangerous; it lacked the formulated framework of the catechism, which had been largely forgotten in the Dissenting schools.”⁶⁶ Dale, minister at Carrs Lane during his urging for a return to catechism, was the successor to John Angell James, who was a major champion for Sunday Schools and their positioning to have great kingdom impact. Both James and Dale were of the same mind when it came to the importance of teaching the truth correctly.

In the late nineteenth century, there is certainly an emphasis to restore catechism use. The Methodist Episcopal Church at the Sunday School Union in 1842 motioned, “That those of our Sunday Schools who do not already use them be earnestly recommended to introduce the Wesleyan Catechisms, or the Scripture Catechisms, into their regular course of instruction.”⁶⁷ The movement to reinstate the use of catechism is not briefly sustained, but continued to be a point of emphasis. “The Catechisms used until 1848, as compiled by the Wesleyan Methodist Church in England, were revised and published as a general catechism and an elementary catechism, the latter “in shorter and plainer words, adapted to the capacities of young children.”⁶⁸ Catechism gave the church a central piece of

⁶⁴ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement*, 17.

⁶⁵ Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement*, 17.

⁶⁶ R. W. Dale, “The Education Act and the Sunday School,” *Birmingham Sunday School Union Quarterly* (May 1871): 167. Dale was the minister of Carrs Lane Meeting House.

⁶⁷ Addie Grace Wardle, *The History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1918), 107.

⁶⁸ “The Catechism in Sabbath School,” *Sunday School Teacher* (April 1868): 98.

biblically right information that tethered the teaching of Sunday School to biblically accurate lessons and curriculum. Wardle notes, “The thought of the day was that every scholar should by some means be brought to a systematic use of the Catechism.”⁶⁹ This belief is founded in the thought that catechism evens the intellectual ability to remember and comprehend the information presented in catechisms.

Sunday School and Catechism as Innovative Pedagogically

John Westerhoff notes in his work *Who Are We? The Quest for Religious Education* that, “Catechesis is an endeavor which is never neutral in either content or process. Indeed, the content of the faith must influence the means used to communicate it, just as it must honor the present experience of persons and the community.”⁷⁰ The utilization and administration of catechism was likely done in ways that previously had not been employed. Thus, their form and presentation were innovated to “honor” the person and community of a given context and setting. This section specifically seeks to know and understand if the usage of catechism specifically, and the structure of Sunday School generally, would have been considered a form of innovative pedagogy, particularly in how innovative pedagogy is defined in the twenty-first century. Initially, innovative pedagogy will need to be defined, and then subsequently the use and form of catechism in Sunday School during the examined time will be compared to see if and how catechetical instruction was pedagogically innovative.

Innovative pedagogy will be defined considering its contextual definition in higher education. The popularity of innovative pedagogy is attributed to the Turku University of Applied Sciences in Finland in 2006.⁷¹ The purpose was to provide the

⁶⁹ Wardle, *History of Sunday School Movement*, 108.

⁷⁰ John H Westerhoff III, “Risking An Answer: A Conclusion” in *Who Are We? The Quest for a Religious Education* ed. John H Westerhoff III (Birmingham, AL: Religious Education Press, 1978), 269.

⁷¹ Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen, Heli Kanerva-Letho, and Turun Penttilä, eds., “Towards Innovative Pedagogy: A New Approach to Teaching and Learning for Universities of Applied Sciences,” *Research Reports from Turku University of Applied Sciences* 92 (2009): 56-62.

“competences needed in working life and to promote innovations and regional development.”⁷² Moreover, the original aim of this pedagogy was to “educate graduates who will succeed in their lives as both professionals and as individuals.”⁷³ The accomplishment of such a task requires continual adjustment in education for the university and for the church. Taru Konst and Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen push farther, stating that a successful pedagogical change “needs participation of the whole educational community and it requires management commitment.”⁷⁴ A universal change in approach must be adopted for the good of the whole, and the whole must in at least some ways be accepting of the change. All levels of leadership must be dedicated to the vision and application of such a large change—mere admiration or casual acceptance will not amount to a great enough forge to precipitate such a change. In the context of church, this means that leadership and congregation must minimally note the importance and the value of effort needed for effective implementation.

Innovative pedagogy is most practically understood by examining some of its pillars and foundational structures. Knost and Kairisto-Mertanen portray that foundationally:

Innovative pedagogy emphasized that education should not start with knowledge and only later proceed to its application; on the contrary, new information must be applied in practical situations immediately, even before the information was assimilated. In other words, innovative pedagogy combined learning with information creation and its application.⁷⁵

The natural outcome of this approach was to apply “existing learning and teaching methods in a creative, value-increasing way, developing new methods, and ensuring that students take responsibility for their learning and that they actively pursue their learning

⁷² Kairisto-Mertanen, Kanerva-Letho, and Penttilä, “Towards Innovative Pedagogy,” 59.

⁷³ Stephen Sterling, “Transformative Learning and Sustainability,” *Learning and Teaching in Higher Education* 5 (2010): 19.

⁷⁴ Taru Konst and Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen, “Developing Innovation Pedagogy Approach,” *On the Horizon* 28, no. 1 (2020): 51.

⁷⁵ Konst and Kairisto-Mertanen, “Developing Innovation Pedagogy Approach,” 48.

objectives.”⁷⁶ This adaptation of creating learning methods is helpful in that the proposition is not to terminate what has been done before, but to take and adjust it in creative ways to accomplish a deeper and more applicable understanding. Additionally, systemic thinking, collaboration, and inclusion are identifying marks of innovative pedagogy.⁷⁷ While these marks are likely assumed by experienced educators when thinking about being pedagogically innovative, this does not lessen the need for their inclusion. Furthermore, there are still aspects that need to be specified to highlight distinctions in the discussion for what is truly innovative pedagogy.

The learning and teaching methods must be, according to Turun Penttilä and Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen, “activating and versatile,” the assessment is “development-oriented,” the teacher's role is to “encourage and guide students to advance learning,” and the student is an “active and responsible learner.”⁷⁸ One other aspect of innovative pedagogy that is helpful to note is its purpose, especially as seen by those involved in its origination. In the beginning the purpose, or goal, was to not only “provide competences for working life only but competences for a good life and sustainable future, as well; competences that help to build a sustainable society, learning to think beyond ourselves, consider nature in all our actions and understand what is right under the new and changing circumstances.”⁷⁹ This originally stated purpose has since been expanded as innovative pedagogy has advanced to include an “emphasis on growth as a human being, as well as ethics and values.”⁸⁰ As this pedagogical approach matures and develops, it

⁷⁶ Konst and Kairisto-Mertanen, “Developing Innovation Pedagogy Approach,” 49.

⁷⁷ Turun Penttilä and Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen, “Developing Innovation Competences through Boundary Crossing in a Social Learning Environment,” in *Pedagogical Views on Innovation Competences and Entrepreneurship*, ed. Anttoni Lehto and Taru Penttilä (Tampere, Finland: Turku University, 2013), 40.

⁷⁸ Jaana Kettunen, Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen, and Turun Penttilä, “Innovation Pedagogy and Desired Learning Outcomes in Higher Education,” *On the Horizon* 21, no. 4 (2013): 337-38.

⁷⁹ Konst and Kairisto-Mertanen, “Developing Innovation Pedagogy Approach,” 52.

⁸⁰ Konst and Kairisto-Mertanen, “Developing Innovation Pedagogy Approach,” 52.

notably begins to include the whole person and the whole of humanity increasingly. The process also begins to reveal that the goal is not a mere transfer of knowledge, but as the person grows in knowledge, the person is then simultaneously developed as a productive citizen.

The literature on innovative pedagogy is ever growing. In the year 2000, J-P Béchard defined pedagogical innovation as “an intentional action that aims to introduce something original into a given context and it is pedagogical as it seeks to substantially improve student learning in a situation of interaction and interactivity.”⁸¹ While this definition is true and right of innovative teaching, what is meant by innovative pedagogy is much deeper and pointed. Since its gained prominence in Finland around 2006, authors and educators have written several articles that add depth to understanding the process of innovative pedagogy and the applicable lessons they have learned. In “Innovative Pedagogy: Learning through Active Multidisciplinary Methods,” Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen et al. communicate the central workings of their pedagogical approach: “The core of innovation pedagogy lies in emphasizing interactive dialogue between the educational organization, students, and surrounding working life and society.”⁸² This learning is highly based on learning outcomes. Learning outcomes are defined as “statements which are used to describe specially what is expected from a learner in form of understanding, knowledge, and know-how at the end of a certain period of learning.”⁸³ These outcomes consist of components known as knowledge or understanding, skills and attitudes, or feeling and motivation correspondingly.⁸⁴ In “On the Definition of Innovation

⁸¹ Jean Pierre Béchard, “L’Enseignement Supérieur et les Innovations Pédagogiques: Une Recension des écrits,” *Revue de Sciences de l’Éducation* 27, no. 2 (2001): 260.

⁸² Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen et al., “Innovation Pedagogy: Learning through Active Multidisciplinary Methods,” *Revista de Docencia Universitaria* 10 (Enero-Abfil 2012): 69.

⁸³ Kairisto-Mertanen et al., “Innovation Pedagogy,” 70.

⁸⁴ Allen Davies, “Writing Learning Outcomes and Assessment Criteria in Art and Design,” UAL Research Online, accessed March 10, 2023, https://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/id/eprint/629/1/cltd_learningoutcomes.pdf, 522-29.

Competencies,” Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen, Turun Penttilä, and J. Nuotio indicate that the major applicative purpose of innovative pedagogy is defined as the attempt to “bridge the gap between the educational context and working life” so that the knowledge learned is “continuously applied in practical contexts.”⁸⁵ Again, the practicality of education combined with simultaneous application is at the heart of innovation. Consequently, so is the engagement with the whole person.

The evaluation of Sunday School, and in particular the engagement of catechism, in relation to innovative pedagogy appears to reveal some commonality among key aspects. These connections will be noted below, but not in order of importance or value. Before connections are noted, the areas of innovative pedagogy that do not find themselves in Sunday School or catechism will be observed.

Notable factors included in the description and definition of innovative pedagogy are not seen in the function and purpose of Sunday School or that of catechism. A factor not included would be that of a multidisciplinary crossover. While one might argue that a disciplinary crossover exists between preaching and Sunday School instruction, this is typically not the type of multidisciplinary notation included in innovative pedagogy. Accompanying noted absences are that of entrepreneurship, globalization, and flexible curricula.⁸⁶ These aspects did not present themselves in any tangible way in Sunday School or catechism usage, respectively, they are not directly applicable or needed in these contexts.

The connections shared by innovative pedagogy and the inclusion of catechism within Sunday School are important. Learning outcomes, though not stated as such, are prominent in the use of catechism. The ability to recite the answers of the catechism when

⁸⁵ Liisa Kairisto-Mertanen, Turun Penttilä, and J. Nuotio, “Defining Innovation Competence: The Learning Outcomes of Innovation Pedagogy,” in *Conference Proceedings*, ed. Ilona Tornainen et al., https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Martin-Mulder/publication/254836115_The_concept_of_competence_Blessing_or_Curse/links/5419b89f0cf25ebee9887da0/The-concept-of-competence-Blessing-or-Curse.pdf, 28.

⁸⁶ Konst and Kairisto-Mertanen, “Developing Innovation Pedagogy Approach,” 47.

provided with questions is a learning outcome noted by the knowing of important doctrines. Learning outcomes are also present in the necessity of knowledge before one is baptized, which is an early use of catechism. Moreover, the ability to recite the catechism to not only a teacher, but before the church, displays the depth of knowledge needed to be recalled when under pressure.

Early in the Reformation years some aspects of innovative pedagogy are revealed. As children were examined in reciting the catechism before the church, should a need for assistance be observed they would receive “more ample explanation” of the catechisms “according to their capacity.”⁸⁷ Timothy Paul Jones perceives, “Even in 1537, the leaders of the Reformation in Geneva saw the need for adapting content and instructional methods to the developmental capacities of the hearers.”⁸⁸ This correlation seen in adjusting content and encouragement ministers for those needing additional attention lends itself to foundation aspects of innovative pedagogy.

In evaluating Sunday Schools during the time of Raikes one is repeatedly confronted with the evidence that the Sunday School teaching, and in particular the catechism used during that time, did indeed produce behavioral change and an improved way of living for the children involved. As noted, the advance of innovative pedagogy has produced more of an emphasis on the whole person, including their ethics and values. This is present in the catechetical instruction of children, both with the church gathered and in their homes. Catechism provides the needed curriculum to aid children, and adults, in their understanding of following Jesus and in the practicality of living out their beliefs.

It has already been rightly acknowledged that not all components of innovative pedagogy exist in the Sunday School or in the catechism, but a core component is related collectively to their success. Both need community and both require commitment from

⁸⁷ “Articles Concerning the Organization of the Church and of Worship at Geneva proposed by the Ministers at the Council, January 16, 1537,” in *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, ed. J. K. S Reid (London: SCM, 1954), 54.

⁸⁸ Jones, “Appendix 1,” 306.

leadership. Stated in both the literature of catechisms and the literature of innovative pedagogy, both processes need those who are giving vision and accountability to the way forward and both need the people involved to see it as important.

In summation, catechism was innovative in some ways according to a recent and broadening definition. Likewise, Sunday School possesses some of the same aspects of innovative pedagogy. While the use of catechism did not include all the components and aspects of innovative pedagogy, it did include enough of the core mechanics and approaches for it to be an innovating approach. The summation of their overlap occurs in that both catechism and innovative pedagogy seek to take what is available at the time and apply it in new ways so that not only was the learning improved, but the person was prepared to live practically bearing in mind what they were taught. Likewise, Sunday School as a ministry was innovative in seeking to reach people, particularly kids, and help them obtain abilities and knowledge not otherwise available to them.

Conclusion

Catechisms have a long and expanded influence, not only in England but around the world. Catechisms were being utilized in churches in America as well. Several catechisms were published in New England, with the number reaching its climax in the 1640s when 95 were published.⁸⁹ The catechetical definition does not change much from England to New England. Catechisms were a question-and-answer document intended for religious instruction. Roberto Flores de Apodaca records that, in the seventeenth century in New England,

ministers wrote catechisms to equip laity for their responsibilities of structuring new churches and calling church leaders. Catechisms also played a part in shaping the process of church admissions, both by providing theological content and emotional expression of one's religious experience that would be deemed sufficient to enter a particular church.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Green, *The Christian's ABC*, 51.

⁹⁰ Roberto O. Flores de Apodaca, "Learning Church: Catechisms and Lay Participation in Early New England Congregationalism" (MA thesis, University of South Carolina, 2019), 15. Flores de

According to Cotton Mather, the basic structure remained even though the delivery methods were not always the same.⁹¹ New England's most famous catechism, John Cotton's *Milk for Babes* (1646),⁹² was only about thirteen pages long. Others were extremely long, like Samuel Stones' *Whole Body of Divinity* (1656), which was over five hundred pages.

Even though the forms and methods were different, and rightly so contextually, the central belief that catechisms have something to offer as substance of learning curriculum for the church carried over seas.

The use of catechism continues throughout the 1800s and leading into the 1900s. The core make-up of the catechism remains largely intact, but its arrangement and emphasis have been adjusted. In the article, "The Use of a Doctrinal Catechism in Sunday-School Instruction", a number of right and helpful observations are included: "The ancient catechetical instruction aimed to embody two classes of elements: 1) facts regarding the birth, the life, the work, the death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ; and 2) trust regarding the nature of God, the person of Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, the life of faith, and the life to come. Of these two classes of elements the first (the historical) has been taken up and in a very much elaborated form is adequately cared for by the Sunday School. If it is desirable, therefore, as we think it is, that doctrinal instruction should be given by the catechetical method in the modern Sunday School, this should be done by each church as the guardian of its own children."⁹³

This central focus of teaching curriculum continued not just in New England, but also in Canada. O. C. S. Wallace, Chancellor of McMaster University in Toronto still argued a hundred years later, "There is no more urgent need today in Christian churches than a deeper seriousness and a clearer intelligence in the work of the Sunday Schools."⁹⁴

Apodcac writes, "Once in the church, laity turned again to their catechisms to learn a robust sacramental piety that was focused on the physical elements and their attendant actions. In early New England, catechisms were not merely instructional tools for children, but functioned as handbooks on how laity participated in church life" (v).

⁹¹ Cotton Mather, *Maschil or The Faithfull Instructor* (Boston: B. Green & J. Allen, 1702), 192.

⁹² See appendix 4. John Cotton, *Milk for Babes* (London: F. Coe, 1646), 1-3.

⁹³ Hurlbut et al., "The Use of a Doctrinal Catechism," 170.

⁹⁴ O. C. S. Wallace, quoted in Hurlbut et al., "The Use of a Doctrinal Catechism," 170.

Moreover, he urged that “there is need of a doctrinal catechism in Sunday-school instruction” because the methods being used were presenting “facts in isolation rather than in relation to each other and to the whole body of Christian history and truth.”⁹⁵ Catechism provided for tethering and accountability of teaching material within the church and among its teachers.

Catechism played a large role in the biblical instruction of Sunday School for many years, and in many ways served as the connection point to keep doctrinal error from going too far awry. In 1845, when writing an exposition on catechism usage in Sunday School in the church of England, Burrowes writes, “The word catechism means instruction by question and answer, and the catechism of the Church of England is an instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, and this catechism is divided into five parts, The Baptismal Vow, The Creed, The Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments.”⁹⁶ While understanding the practice is important, it is likely the desire expressed at the end of this exposition that is most beneficial by Burrowes, “let us, whether we be teachers, or the taught, pray that the substance of it may be grafted in our hearts, and bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honor and praise of God’s holy name.”⁹⁷ While the practice of catechism had its fair number of opponents, the proponents of catechism and the positive direction it provided for religious instruction could not be denied.

⁹⁵ Hurlbut et al., “The Use of a Doctrinal Catechism,” 181.

⁹⁶ *An Exposition of the Church of England Catechism and Dr. Burrowes’ Summary of Christian Faith and Practice by a Young Sunday School Teacher* (Southampton, England: Hort, 1845), 3.

⁹⁷ *An Exposition of the Church of England Catechism*, 76.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The development 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 development 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 development within Sunday School's long journey. Although this is not an exhaustive work, it adds depth to the literature concerning mass education, the transition to gratuitous teaching, and the innovative use of catechism 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 Development 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.

² "The Great Lesson the Sunday School Is Teaching," 176.

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

⁴ Edwin 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 allotted time to teach subjects such as writing, math, and reading, while Sunday School

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.

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

⁷ *Elementary Education Acts*, 297.

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

⁸ *Elementary Education Acts*, 298.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵ Harker, *The Work of the Sunday School*, 26.

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

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

¹⁶ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 78.

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

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.

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

Lasting Impact of Catechism on Sunday School

An impact of the catechisms encompassing the years of the Reformation was their provision of a clear and concise summary of Christian doctrine. Leadership felt this was a necessary and right direction for the church.¹⁹ This collection of doctrine made it accessible for the laity to learn and apply the knowledge. The collection also provided teachable curriculum by people other than the clergy. This collection of information provided by catechisms was not without its temptation to be over intellectual or too reliant on books, but these temptations did not negate the usefulness of the doctrinal collection aspect. This doctrinal understanding also helped churches ascertain if baptismal candidates understood the necessary things of Scripture before being baptized.²⁰ Though not perfect, it provided the church an obtainable mark in identifying those who rightly understood their submission to the Lord. Sunday School was one setting in which this doctrine collection was presented.

Another impact of catechizing was its promotion of religious education and learning. It provided encouragement and ability for those who wanted to pursue learning to do so, even if it merely learning how to read.²¹ This aspect of learning influenced Sunday School's original purpose, as well as having an impact on its transition. Sunday School in some ways functions as an occasion for those with little other opportunities to engage in some form of learning and discipline. Catechism makes accessible what was likely not accessible in any other ways, at least for a time. Sunday School being the setting, catechism being the process. What makes catechetical usage innovative is predominantly the application of the material and the intended culmination of such learning. Catechism is a constructed body of knowledge, but not just a set of information for the sake of knowledge, but for transformation. This process and information helped people come to

¹⁹ Carlos C. Roberts, *Christian Education Teaching Methods from Modern to Postmodern: Teaching the Faith to Post-Moderns* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2009), 74.

²⁰ Roberts, *Christian Education Teaching Methods*, 67.

²¹ Lee Palmer Wandel, *Reading Catechisms, Teaching Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 27.

an understanding of what it means to be a follower of Christ, and helped them live out such an understanding practically. Learning is revealed in catechism by gaining an understanding that would result in one partaking in baptism and the Lord's Supper, and additionally in the ability to recite such knowledge with an overseer and ultimately in front of the congregation.

The method of catechism provided influence on Sunday School in its delivering of a useful pedagogical method for the church, both for the teacher and learner.²² The question-and-answer format utilized in catechism allowed for learning to be measured.²³ Students, both children and adults, were able to study and review answers to the catechetical questions in between meeting times. Catechism provides an initial form of foundational engagement within the Sunday School between the teacher and learner. One of the things highlighting catechism as innovative pedagogically is the interaction between student and learner, providing initial discussion-based learning rather than a setting of lecture, which would have been the normal process. This foundation for discussion engagement is a long lasting, positive influence, of catechism on Sunday School. Another aspect of innovation in the catechism utilization is the desire for people to both obtain biblical and doctrinal knowledge and for that knowledge to have a significant impact on how they lived their lives cogitating gained knowledge. The trajectory of Sunday school forever changed due to the innovative use of engaging children in life change through imparting knowledge through the process of catechism.

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*

²² Petroc Willey, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church and the Craft of Catechesis* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2008), 12.

²³ Willey, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 98.

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.”²⁴

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.²⁵

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

²⁴ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 86.

²⁵ Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement*, 38.

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.”²⁶ 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 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

²⁶ Palmer, *The Sunday School*, 74.

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.²⁷ 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.”²⁸ 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.

While the scope of this dissertation is a specific transition in the history of Sunday School, the information provided here, especially the highlighted factors that impacted the directional change of an organization, also provide insight into the future of the institution. The contributing factors of gratuitous teaching, mass education, and catechism usage influenced the direction of Sunday School’s mission, which impacted its inclusion into the ministry of the church. To extend beyond the walls to not only embrace

²⁷ Many 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.

²⁸ Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, 244.

an institution not initially born of the church, and in addition allow children to attend that part of an atypical social class for the church, would have been a creative change during the period under examination.²⁹ These factors are not only relevant to its past, but also to the present and future of Sunday School.

Recommendations for Further Research

Unexplored aspects of Sunday School still exist. The scope of this project was to explore the transition of the organization of Sunday School from society to its embrace by the church in England. A further project could explore if this transition indeed happened in the United States, and if it did, what were the contributing factors and what was the timeline for its transition. In studying the Sunday School of America, examination could also be done as to the utilization of catechism in those Sunday Schools and if catechisms were not utilized what was the curriculum typically employed.

Regarding the Sunday Schools of England, one topic needing to be researched is the demise or end of Sunday Schools. How did a once highly influential organization cease to exist? What were the factors involved? What replaced Sunday Schools in the education of children? Knowledge of what led to its removal as a ministry of the church will shed light not only on what happened, but will be beneficial for the future of education in the church.

There has been more than an adequate number of articles produced in the last decade on the future of Sunday School. One article of particular interest for this project is by J.I. Packer and Gary A. Parrett, titled, “The Lost Art of Catechesis: It’s Tried and True Way of Teaching, among Other Things, Christian Doctrine,” which is an excerpt from their book *Grounded in the Gospel: Building Believers the Old-Fashioned Way*. In both their book and the article, Packer and Parrett raise concern for the lacking utilization of

²⁹ K. S. Inglis writes, “The fact that the churches did not increase their attendances in proportion to the dramatic growth of Sunday schools also supports the suggestion that the working-class used the Sunday schools for their own needs without committing themselves more deeply.” K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 330.

catechesis stating that originally “the church’s ministry of grounding new believers in the rudiments of Christianity has been known as catechesis—the growing of God’s people in the gospel and its implications for doctrine, duty, devotion, and delight.”³⁰ They go on to speak to the broad use of catechism, followed by the vast reduction in their practice. They list the development of Sunday School as an unintended contributor to the decline of catechism.³¹ Likewise, they state that Sunday School “effectively replaced pastor-catechists with relatively untrained lay workers, and substituted an instilling of familiarity (or shall we say, perhaps, over-familiarity) with Bible stories for any form of grounding in the basic beliefs, practices, and ethics of the faith.”³² They argue against “allowing the church to continue uncatechized in any significant sense.”³³ Instead, they argue unswervingly to a resurrection of catechism use in the church. Two future research opportunities emerge considering this article. First, more needs to be done to understand the lack of catechism usage, and how catechisms became an old relic of history. One research question that needs to be answered is what, if any, role did Sunday School play. Second, a future project may seek to grasp how Sunday School and catechism might be reunited to effectively educate the church in the realm of Christian doctrine.

Another suggestion for future research is prompted by Nam Soon Song’s article in the *Religious Journal*, titled, “Sunday School Revisited: An Alternative to Christian Education of the Church Today?” Song traces the history and development of Sunday School and pays special attention to “Sunday Schools as a response to the prevailing intellectual, moral, and religious condition” in England during the eighteenth

³⁰ J. I. Packer and Gary A. Parrett, “The Lost Art of Catechesis: It’s Tried and True Way of Teaching, Among Other Things, Christian Doctrine,” *Christianity Today*, March 2010, 26.

³¹ Packer and Parrett, “The Lost Art of Catechesis,” 26.

³² Packer and Parrett, “The Lost Art of Catechesis,” 26.

³³ Packer and Parrett, “The Lost Art of Catechesis,” 26.

century.³⁴ His research question is, “Do we need to retain Sunday School in its present form, changing the name to ‘church school,’ or ‘parochial school,’ or do we need to revive the original Sunday School as an alternative to Christian education in the church today?”³⁵ He offers some suggestions on how these might come to fruition in his home country of Canada. This same research and evaluation could be conducted in America. Is Sunday School best suited as an option for Christian education, or is it best suited as a ministry of the church for rightly dividing the Word for its members? This would likely require an assessment of current Sunday School implementation, and what a future adjustment might entail. The current state of education and the current state of the church would need to be considered. Sunday School as an organization is a useful tool if used in contextually relevant ways, and research will be required to know the correct format for implementation in each context.

A final suggestion for future research is birthed out of the discussion in chapter 5 that dealt with the topic of innovative pedagogy. This proposal would involve research related to innovative pedagogy in the church setting and in the realm of Christian higher education. A model of innovative pedagogy that has gained popularity in the secular realm of education centers on different types of learning and different applications of knowledge.³⁶ Many of the suggestions and offerings contained therein are valuable, after being critiqued and adjusted, for Christian higher education and for the church. The notion of embodied learning is beneficial, asserting the biblical notion that we are indeed created as embodied beings. Experiential learning is also beneficial because real life is lived in places: work, home, extra-curricular, etc. Likewise, blended learning, the notion that as people intake information they directly and consistently apply the learned information, is

³⁴ Nam Soon Song, “Sunday School Revisited: An Alternative to Christian Education of the Church Today?,” *Religious Education* 108, no. 2 (2013): 181.

³⁵ Song, “Sunday School Revisited,” 187.

³⁶ See appendix 7.

related to the idea of being transformed as a believer in sanctification through community.³⁷ While these notions are helpful when evaluated through a biblical lens, a better approach has been presented by an innovative pedagogy team at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. This approach is born out of the notion that the Bible is the foundation and parameter for which innovation can occur and flourish. The DNA of innovative pedagogy, as designated by the team, consists of two main and consistent strands or threads running throughout the method, the cultural mandate and the *imago Dei*.³⁸ These two foundational threads serve as the building constructs for three aspects that function as connections points: community, which is the social aspect; embodiment, which is the physical aspect; and participation, which engages mind and emotions.³⁹ Further research would be advantageous to understand how innovative pedagogy as presented from a biblical understanding could be beneficial for the church and institutions of Christian higher education. A Christian innovative pedagogy may indeed be the most beneficial way forward for education in the church and in higher learning.

³⁷ Alejandro Paniagua, "Why Pedagogy Matters for Innovative Teaching," OECD Education and Skills Today, April 9, 2018, <https://oecdeditoday.com/why-pedagogy-matters-for-innovative-teaching>.

³⁸ See appendix 8.

³⁹ Jonathan Arnold et al., "Tethered Improvisation: A Theology of Creative Pedagogy," unpublished paper, 25-26.

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 GEORGH 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 Elifabeth, (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:

APPENDIX 4

MILK FOR BABES CATECHISM

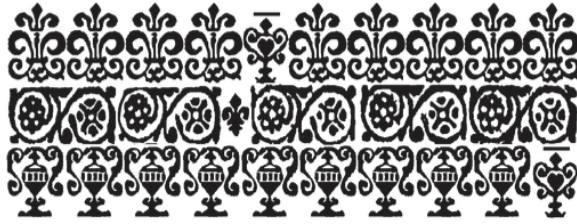
M I L K
F O R
B A B E S.

DRAWN
Out of the Breasts of both
TESTAMENTS.

Chiefly, for the spirituall nourishment
of *Boston Babes* in either *England*:
But may be of like use for any
Children.

By JOHN COTTON, B. D.
*and Teacher to the Church of Boston
in New-England.*

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Coe*, for *Henry Overton*,
and are to be sold at his Shop, in
Popes-head Alley.
1646.



MILK FOR BABES.

Q. **W***Hat hath GOD done
for you ?*

A. God hath made me, (*a*) He keepeth me, and He can save me.

a Psa. 119.73.
Ps. 121.4, 5, 6, 7, 8.
Isa. 63.1.

Q. *Who is God ?*

A. God is a Spirit of (*b*) himself and for himself.

b Ioh. 4.24
EXO. 3.14

Q. *How many Gods be there ?*

A. There is but one God in three Persons, (*c*) the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.

c 1 Cor. 8.6.
1 Ioh. 5.7.

Q. *How did God make you ?*

A. In my first parents (*d*) holy and righteous.

d Gen. 1.26, 27.
Eccles. 7.29.

Qu. *Are you then born holy and righteous ?*

A. No, my first father (*e*) sinned, and I in him.

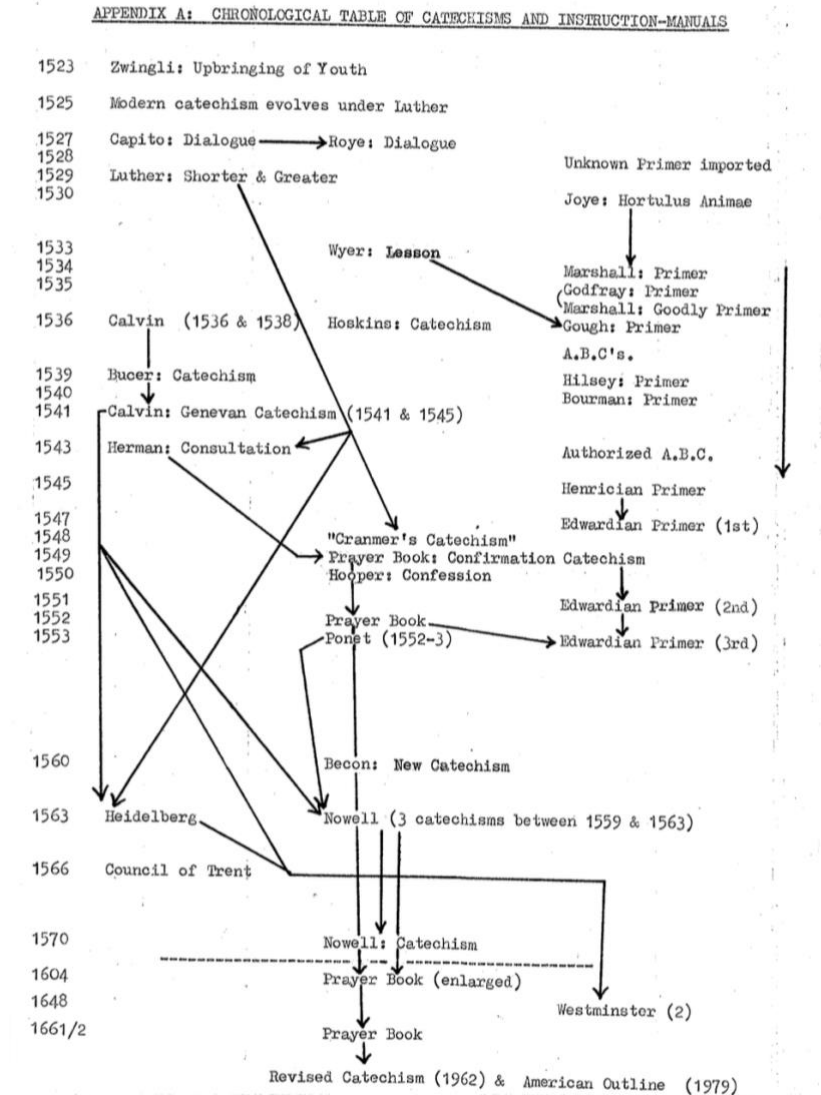
e Is. 43.27
Ro. 5.19.

-
- f* Ps. 51.5. *Q.* *Are you then born a sinner?*
A. I was conceived in sinne, and
(*f*) born in iniquity.
- g* Rom. 5.12, 13, 14.
Eph. 4.22 *Q.* *What is your birth-sinne?*
A. ADAMS sinne imputed to me, (*g*)
and a corrupt Nature dwelling in me.
- b* Rom. 7.18.
Gen. 6.5. *Q.* *What is your corrupt Nature?*
Answ. My corrupt nature is empty
of (*b*) Grace, bent unto sinne, and one-
ly unto sinne, and that continually.
- i* 1 Ioh. 3.4 *Q.* *What is sinne?*
Answ. Sinne is the (*i*) transgression
of the Law.
- k* Deut. 4.13. *Qu.* *How many commandements of the*
Law be there?
Answ. (*k*) Ten.
- l* Ex. 20.3. *Q.* *What is the first Commandement?*
A. Thou shalt have no other gods
but (*l*) me.
- m* Mat. 4.10. *Qu.* *What is the meaning of this com-*
mandement?
A. That we should (*m*) worship the
onely true God, and no other beside
him.
- n* Exo. 20.4, 5. *Q.* *What is the 2d. Commandement?*
A. Thou shalt not make to thy self
any graven image, &c.

APPENDIX 5

CATECHISM TIMELINE

This Timeline is found in "A Study in Catechisms of the Reformation and Post-Reformation Periods" by Robert Patterson on page 164. The timeline starts with Zwingli in 1523 and concludes with the "American Outline" in 1979.



APPENDIX 6

SAMPLE OF CALVIN'S SHORTER CATECHISM

THE
CATECHISM
OF THE
CHURCH OF GENEVA.

I. THE DOCTRINES OF FAITH.

Q. 1. MINISTER. WHAT is the chief end of man ?

A. CHILD. It is to know God his Creator.

2 M. What reason have you for this answer ?

C. Because God has created us, and placed us in this world, that he may be glorified in us. And it is certainly right, as he is the author of our life, that it should advance his glory.

3 M. What is the chief good of man ?

C. It is the same thing.

4 M. Why do you account the knowledge of God, the chief good ?

C. Because without it, our condition is more miserable than that of any of the brute creatures.

5 M. From this then we clearly understand, that nothing more unhappy can befall man than not to glorify God.

C. It is so.

6 M. What is the true and correct knowledge of God?

C. When he is so known, that the honour, which is his due, is rendered to him.

7 M. What is the true method of rendering him due honour?

C. It is to put our whole trust in him; to serve him by obedience to his will, all our life; to call upon him in all our necessities, seeking in him salvation, and every good thing which can be desired; and finally, to acknowledge, both in the heart and with the mouth, that he is the sole author of all blessings.

8 M. But that we may discuss these things in order, and explain them more fully: Which is the first head of your division?

C. That we should place our whole confidence in God.

9 M. How is that to be done?

C. By acknowledging him, Almighty and perfectly good.

10 M. Is this sufficient?

C. By no means.

11 M. Why not?

C. Because we do not deserve that he should exert his power for our assistance, or manifest his goodness for our benefit.

12 M. What more is needful?

C. That each one of us be fully convinced that God loves him, and that he is willing to be to him a Father and a Saviour

13 M. But how will that be evident to us ?

C. Truly from his word, in which he declares to us his mercy, and testifies his love for us, in Christ.

14 M. The foundation and beginning of confidence in God is then, the knowledge of him in Christ ?

C. Entirely.

15 M. Now I would hear from you, in a few words, the sum of this knowledge ?

C. It is contained in the Confession of Faith, or rather Formula of Confession, which all Christians have always held in general among themselves. It is commonly called the Symbol of the Apostles, which has been received from the beginning of the Church among all the pious ; and which was either taken from the mouth of the Apostles, or faithfully collected from their writings.

16 M. Repeat it.

C. *I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth : and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord ; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary ; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried ; He descended into Hell ; the third day he arose from the dead ; ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty*

APPENDIX 7

INNOVATIVE PEDAGOGY DIAGRAM

These noted clusters serve as a baseline for innovative pedagogy, allowing teachers to identify realms in which to be innovative.¹

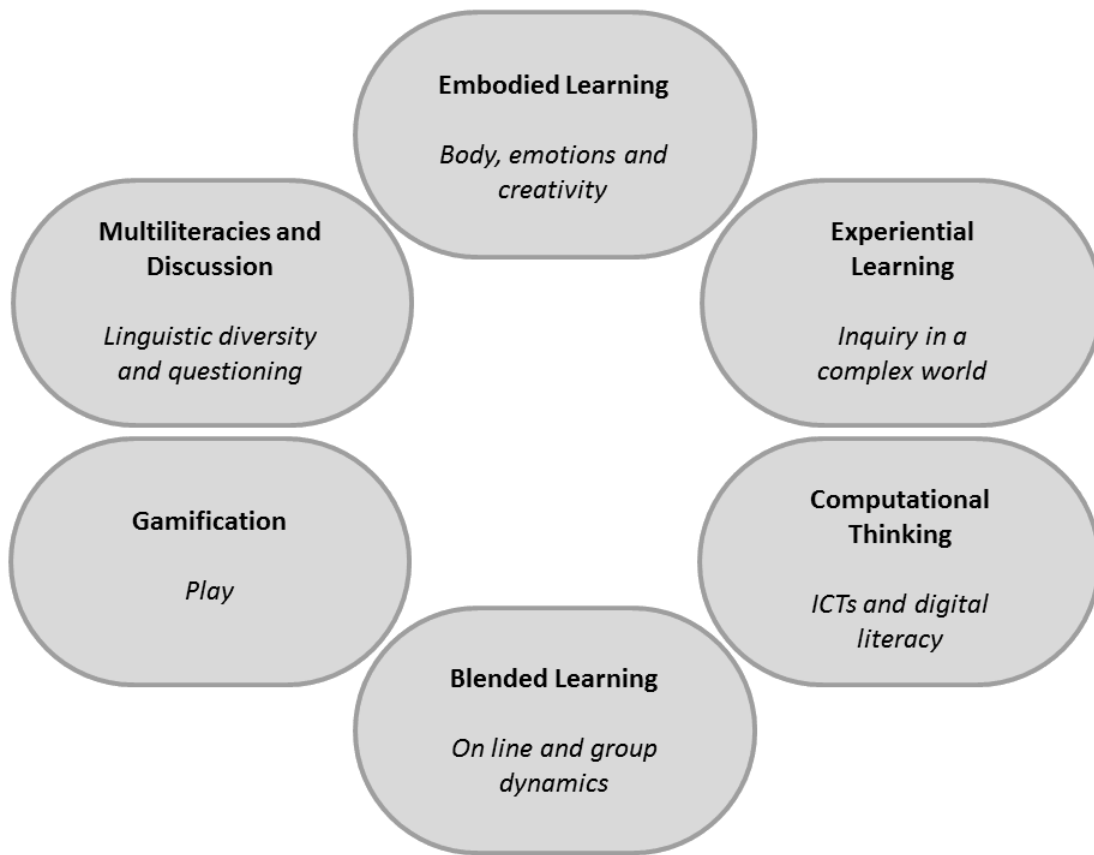


Figure A1. Baseline clusters for teacher innovation

¹ Alejandro Paniagua, "Why Pedagogy Matters for Innovative Teaching," OECD Education and Skills Today, April 9, 2018, <https://oecdeditoday.com/why-pedagogy-matters-for-innovative-teaching/>.

APPENDIX 8

DNA OF CHRISTIAN INNOVATIVE PEDAGOGY

This diagram demonstrates how innovative pedagogy in Christian higher education is founded on the biblical ideas of the Cultural Mandate and the *imago Dei*. Further, it demonstrates how these foundational components provide practical outlets for community, participation, and embodiment.¹

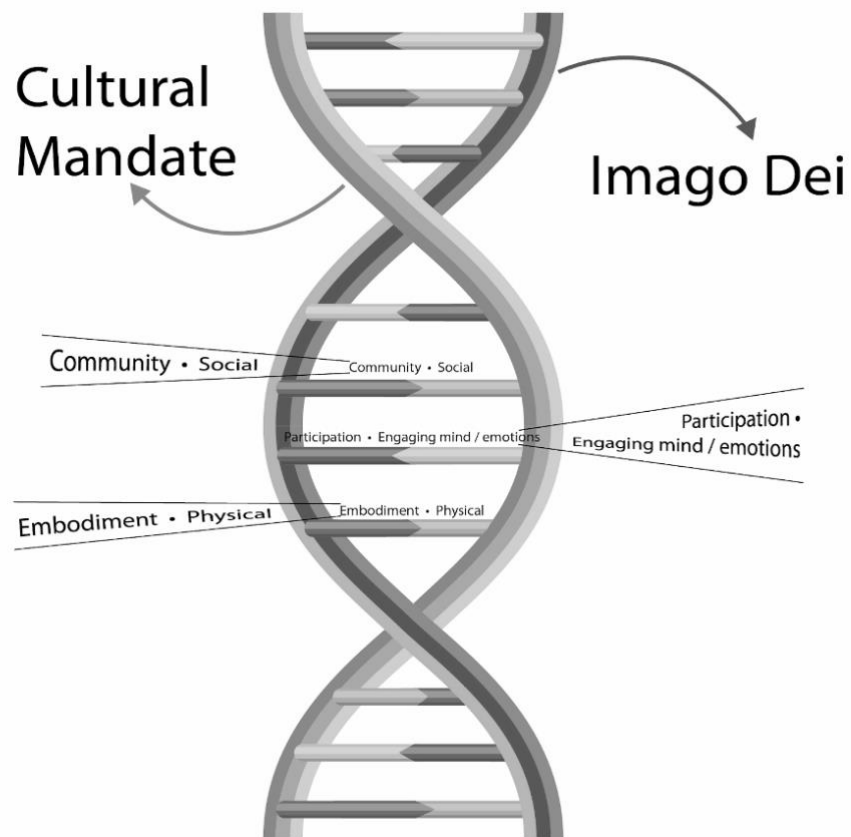


Figure A2. DNA of Christian innovative pedagogy

¹ Jonathan Arnold et al., "Tethered Improvisation: A Theology of Creative Pedagogy," unpublished paper, 25.

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ABSTRACT

PLACE AND PEDAGOGY: SUNDAY SCHOOL IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2023
Chair: Dr. Timothy Paul Jones

This dissertation explored the development of Sunday School in England as it transitioned from a program that was society-based to a church-based educational ministry. Primary emphasis is given to Sunday School's placement under church leadership and the change in purpose that impacted Sunday School's functionality. The prominent contributing factors in this transition were the growth and advancement of mass education, and the shift from paid to gratuitous teachers within the Sunday School. Sunday Schools place in the church appears to be solidified by the end of the 19th century. The pedagogy most noticeably employed was the innovative use of catechetical instruction. The catechisms utilized in the Reformation are applied as curriculum and a method of pedagogy in the Sunday School as it becomes part of the educational ministry of the church.

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