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JOURNALISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND:

A BEGINNING HISTORY

by

Maudie Whelan

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Journalism

Department of Journalism

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

July 30, 1993

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"JOURNALISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND: A BEGINNING HISTORY"

Submitted by Maudie Whelan

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Journalism

Thesis Supervisor

Chairman, Department of Journalism

Carleton University

September 2, 1993

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There is a silent march of thought which no power can arrest, and which it is not difficult to see will be marked by important events . . .

Samuel Bailey --

Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions (1821)

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the development of the newspaper press in Newfoundland between 1806, when the first permit to print was issued to an American Loyalist from New England, and 1832, when the first local legislature was established in St. John's.

It is an analysis of how the newspaper evolved in the political and social context of what was first a disputed territory claimed, and later colonized, by Britain.

This is strictly an exploratory work, connecting people, places and events in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and piecing together scattered fragments of information necessary to the beginnings of an important story.

It tentatively concludes that the newspaper in Newfoundland began strictly as a commercial enterprise, its first publisher submitting willingly to censorship. Despite his effort to keep out competition, a kind of free press evolved through three distinct stages to become a limited social force, not to lead reform, but to disclose the debate, and set the stage for a political, partisan press of the future.

More than fifteen hundred issues of newspapers were examined for coverage of important local events, such as the campaigns for Colonial status and representative government during the late 1820s and early 1830s.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BIS...Benevolent Irish Society

CO...Colonial Office

DCB...Dictionary of Canadian Biography

GN...Government of Newfoundland

NAC/PAC...National/(formerly Public) Archives of Canada

PANB...Provincial Archives of New Brunswick

PANL...Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador

PRO...Public Records Office (London)

SPG...Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

INTRODUCTION

In 1835, William Charles St. John published The Catechism of the History of Newfoundland.¹ It was a small, wafer-thin manual of questions and answers about significant names and events.

Q. What is remarkable of 1807 ?

A. The first newspaper ever issued in the Island was published this year; it was entitled 'The Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser.' The proprietor was John Ryan.²

Beyond that kind of fill-in-the-blank statement, early writers found little to say about newspapers in Newfoundland. Histories of Newfoundland have not regarded the newspaper, specifically, as a social force in the early nineteenth century.

Newfoundland is about 76,000 square kilometres, one of the world's largest islands. Located at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the east coast of Canada, it is where English,

¹ William C. St. John, The Catechism of the History of Newfoundland, St. John's, NF., 1835. Rare Book Collection, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland. This edition was published in St. John's by J.M'Coubrey, Printer. A later edition, published in Boston in 1855 is also at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University and in the Newfoundland Collection at the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. The title page of the later publication states the author was "the late U.S. Vice Consul for the Bay of Conception." It also states it was "intended chiefly for the use of schools" and is dedicated to John Irving Roddick, Esquire, Principal of the Harbour Grace Grammar School. [William C. St. John is listed in Ellison's historical directory of Newfoundland and Labrador newspapers as publisher and proprietor of the *Weekly Herald and Conception Bay General Advertiser* from November 2, 1842 to June 28, 1854.]

² Ibid., p. 27 (1835 edition); p. 37 (1855 edition)

French, Spanish, Portuguese and American fishermen came together to fish off the Grand Banks. Disputes over fishing rights and territorial claims were inevitable.³ For centuries Britain's main interest in the island was the exploitation of the fishery for export trade to the Iberian nations and for peacetime training of its naval fleets. Closer to Europe than any other part of the Western hemisphere, Newfoundland was regarded merely as a trading centre by West-country English merchants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They set up businesses there, supplying goods and services in the fish trade at great profit to themselves. There was no planned settlement and no permanent population.⁴

It should not be surprising, therefore, that the introduction of a newspaper in 1806 was solely for mercantile purposes. Nor should it be surprising that it was established at the grudging indulgence of a restrictive governor who spent most of his time in England.

Certainly, newspapers were a means of communication, but there is no hard evidence they were widely read in the small population centred in the Avalon Peninsula. Nor is there editorial evidence of the kind Martell quotes from the *Novascotian* about the Maritimes, that "hardly a hamlet or

³ The English/French treaty of 1713 gave exclusive fishing rights to the French from Cape Bonavista to Pointe Riche, originally known as the French Shore. In 1783 fishing rights for the French Shore extended from Cape Ray to Cape St. John. France was forced to give up its rights on the French Shore in 1904.

⁴ See: Appendix XII, Maps, current and of the period.

crossroad, however obscure, did not see one weekly," or that the merchant "read it to his customers round the counter."⁵ If anything like that occurred in Newfoundland, or if, as Joseph Howe claimed for Nova Scotia, the newspaper was read "by thousands," it seems more than likely it would have been recorded somewhere. On the contrary, the early history of Newfoundland acknowledges the newspaper as an instrument of change by barely a nod. When communication is mentioned at all, it is generally lumped with transportation, the assumption apparently being that the mail service was the main conveyor of the printed word. Even Prowse, whose history of Newfoundland is still considered the most comprehensive, said,

Our own history also advances with this age of progress [steamboats, electric telegraph, railway]. . . we pass away from the fishing admirals into the modern epoch, with roads, education, responsible government and courts of justice. This later Georgian [George III] era is the transition period in our history between the bad old days of tyranny, corruption and violence, and the dawning of the brighter days of civilization and progress.⁶

Nowhere, in this Newfoundland context, is the newspaper mentioned.

A descriptive narrative contained in a book by Capt.

⁵ James Stuart Martell, "The Press of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830s" in Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, Douglas G. Lochhead, ed., v. xxvi, 1987. pp. 109 - 133.

⁶ D.W.Prowse, History of Newfoundland From the English Colonies and Foreign records, 1895. p. 304.

William Nugent Glascock ⁷ provides a rare, and seemingly first-hand account of newspapers in St. John's in the nineteenth century.⁸ Writing in a condescending tone, Glascock says the "editorial tribe" in St. John's draws from "circumscribed and stinted wells of information" being excluded from "intercourse with Europe from November to April." He scoffs at the contributors to "these ephemeral productions" but says, "however large the bolus, the piscatory public gulp it down with zest." We learn from Glascock, however reliably, that newspapers in St. John's were sold "without being subject to any duty" and that the profits would be no more than "competent to the maintenance of a family." He also describes the daily routine of a newspaper family at the time. There can be little doubt he is referring to the Ryans and the *Royal Gazette*:

. . . [T]he various departments of exertion left no individual, young or old, male or female, unoccupied. The father took the literary lead, and wrote the leading article; the son-in-law (an half-pay purser in the Navy) sometimes sported a quiet quill on a little quackery in political economy⁹; the mother, not having much pretensions to letters, except in type (for

⁷ Glascock's name appears in the *Mercantile Journal*, March 9, 1820 in connection with a squabble between Dr. William Carson and Lewis Kelly Ryan, editor of the *Newfoundland Sentinel*. There is some indication Glascock may have been involved with a theatre group in St. John's.

⁸ W.N. Glascock, Naval Sketch-Book or the Service Afloat and Ashore; Characteristic Reminiscences, Fragments and Opinions on Professional, Colonial and Political Subjects; Interspersed with Copious Notes, Biographical, Historical, Critical and Illustrative, London, 1826. pp. 150 - 157.

⁹ Fade Goff married Ryan's daughter Mary in 1809. He worked on Ryan's newspaper for a short while. [M.Brook Taylor, DCB, v.7 p. 351]

she could assist a compositor in a pinch), collected and arranged little recipes for preserves, pickling and pretty progeny; whilst the daughters who were spinsters, professing total ignorance of the latter composition, confined their talents to aiding in the composition of type and correcting the press, which usually went on during the hour of tea, when every avowed contributor considered himself a privileged guest . . .¹⁰

Information contained in various issues of the *Royal Gazette* and in correspondence between John Ryan and the governors show with certainty that his sons Michael, Lewis Kelly and Robert worked with their father, the two oldest sons becoming publishers in their own right. Other than Glascock's account, there is no evidence that a fourth son, John; daughters, Mary, Sarah, Leah or wife, Amelia, were involved in production of the *Royal Gazette* in St. John's.¹¹ One other discourse on newspapers in Newfoundland was written in 1895 by J.F.Morris Fawcett.¹² Fawcett's opinion

¹⁰ Glascock, Naval Sketch Book, p. 155 - 156.

¹¹ There is evidence that other women of this period were involved in newspaper production. Two of those women would have been personally known to John Ryan and his family. The first was Margaret Draper, a Loyalist, and daughter of Bartholomew Green I, who took the family's printing plant and her printer, John Howe, from Boston to Halifax in 1781. [Inland Printer, July, 1914, v.53, p. 553]. John Ryan was Howe's apprentice at the time. The second was Ann Mott, widow of Jacob Mott, who was the first woman in the Maritimes to own and run a newspaper. [Charlotte Gourley Robinson, "Pioneer Printer" in The Maritime Advocate and Busy East, October, 1943, v. 34. No.3.]. Jacob Mott, Amelia Ryan's brother, took over the *Royal Gazette* and *Nova Scotia Intelligencer* when Ryan went to Newfoundland.

¹² J.F.Morris Fawcett, "The Newspapers of Newfoundland" in The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, J. Gordon Mowat, ed., v. iv, 1895. pp. 422 - 427. [Fawcett apparently wrote this piece when he was stationed at Fort Townshend, St. John's. He was a retired British Army officer when he arrived in Newfoundland in 1895, having served in India and Constantinople. He remained in Newfoundland for 10 years. --

of the newspapers in that era, and "for many years past" was that they had a "debasing influence on the people," and "blight[ed] the reputation of the colony abroad." Fawcett blamed the newspaper press for creating the image of the Newfoundland fisherman as "victim of a brutal, blood-sucking merchant, " an image which, predictably, a member of the elite ruling class would abhor.

Apart from these obscure early sources, it is well into the twentieth century before much material is available on the neglected history of Newfoundland journalism.

It is worth noting that Newfoundland did not receive official colonial status until 1824, long after her sister colonies, even though Newfoundland was Britain's oldest claimed territory. Once colonial status was obtained and representative government established eight years later, it may be inferred that the legislature was a forum for self-expression and that the people's voice was being heard. To suggest, however, that the introduction of a newspaper marked an intellectual awakening in Newfoundland, as Daniel Cobb Harvey suggested for Nova Scotia,¹³ might be somewhat pretentious.

Based on the material examined, it appears the Newfoundland press of this period went through three distinct stages. During the first stage the press was a commercial enterprise controlled

Encyclopedia of Newfoundland, v.2.]

¹³ D.C.Harvey, "The Intellectual Awakening of Nova Scotia," in Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces, G.A.Rawlyk, ed., Toronto, 1967, pp. 99 - 121.

to some degree by governors of the day. The second stage was one of competition concerned with survival, press ethics, freedom of the press and libel laws. The third stage saw the press become more of a social influence as it embroiled itself in religious/political controversy.

My primary sources are the major newspapers published between 1807 and 1832. They are, the *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser*; the *Newfoundland Mercantile Journal*; the *Newfoundland Sentinel and General Commercial Register* ; the *Public Ledger And Newfoundland General Advertiser* and the *Newfoundlander*.¹⁴

The *Royal Gazette*, Newfoundland's first newspaper, began publication in St. John's in 1807. It operated without competition until 1814. John Ryan, as publisher and editor, maintained a low profile during his long career in Newfoundland. He made almost no editorial comment, either on domestic or foreign affairs, having made a commitment to the Crown to remain neutral on all government issues. His permit to print a newspaper was based on that agreement. Ryan appears to have made no enemies. His obituary, recorded in competitors' newspapers in 1847, describes Ryan as a peaceable and well-respected citizen.

The *Royal Gazette* saw itself as a government organ and as a commercial advertiser. It took a middle road , intent on offending no one. Its long life, well into the twentieth century,

¹⁴ Throughout the text these newspapers will take the abbreviated form: the *Royal Gazette*; the *Mercantile Journal*; the *Sentinel*; the *Public Ledger*; the *Newfoundlander*.

is some proof, as newspapers go, of the success of such impartial policy. In 1924 it became the *Newfoundland Gazette*, by which time it published only government notices.

The *Newfoundland Mercantile Journal*,¹⁵ the second newspaper published, was founded on a partnership between Alexander Haire and Robert Lee in 1814. It was the first newspaper published in the Island without the requirement of a government licence, a fact which establishes it as the beginning of a free press in Newfoundland.

The style of the *Mercantile Journal* is imitative of the *Royal Gazette* and all of the Colonial newspapers -- advertisements appeared on the front page, it carried mostly foreign press articles, and it also competed successfully for local printing of official and legal notices. The *Mercantile Journal* never had much quarrel with the *Royal Gazette*. On the odd occasion of disagreement, it complained almost apologetically to John Ryan. The *Mercantile Journal* ceased publication in 1827.

The *Sentinel*, Newfoundland's third newspaper, is something of a mystery. It is not listed in any historical directory or newspaper bibliography. The Public Record Office in London, England has no reference to it. Its existence is referred to only briefly in the literature by Newfoundland historians Peter Neary and Patrick O'Flaherty. Only one copy of one issue is known to exist. Its masthead reveals it was published by Lewis Kelly

¹⁵ It was established in 1814. The first issue located is No. 108, September 11, 1816.

Ryan in the printing office of his father's newspaper. Apart from this single issue, everything that can be known about the *Sentinel* is in the pages of the *Mercantile Journal* between 1818 and 1821. During that time there were weekly debates between letter-writers to both newspapers which appeared to represent a more youthful readership among the educated elite of St. John's. The *Mercantile Journal* quoted the *Sentinel's* letters and editorials which were vitriolic, satirical and rebellious. Together, these newspapers provided a local dialogue and gossip not seen before. The relationship between the two young editors and their readers, however, developed into alleged libellous statements which eventually led to criminal charges against L.K.Ryan. He left Newfoundland in 1821 before he could be brought to trial. After the disappearance of the *Sentinel*, the *Mercantile Journal* lost its enthusiasm and perhaps its opportunity for such banter.

The *Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, the fourth newspaper, was established in St. John's in 1820 by Henry Winton, who had recently arrived from England. The immediate impression of Winton is that he regarded himself as more than a printer, and he made generous use of the paper's front page to promote that part of his business.¹⁶ Winton

¹⁶ Winton made elaborate advertisements for almanacs he printed as early as 1827. The "Newfoundland Almanac for 1828" was said to contain the architectural drawings for the first government house. No other record of these almanacs exist; the first reference to almanacs in Agnes O'Dea's bibliography of Newfoundland imprints is a probable date of 1841. [Agnes O'Dea, Bibliography of Newfoundland, 2 vols., University of Toronto

referred to himself as a responsible journalist and claimed his newspaper represented fairness and balance. On the question of local rights and privileges, Winton provided a forum for argument, conducted, he said, with "moderation on both sides." The *Public Ledger* at all times insisted on decorum, showing no patience with public demonstrations regardless of the perceived injustice. Toward the end of the period studied, the *Public Ledger's* leanings toward reform changed amid a tide of religious bickering. Winton's newspaper was labelled "Orange press," a stigma from which it would not recover, despite its independent spirit. Winton died in 1855. The newspaper was continued by his family until 1869, and under different title and new ownership to about 1882.

The *Newfoundlander*, a fifth newspaper, began publication in 1827 under the patronage of its founder, Henry Shea, a respected merchant in St. John's. The editor was Shea's son and mercantile partner, John Shea. The *Newfoundlander* was said to represent the elder Shea's political philosophy of uniting "all classes of British subjects." It promised not to meddle in religion, "when unmixed with politics. . . no matter of what sect its followers." From almost the very beginning, however, the *Newfoundlander* exhibited a mixture of religion and politics over which it went head to head with its rival, the *Public Ledger*. Shea had been a financial advisor to the Roman Catholic Church in St. John's and a member of the Benevolent Irish Society. He was a friend of

Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, the Roman Catholic prelate in St. John's, who became deeply involved in the election of candidates to the first local legislature. Catholics in the British Kingdom had only recently won freedom from repressive English law that deprived them of political franchise as well as the right to worship. Fleming claimed it was his duty to see that the Catholic population in Newfoundland was represented by a Catholic in the first legislature. Fleming's choice was an Irish immigrant, John Kent. The bishop's involvement in politics and Kent's campaign speeches so enraged Winton that the pages of the *Public Ledger* and the *Newfoundlander* became a political/religious battleground. Both newspapers were dominated throughout the campaign with reports of meetings and speeches; of resolutions by Catholics outside St. John's supporting their bishop. Everything preached from the pulpit regarding the election was reported in the newspapers. Patriotic religious rhetoric built to the point where Winton's home and property were vandalized. Animosity toward Winton would intensify to physical assault and mutilation for the editor in the few years ahead.

The *Newfoundlander's* first editor moved to Cork, Ireland, in 1837. The newspaper continued to be published, at separate times, by his brothers, William, Ambrose and Edward Dalton Shea, maintaining one political position or another for periods up to 1884.

These newspapers are important because they provide

evidence of what they looked like,¹⁷ the kinds of information they contained, and some idea of life in St. John's and in other parts of the Island. The advertisements are also an important source of information about how people lived and how they behaved.

Historians have made frequent use of some of these St. John's newspapers. For example, Gertrude Gunn makes about 100 references to them in her political history of Newfoundland. Philip McCann's focus is also concentrated on newspaper dialogue in his treatment of the religious history of the period. This, alone, confirms the importance of the newspaper, even in its earliest days. As a social institution, however, the newspaper press in Newfoundland has not been studied for its own sake until now. That is why the period between 1806 and 1832 was examined. The time frame is important because it takes the development of journalism from its very beginning to the debate over representative government and the election of members to the first House of Assembly.

Other primary sources are government documents and correspondence. Despite drawbacks, there is enough material for a preliminary examination.

There were three other newspapers that were not examined, two of which were published outside St. John's, in the area known as Conception Bay. The first was the *Harbour Grace and Carbonear Weekly Journal and General Advertiser for Conception Bay*. Its

¹⁷ See Appendix XI for sample copies of front pages.

publisher and printer was Thomas Ball. The first issue located is August 6, 1828 and the last issue located is July 11, 1829, but there are many gaps even in the small number available. The *Conception Bay Mercury Weekly* was published during the same period by W.S. Comer, but the only issue located is December 16, 1831, v. 3, No. 140. The *Times and General Commercial Gazette* was published in St. John's by John Williams M'Coubrey. The earliest issue located is August 29, 1832 and it continued publication until at least 1895.

These newspapers were not examined in detail because, except for the *Times*, only a handful of issues are available. Anything of relevance to this study in those newspapers, including the *Times* was reported by, or reprinted in the St. John's newspapers.¹⁸

There were other titles of newspapers registered,¹⁹ but there is no evidence they were ever published. For example, in the October 5, 1820 issue of the *Mercantile Journal*, a prospectus was published for the *Harbour Grace Chronicle and Conception Bay Advertiser*. No record of that newspaper exists.

¹⁸ The prospectus for the *Times* appeared on the front page of the *Newfoundlander* May 3, 1832. It said a new legislature would "give full scope for the exercise of independent and intellectual principles in this community." It was the first time in Newfoundland the stated objective of a newspaper publisher had political overtones.

¹⁹ Registration of newspapers with affidavits is still a requirement of the Newfoundland government. The requirement that a copy of the newspaper, signed by the printer or publisher be delivered to the Minister within 10 days of publication, is still on the Revised Statute: Chapter N4. See Appendix I.

My important secondary sources are histories of Newfoundland and New Brunswick, especially those which discuss the printers and publishers of the newspapers studied, and those histories which used the colonial newspapers as sources. Other important secondary sources are the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, which contains entries on most of the newspaper publishers of the period, and the central figures in the political debates at the end of the period. General histories of British and American journalism, various articles and essays on the newspaper press of the period in the Maritimes, historical directories of newspapers, and annotated newspaper bibliographies were also important. These sources helped put the early Newfoundland press into a specific historical context, given that issues such as freedom of the press were being discussed in England, Europe and the United States during the same period. These sources also helped to determine whether the press in Newfoundland followed the same evolutionary patterns, although later, given Newfoundland's unique political development.

There were many drawbacks in the source material. None of the newspapers examined, for example, are even nearly complete in their numbers. Only one, the *Royal Gazette*, had a continuous existence throughout the period. There is no span of time, in the publishing period studied, that all five of the major newspapers are available for simultaneous comparison. In the case of one newspaper, the *Sentinel*, only one copy of one issue exists.

This thesis is the first document examining in some

detail the newspapers of the period between 1806 and 1832. It provides an understanding of the initial stages of journalism in Newfoundland, taking into account the New England and New Brunswick connections. It leads to a tentative conclusion that newspapers in Newfoundland began strictly out of the interests of business and profit, however modest they were. It also concludes that newspaper activity in Newfoundland developed into a religious and political partisan press. To go beyond this period would involve a second phase of press relations and newspaper growth, up to the advent of responsible government in 1855. That period is deserving of a separate study.

CHAPTER I

IN SEARCH OF PLACE

John Ryan, the publisher of Newfoundland's first newspaper, was born in Newport, Rhode Island, October 7, 1761.¹ By then the printing trade had been established in Newport, and its first newspaper had been publishing for almost thirty years. Newport was noted for its wealth, learning and "free-thinking atmosphere." It attracted thinkers such as George Berkeley, the Irish philosopher, who brought to Newport an intimate knowledge of English literary life "such as had permeated into no other American locality."²

Newport's strong political and commercial ties to England are perhaps best described by its geography. Its exposed island

¹ John Russell Armstrong, Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society No. 7. Saint John, N.B., 1907, p. 72; "Biographical Data Relating to New Brunswick Families, Especially of Loyalist Descent," in the D.R. Jack collection at the Saint John Regional Library, Saint John, New Brunswick; and in the biographical card file of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

² Clarence S. Brigham, "James Franklin and the Beginnings of Printing in Rhode Island" in Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, v. 65, 1936, pp 536-544. [Brigham says that James Franklin, elder brother of Benjamin Franklin, published broadsides and almanacs from 1727 and the *Rhode Island Gazette*, in 1732.]

position and the fact that it was a regular stopping place for the Royal Navy made for friendly trade relations.³ Brown says of these American-born Loyalists,

The Newport merchants were the nucleus of Rhode Island Loyalism and, as with so many colonial merchants, fear of their trade within the British Empire must have influenced their Tory stand.⁴

In later years, during the American Revolution, allegiance to the Crown seemed nowhere more solid than in Rhode Island. The first number of the Gazette of the United States, April 15, 1789 began with a description of the 'present state of the Union.' In it, Rhode Island is treated as a foreign state which has refused to accede to a union with her sister states. The small population living in Newport, Providence and other towns is described as "wholly estranged" and determined to obtain protection for remaining faithful to the King of England. It is from this background that John Ryan came. It is this background that helps provide some clues to the man himself and to his work as a newspaper publisher.

In 1776, at the age of 15, Ryan was apprenticed to the Boston printer, John Howe, in Newport⁵ where Howe relocated

³ Wallace Brown, The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants, Brown University Press, Providence, R.I., 1965, pp 45 - 55.

⁴ Ibid. p.51.

⁵ David Russell Jack, "Early Journalism in New Brunswick" in Acadiensis, v.8, Oct., 1908, pp 254 - 265. See also: Timothy Barnes, "Loyalist Newspapers of the American Revolution 1763 - 1783: A Bibliography" in American Antiquarian Society, v. 83, Part 2, Worcester, Mass., Oct.17, 1978, pp 217 - 240.

after the British were forced out of Boston.⁶ Howe printed the *Newport Gazette* until Newport was evacuated in October, 1779. He eventually settled in Halifax, Nova Scotia where he became the government printer. Ryan's movements are unclear between 1779 and 1780 but historian David Jack, claims Ryan followed Howe to New York City in 1780.⁷ It was there that Ryan met the printer, William Lewis.

Historian Sidney Kobre claims Lewis was a native of Kent, England who either went to America on his own or was sent by the British to publish an English newspaper.⁸ New York City was then under British control. Kobre suggests that the British stronghold was in need of one more weekly to be published on Fridays to satisfy the desire of the British generals for a newspaper every day of the week. Lewis had been a newspaper journeyman to publisher, Alexander Robertson in Albany where the two were arrested for producing Loyalist material.⁹ Lewis

⁶ Howe was the father of Joseph Howe, Nova Scotia newspaper publisher, politician and lieutenant governor. The Loyalist influence of the elder Howe on his son 'to live and die under the British Flag' is described in Joseph Howe: Voice of Nova Scotia by J. Murray Beck. It is reasonable to think he may have had a similar effect on his young apprentice, Ryan.

⁷ David Russell Jack, "Early Journalism in New Brunswick" in Acadiensis, v. 8, Oct., 1908, p. 254.

⁸ Sidney Kobre, The Development of the Colonial Newspaper, Gloucester, Mass., 1944 and 1960, p. 148.

⁹ George L. Parker, The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada, Toronto, 1985, citing PAC P.E.I. State Papers Series A (M.404E) 183, Governor Fanning to Secretary of State, 6 December 1788 -- courtesy of P.E.I. Heritage Foundation, Robertson family files. p. 33.
See also: Marie Tremaine, Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751

followed Robertson to New York City in 1777 to work on the *Royal American Gazette*.¹⁰ Lewis left that paper to print *The New York Mercury; or General Advertiser* with a partner, Samuel Horner. It is listed among eleven new Tory papers established during the revolutionary war period between 1773 and 1783.¹¹ When Horner withdrew from the *Mercury* in the summer of 1783, Lewis took Ryan as partner. The *Mercury*, described by Barnes as one of the minor Loyalist papers, is said to have survived until November, 1783 when the British left New York and many Loyalists headed for the Canadian border.¹² The last surviving issue of the *Mercury* is August 15, 1783.¹³

By 1783 Ryan was twenty-two and had married Amelia Mott, daughter of John Mott, a printer, of Long Island, New York.¹⁴

- 1800, p.665, provides the same information about Lewis citing C.R. Hildeburn's Sketches of printers of colonial New York, N.Y.1895, p. 169-70.

¹⁰ Timothy Barnes " Loyalist Newspapers of the American Revolution 1763 - 1783: A Bibliography" in Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, v. 83. Part 2. Annual Meeting, Worcester, October 17, 1973, p. 230.

¹¹ Sidney Kobre, The Development of the Colonial Newspaper, Gloucester, Mass., 1944 and 1960, p.148.

¹² Timothy M. Barnes, "Loyalist Newspapers of the American Revolution 1763 - 1783: A Bibliography" in Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, p. 238.

¹³ See Appendix VII: Copy from microform of Lewis and Ryan's *New York Mercury* is attached with permission from the American Antiquarian Society.

¹⁴ Tremaine states in her bibliography that John Mott, Ryan's father-in-law, took his family to Saint John, New Brunswick in 1783, but they quickly returned to New York. Mrs. Mott declared she would "never live in such a god-forsaken place as Parrrtown."

They fled New York for Canada aboard the Neptune, on which Ryan's partner, Lewis, was a militia captain. It seems inevitable that Lewis and Ryan would try to apply their trade as printers at Parr Town in Nova Scotia. It also seems likely they would do it not necessarily fired up by revolution, but simply out of need to make a living.¹⁵ The pioneering experience will be seen to be one of turmoil and torment which caused Lewis to leave the business and may have had a lasting effect on Ryan.

There are discrepancies in historical accounts of how Lewis and Ryan managed to set up a printing press in the first Loyalist wilderness camps along the Saint John River. Some say they had to leave their press and type behind in New York City but landed them later. There is virtually no discussion in the literature about equipment used by Lewis and Ryan or where they got their paper and ink.¹⁶ Some information relating to Ryan's press, though scant, is found in an article, "Thirty years of Journalism" in The Trade Review Commercial Annual, 27 January, 1906 by W.H. Goodland [St. John's, Newfoundland]. The article discusses journalism from about 1876, when "the old-fashioned

¹⁵ Esther Clark Wright, Loyalists of New Brunswick, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1955 [fifth printing 1985], pp 159, 247, 301, 329. [Parr Town is referred to in the literature as Parrrtown; Carleton; St. John's until partition created two separate provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Parr Town was incorporated as Saint John, the capital of New Brunswick in May, 1785.]

¹⁶ E. J. Devereux provides a narrative, " Printing in Canada" as part of a photographic slide show produced by the National Film Board in 1981 -- a visual history series. It offers a good description of printing equipment used in Canada during the colonial era and beyond.

hand press" was still being used. It says Ryan's *Royal Gazette* was printed on a similar machine.

David Jack's account in *Acadiensis* [1908] provides a description of the type of press probably used by Lewis and Ryan:

. . . the bed to roll in and out on a track, propelled by a pulley and belt turned by a handle; the "sheet" was "pinned" on the tympan, and a "frisket" worked above the tympan kept the sheet clean and in place; the forms were rolled by hand, and the impression was made by pulling over a long handle, working a lever, which forced the "platen" down on the forms. By this process not over 200 papers could be printed in an hour, and these only on one side.¹⁷

Kobre's treatment of the subject of printing presses in the colonial era suggests they were generally imported from England and were "crude, wooden, slow and hand-operated." Type and paper are also said to be imported from England, paper being made from rags, for which newspapers advertised and "paid good prices."¹⁸ Kobre is at all times referring to the American colonies. It is reasonable to conclude that the situation across the Canadian border was similar. Kobre says the average cost of setting up a one-press shop was eighty-five pounds sterling¹⁹ (about \$420).

Martell's examination of the press of the 1830s in the Maritime provinces says only that paper and ink was supplied "almost exclusively" from England prior to that date and that the

¹⁷ D.R. Jack, "Early Journalism in New Brunswick" in *Acadiensis*, v. 8, Oct., 1908, p. 253.

¹⁸ Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper*, pp 39 - 43.

¹⁹ Ibid. Kobre, pp. 41 - 42, citing Lawrence Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*, N. Y. Grolier Club, 1931.

costs "must have been considerable."²⁰ Martell claims the initial costs of setting up a print shop was usually kept a secret by the parties concerned. Even Howe, who provided many autobiographical facts in his editorials, admitted only in a private letter that the *Novascotian* cost him one thousand, fifty pounds, or two hundred, ten pounds a year for five years, when he bought it in 1827.²¹

There are occasional references to the price paid by subscribers for advertisements.²² Tremaine states that the earliest issue of the *Royal St John's Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer* which she examined contained the colophon:

Carleton: Printed by Lewis and Ryan, Printers to his Majesty's Settlement of St. John's River, Nova Scotia, at the Printing and Post Office, No. 3, King Street, where all manner of Printing Work is performed with Accuracy and Dispatch * Advertisements not exceeding twenty Lines will be inserted for one Dollar, and others more lengthy in proportion.²³

Martell quotes the *Acadian Recorder* as suggesting the Post Office collected as much as forty pounds a year from some publishers for delivery. But he says "hints like this are so few and far between that the total annual expenditure of the average

²⁰ James Stuart Martell, "The Press of the Maritimes in the 1830s," in Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, Douglas Lochhead, ed., v. xxvi, 1987. pp. 109 - 133.

²¹ Ibid., Martell, p. 117.

²² Ryan's original proposal for publishing a newspaper in Newfoundland stated advertisements would be inserted at "one dollar a square and eighteen pence for each subsequent insertion." See Appendix V.

²³ Marie Tremaine, Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751 - 1800, Toronto, 1952, p. 597.

publisher remains a mystery." There seems to be no way of knowing what it would have cost Lewis and Ryan to set up a printing shop in Saint John or what it cost Ryan later to establish in Newfoundland. Many interesting questions remain unanswered. If records were kept, they may have been destroyed by the numerous fires that swept through both Saint John, New Brunswick and St. John's, Newfoundland in the early 1800s.

The history of the colonial era, Kobre maintains, cannot be fully understood without grasping the significance of the multiplication of newspapers along the eastern seaboard during the American Revolution. He suggests the newspaper business had become a profitable undertaking for printers because newspapers were recognized by the American Patriots as "effective hammers to weld the nation together" and by Loyalists as "corroding forces" to wear down American patriots.²⁴ Kobre suggests, as well, the newspaper was not an isolated institution but a function of the "colonial business machinery." Smith also refers to these early publishers as "entrepreneur/printers"²⁵

To understand something of the Loyalists and Ryan's passion for the British, Margaret Ellis provides this insight:

Lukewarm loyalists and the indifferent, when subjected to persecution and to systematic confiscation of all civil liberties by the patriotic party, who held control in all states except New York, followed the line of least resistance and signed the oath of

²⁴ Kobre, The Development of the Colonial Newspaper, pp 95 - 96.

²⁵ Anthony Smith, The Newspaper an International History, London, 1979, p. 86.

allegiance to the new nation. Thus it is estimated that in New York the number of those supporting the king fell from 95 per cent to 45 per cent of the population between 1775 and 1782.²⁶

After the fighting ended, Ells says there was a further "weeding out" and those Loyalists [Ryan among them] had little choice but leave their homes and country, ". . . turn pioneer, and hew homes out of the wilderness of one of the remaining British American colonies." The harsh living conditions they would endure along the Saint John River led to compensation demands on British authorities for the homes and properties left behind. Agents were appointed from among the American Loyalists to deal with these demands for compensation and land grants. This led to friction between the government agents, who were Loyalists and the Loyalist settlers who claimed they were treated unfairly.

D.G. Bell describes at length the way in which Lewis and Ryan, who were compensation claimants themselves, handled the controversial issue of Loyalist land grants.²⁷ Bell says they made their newspaper the "party organ of the Anti-Agents" and a "vociferous critic" of the government's Loyalist agents and directors dealing with compensation.²⁸

Arriving at Parrtown at about the same time as Lewis and

²⁶ Ells, Margaret. "Loyalist Attitudes" in Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces, G.A. Rawlyk, ed., Toronto, 1967, p. 47.

²⁷ D.G. Bell, Early Loyalist Saint John The Origins of New Brunswick Politics: 1783 - 1786 New Ireland Press, 1983, pp 70 - 171.

²⁸ Ibid., p.73.

Ryan was an English lawyer, Elias Hardy. Bell says Hardy was interested in taking Loyalist claims for property compensation to London for a more speedy resolution and as a way of securing his own return to England. Hardy is described as the "most important of half a dozen leaders of protest" among the Loyalists. Further, Bell claims Lewis and Ryan were the first to come to prominence in what he calls the "Hardy faction."

On three separate occasions Lewis and Ryan published correspondence that showed support for the faction movement. One was a sixty-line poem by "A Spectator" denouncing the administrators of land grants.²⁹ A month later Lewis and Ryan "devoted an entire page" to a dialogue submitted by "A Plain Dealer" identified as "an arrival in July, 1783." The piece criticized the agents for their bickering over the distribution of clothing, but the main thrust of the harangue was the agents' failure to expedite the surveying of property for the surviving Loyalists.

The issue of land grants embroiled Lewis and Ryan in a newspaper controversy which put them in conflict with a government for which they, as Loyalists, had risked their lives.

For nearly two years, 1783 - 1785, Lewis and Ryan published the only newspaper in Parrtown, the *Royal St. John's Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer*. In the March 4, 1784 edition of that paper they promoted what appeared to be a non-partisan newspaper policy:

²⁹ For excerpts from the poem, see Bell, pp. 74 - 75.

The editors of the St. John Gazette beg leave once more to inform their correspondents that pieces tending to scurrility or faction will not be attended to, nor have any countenance in this paper. The office is already teaming [sic] with such NEQUID MINIS. Essays conveying liberality of sentiment will always be cheerfully received and published.³⁰

But in the same issue, there appeared a blistering letter criticizing the government's relief and land granting practices. The letter was signed, "A Soldier." It accused the governor of partiality toward the Royal Fencible Americans, a local regiment, who were, according to "Soldier" in service out of want, not principle. Bell claims that even for those times of inflated rhetoric, the language of the letter was sensational in its use of such phrases as ". . . those miserable wretches must feel the force of a justly enraged soldiery." ³¹

From Bell's account, Lewis and Ryan were forced by the justices of the peace, William Tyng and James White, "to deliver up the original of the letter and confess they had received it from William Huggefurd, at whose desire they had printed it."³²

³⁰ In "Early printers and old newspapers in New Brunswick", Jack Collection, Saint John, N.B., Free Public Library. NEQUID MINIS probably should read "Ne quid nimis" -- Be wisely moderate. See: Foreign Words and Phrases Dictionary, Baltimore: Ottenheimer Publishers Inc., 1957.

³¹ Bell, p. 77. He cites the W.O.Raymond Scrapbook 5, p.122 at the Saint John Public Library, Saint John, New Brunswick.

³² Bell's footnotes describe Huggefurd, Hardy's father-in-law, as "one of the most declared and determined Loyalists in that part of the country." p.77, citing Beverly Robinson.

Huggeford was also arrested the same day and confessed he received the letter from James Eccles, a lieutenant in the disbanded Prince of Wales American Regiment.³³

The charge before a Sunbury County grand jury March 10, read:

. . .the said William Huggeford did. . . deliver to William Lewis and John Ryan, printers, for them to print, publish and spread abroad among the subjects of our said Lord the King a certain seditious and scandalous libel. . .³⁴

Lewis and Ryan, Huggeford, and his brother, Dr. Peter Huggeford, at whose house the letter was originally delivered, were prosecuted for seditious libel.

It did not end there. On February 22, 1786 a letter to the editor in response to "Britannius" began:

. . . I am a Native of one of the Middle Section, have been all my life a Loyalist, and have a considerable Farm on that Account. A number of us take Mssrs. Lewis and Ryan's Paper. . . In their paper of last Wednesday was a short Essay, signed by you, the reading of which gave our little Society much pleasure . . . "³⁵

The letter calls attention to the sufferings of the Loyalists, lists their grievances, accuses the Loyalist elite [the agents] of a plan to "reduce the rank and file of exiles to the level of slaves," and urges those distressed to "oppose every

³³ Bell is careful to note that James Eccles referred to here is not the same James Eccles whose claim is printed in Fraser Archives Report [Audit Office Papers in the Public Records Office, London] who was illiterate.

³⁴ Ibid., Bell, p. 77-78.

³⁵ Ibid., Bell, p. 121, citing the *Saint John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, February 22, 1876.

the least Violation of our Privileges... Submit not to petit Tyrants. . ." This letter was signed "Americanus." The publishers, Lewis and Ryan were once again arrested for "printing and publishing a scandalous and seditious libel."³⁶

On the same day the 'Americanus' letter appeared, the names of Lewis and Ryan are seen on a petition being handed around to settlers along the St. John River.³⁷ The petition, known as the Seditious Elections Petition, protested against government agents running for election to the local council. The petitioners wanted the six government candidates removed and replaced with their own slate of candidates. In May, 1786, in connection with the petition and the letters to the editor, Lewis and Ryan were tried for seditious libel. There was no preliminary hearing of evidence. Bell suggests that Attorney-General Bliss got around that procedure with direct indictments to the Supreme Court against Lewis and Ryan and four presenters of the petition. The jury had only to decide that the defendants "published" the offensive material. In New Brunswick all judges were members of the governor's council and it was a judge who decided whether the publication was seditious. Lewis and Ryan were tried and convicted in the Supreme Court at Saint John.³⁸ Each was fined twenty pounds and ordered to provide surety of one-hundred pounds

³⁶ Ibid., Bell, pp. 112, 113.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 117.

³⁸ See Appendix VIII

for good behaviour for six months.³⁹ What is significant here, regarding press freedom, is that the government targeted the publishers, not the author of the letter. Writing to the colonial secretary in London a week later, Governor Carleton reported the printers and those who presented the petition had been severally convicted and punished and "I can venture to assure your lordship that faction is at an end here."⁴⁰

Ten years later, when Ryan was publishing on his own, he was summoned before a committee of the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly to answer charges of "intermeddling with the proceedings of this House."⁴¹ In the 10 February, 1797 issue of the *Saint John Gazette*, Ryan had published letters written by William Knoxley, government agent in London, to a committee of the local legislature. Ryan, however, must have convinced the authorities he was innocent, because he was acquitted by the Assembly which found Ryan published "with no evil intention."⁴²

When Lewis and Ryan started their newspaper at Parrtown in 1783 they claimed to be, but were never officially appointed, government printers. Two years later, 1785, Christopher Sower, a Loyalist printer from Germantown, Pennsylvania, arrived. He came

³⁹ Marie Tremaine, Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751 - 1800, p. 598.

⁴⁰ Bell, fn 53, citing PANB CO 188/3: Carleton to Sydney, 14 May, 1786.

⁴¹ David Jack, "Early Journalism in New Brunswick," pp 259 - 260.

⁴² Ibid., p. 260, citing New Brunswick Assembly Journals, 3 January, 1798.

by way of England where he pressed claims for confiscated property and secured a commission as king's printer and deputy postmaster at Parrtown. This forced Lewis and Ryan to drop the word "Royal" in their title since the official printer, Sower, would be using it. As well, "Nova Scotia" was dropped because its western portion was now organized as the separate province, New Brunswick.⁴³ Sower's paper appeared Oct. 11, 1785 as the *Royal Gazette and the New Brunswick Advertiser*. Lewis and Ryan now published under the title, the *Saint John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*. By then they were publishing every Thursday until Lewis left the partnership in 1786.⁴⁴

Despite Sower's position as official printer, Ryan was also asked to submit tenders for the Assembly Journal and Acts of 1787. Tremaine describes the contrast between the two personalities. Sower's proposal was somewhat demanding. He wanted continuous copy once the work had begun and that he "not be kept waiting for a Proof Sheet any longer than is necessary to read it." Ryan's tender was couched in a more pleasant style:

. . . I beg leave to inform you that I conceive 100 [pounds] in ready money to be as near as possible the current price and what I should be content to receive for [printing work equal in extent and quality to Sower's edition of the Laws of 1786] or in case I waited any time for the money that it should be made

⁴³ Marie Tremaine, Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751 - 1800, p.597-598.

⁴⁴ All except one source examined presume Lewis returned to the United States out of frustration. Biographical data obtained from the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., states he died in Saint John, New Brunswick, November 27, 1786, aged 33. The source quoted is New York Journal, New York, January 4, 1787.

Guineas instead of Pounds.⁴⁵

Ryan won the contract for 1787 and 1788. However, bibliographer Patricia Lockhart Fleming, who continued the work begun by Tremaine, points out that Sower won back the contract for 1790 that was "rightfully his as king's printer" and held it until he left the province in 1799.⁴⁶ The Winslow Papers⁴⁷ contain a letter from Ward Chipman⁴⁸ to Edward Winslow which describes Sower in unfavourable terms and expresses hope that Ryan would be employed to replace Sower. There are other examples in the literature to show these were contentious times in the printing business and that competition was not borne gracefully. The correspondence between Winslow and Chipman relates a violent confrontation in the street during the 1785 municipal election involving Sower and George Leonard, a candidate for Council. Tremaine notes that "feelings ran high" at this time and that Sower described Lewis and Ryan's newspaper as,

. . . a certain paper devoted to the purpose of wretched faction. . . filled with despicable publications calculated to favour the most

⁴⁵ Marie Tremaine, A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751 - 1800, p. 242 - 243.

⁴⁶ Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Atlantic Canadian Imprints 1801 - 1820 A Bibliography, University of Toronto Press, 1991, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Winslow Papers, W.O. Raymond, ed., 1901, New Brunswick Historical Society. First Gregg Press edition published 1972. Winslow was a Massachusetts Loyalist, Muster Master, Colonel, one of the original twelve councillors of Saint John, and a surrogate judge.

⁴⁸ Chipman was acting attorney general at the time [1795]

dishonourable and pernicious news.⁴⁹

When Sower's own paper appeared for the first time, October 11, 1785, he pledged to print only what would promote "good Order and Morals" and to reject anything "intending to serve Party Purposes" and "Disrespect to Government."⁵⁰ Tremaine describes Sower's paper as high in technical quality but humourless in style -- ". . . his choice and presentation of material notably lacking the human interest and lively journalistic sense of his rival, John Ryan."⁵¹ It is worth noting, as Tremaine did, that Sower and Ryan had been rival publishers in New York as well. Barnes' newspaper bibliography lists Sower's *New York Evening Post* as a tri-weekly from October 25, 1782 to March 21, 1783. Listed as his partners are William Morton and Samuel Horner.⁵²

After the dissolution of the Lewis and Ryan partnership in New Brunswick, Ryan carried on as publisher of the *Saint John Gazette* until 1799, when he succeeded Sower as King's Printer in New Brunswick and publisher of the *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser*. When Ryan succeeded Sower as King's Printer he changed the character of the *Royal Gazette* by increasing the news content and crowding the page with large text types. His use

⁴⁹ Marie Tremaine, Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751 - 1800, p.597-598.

⁵⁰ Bell, Early Loyalists of Saint John The Origin of New Brunswick Politics 1783 - 1786, p. 102.

⁵⁰ Tremaine, Bibliography, p.596.

⁵² It will be recalled that Horner withdrew from his partnership with Lewis on the *Mercury* in New York at about this time.

of large pica distinguished him from other Canadian printers of the period. In his official capacity, however, he did not encourage criticism of the government.⁵³

Ryan's original newspaper, the *Saint John Gazette* was purchased by his brother-in-law, Jacob Mott. He printed the paper at least until he took over as King's Printer and publisher of the *Royal Gazette* from Ryan in 1806. That's when Ryan was preparing to establish a newspaper in St. John's, Newfoundland. These do not appear to be simply passive transfers of newspaper ownership. The business activity within Ryan's extended family might suggest a more elaborate plan to build a chain of newspapers. On the other hand, New Brunswick historian Esther Clark Wright said the Loyalists in New Brunswick had become beaten and apathetic, having succumbed to Governor Carleton's "ruthless campaign to suppress political dissent."⁵⁴

This analysis might help to explain Ryan's willingness to take over the more secure position of King's Printer in Saint John and why, when he went to Newfoundland, he was willing to accept the terms of prior restraint in his licence to publish. Other historians have disagreed with Wright. Davidson claims that the Loyalists lacked industry, that they had "a tendency to take things easy" and a "desire to wait upon the action of

⁵³ Tremaine, *Bibliography*, p. 596.

⁵⁴ Bell, p. 133.

government, which did much to hamper development."⁵⁵ MacFarlane contends that many of the Loyalists came to Canada to better their economic position through the acquisition of free or cheap land.⁵⁶ Some historians have explained Ryan's move to Newfoundland as an alternative to following Governor Carleton to Fredericton where the seat of government was established in 1786. That seems unlikely, since Ryan remained King's Printer in Saint John until 1807, twenty-one years after government's move to Fredericton. It is more likely Ryan, who by that time had several children, was more concerned about competition for himself and his sons who learned the printing trade in their father's shop. Their newspaper was perhaps, more than ever, a commercial venture, dependent on commercial advertisements and government contracts in a small market. Because the newspaper was sold primarily by subscription, the market was that much more competitive. As Wright suggested, earning a living became the only preoccupation.

Ryan's son, Michael, at the age of twenty, published the

⁵⁵ John Davidson, "The Loyalist Tradition" in Issues in Canadian History The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths, Leslie Upton, ed., Morris Zaslow. 1967, pp. 162 - 172.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Ronald Oliver MacFarlane, "The Economic Interpretation of Loyalism," pp. 158 - 161. See also: Leslie Upton's introduction to this volume which suggests that the Loyalists who came to Canada were inarticulate whiners who "left few written reminders beyond narratives of daily hardship."

first issue of the *New Brunswick Chronicle*, 7 January, 1804. That paper lasted only a short time and the young printer moved to Fredericton, opening a print shop and issuing the *Fredericton Journal*, 3 May, 1806.⁵⁷ That paper also failed, which might also suggest a good reason for his father to look outside New Brunswick, if he was trying to have an expanded family enterprise.⁵⁸

There may have been other reasons as well. MacNutt paints a despairing picture of conditions in New Brunswick at this time. He says the outbreak of war between England and France in 1793 brought a decade of misfortune to New Brunswick; that the province had made almost no gain in wealth or population since its founding.⁵⁹

When Ryan set up the first printing office in Newfoundland in 1807 he was forty-six, with thirty-one years experience in newspaper publishing behind him. The threat of legal action

⁵⁷ David Jack, "Early Journalism in New Brunswick" in *Acadiensis*, v. 8, 1908, p. 261. See also: J. Russell Harper, Historical Directory of New Brunswick Newspapers and Periodicals, New Brunswick, 1961.

⁵⁸ John Ryan was not the first to seek a licence to print in Newfoundland. In 1806 a permit to print was issued to Walter Charles Davids, but made no mention of publishing a newspaper. [PANL GN 2/1/A/17-19/46]. The permit was not acted upon. Davids may have been an agent of Ryan, sent ahead to 'test the waters.' One possible connection between Ryan and Davids can be seen in an amateur theatre notice advertised in the *New York Mercury: or General Advertiser*. Both names, as well as the names of Lewis and Mrs. Ryan, are listed as performers. See Appendix VII.

⁵⁹ W.S. MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History 1784 -1867, Toronto, 1963, pp 95 -117.

against printers and publishers was still present, despite the emergence of industrialization and democracy. Newfoundland was far behind in those pursuits. Ryan would be required to submit his material for government scrutiny and he would agree. He seemed to see no choice.

CHAPTER II

A MATTER OF SURVIVAL

In 1806 when John Ryan decided to ply his printing trade in St. John's, he knew well what he was facing.

. . . [N]either house, nor chimney nor barn was allowed to be erected, nor any business other than fishing business was permitted without the sanction of the Governor, and a newspaper was looked upon as a sort of dangerous innovation, a nidus of explosiveness, and a possible menace to the good order of the community or worse still, even to peace of the world.¹

There is no way of knowing exactly why Ryan moved to Newfoundland from New Brunswick. He left no private papers, wrote few editorials and the little evidence there is, reveals almost nothing about his personal pursuits in Newfoundland. There is, however, one piece of correspondence between Ryan and Governor Richard Goodwin Keats, referred to throughout this

¹ J.W.Withers, "St. John's Over a Century Ago: Living Conditions in Newfoundland, as Revealed in the First Volume of the Royal Gazette." [Withers' essay was written to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser*. It was first published on the anniversary date, August 27, 1907 in the *Royal Gazette* by Withers, the editor and King's Printer (1890 -1922). Withers was the son of John Collier Withers who was John Ryan's partner from about 1832. He took over as King's Printer and editor of the paper after Ryan's death in 1847, passing it to his son in 1890. The 1907 run of the *Royal Gazette* is not extant but Withers' essay was reprinted in Mosdel, H.M. When Was That, St. John's, 1923. (Rare Book Collection: Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland; Provincial Reference Library; Provincial Archives, St. John's, NF.)]

discussion, which provides important clues. It is important for several reasons, not the least of which, it confirms by Ryan's own hand, that he was a Loyalist from Rhode Island, that he accompanied the British Army to New York, and that in 1783 he went to Nova Scotia [which then included New Brunswick]. This petition, or memorial, as it was called then, makes much of Ryan's continued loyalty to the British monarchy. More importantly, it is probably the key to why Ryan started a newspaper in Newfoundland. It shows, significantly, that Ryan's willingness to post a bond of two hundred pounds sterling for a licence to print, was based on the belief that he would have a newspaper monopoly in St. John's, a town of about six thousand inhabitants.

...That being impressed with Communications from Your Excellency's Predecessors, that no other press would be tolerated in the Settlement on the avowed Principle that it could not support it, he has paid the most sedulous attention to his duty as Editor and has been rewarded by a steady encouragement...²

In Newfoundland, in addition to the required bond, Ryan had to pledge to say nothing in his paper against king or government, print nothing that would "sow dissension" or "suffer opinion upon policy of other nations," and "confine his paper solely for the benefit of commerce" for local inhabitants and those trading with the government. The magistrates had the right to see his copy prior to publication to ensure compliance.³

² PANL GN 2/1/A/25/45 - 47 See Appendix II

³ There is no evidence the authorities exercised this right.

Nor could Ryan choose where he might set up shop. He would not be allowed on the "lower path" (Water Street), which ran along the harbour. He was instructed to establish his press on the "upper path" (Duckworth Street), further up the hill, so as not to interfere with commercial fishing activity.⁴ Ryan was granted permission to erect a printing office and stationer's shop "twenty feet by thirty with a chimney therein" adjoining "the Dwelling House which Mr. Ryan leases from Mr. George Lilly." The building permit was signed at Fort Townshend in St. John's by Governor Holloway.⁵

Ryan expressed pride in his skills as a printer, but under trying circumstances, accepted the humiliation of censorship. He showed more interest in resisting competition and providing for his family than in any lofty ideals of a journalist. There is marginal evidence in Ryan's letter to Keats that the printer was not comfortable about the agreement he made. He wrote in the third person singular:

. . . That the restrictions and regulations under which he conducts his Paper, are such as deprive him of the multiplied benefits of a free Press, devoting his columns exclusively to the support of the Constituted Government [of England].⁶

The initial date set for the first publication of the Royal

⁴ GN 2/1/A/v.17-19, pp 63, 64, 175. See Appendices III & IV

⁵ PANL GN/2/1/A/20/251

⁶ PANL GN 2/1/A/25/45 - 47. See also: Appendix II.

Gazette was May 6, 1807,⁷ but Newfoundland's first newspaper was produced in St. John's, August 27, 1807.⁸

According to Ryan's letter to Keats in 1813, it was the merchants of St. John's who solicited his services. Withers says he made a

. . . [F]avorable impression in St. John's, for the merchants and principal inhabitants represented to the Governor that it would be in the interests of the trade of the Colony that a paper should be established."⁹

They recommended Ryan to the Governor as a "person of good and respectable character" and two hundred of these "principal inhabitants" signed the petition, becoming the first subscribers of the first newspaper published in the Island.¹⁰ As stated previously, Newfoundland was not at the time, and would not officially become, a colony for almost another twenty years. But the "principal inhabitants" of St. John's believed they were entitled to the rights and privileges of every British subject, including a newspaper.

There has been much historical debate over how Newfoundland

⁷ See Appendix V.

⁸ All of the issues of the *Royal Gazette* for the first three years of publication, 1807, 1808 and 1809 are missing. Withers' commemorative essay refers to "the first numbers of the Gazette." This suggests they may have been available at the time of Withers' writing in 1907.

⁹ PANL GN 2/1/A/25/45 - 47. See also: Appendix II.

¹⁰ See Appendix V

was settled. Early writers, such as John Reeves¹¹ claimed that England, the "mother country," forbade settlement until well into the nineteenth century, preferring to use the island as a migratory fishing station and the fishery as a training ground for the British Navy. That long-held tenet has been challenged in recent years. Twentieth-century historians provide plenty of evidence to the contrary. Keith Matthews, C. Grant Head and others have shown that settlement occurred in the 1600s despite strict regulations that stopped planters from living within six miles from the shore. Matthews said that 'almost none' of the seventeenth-century laws pertaining to Newfoundland was 'ever successfully enforced.'¹² Head claims King William's Act of 1699 sanctioned "peaceable" settlement for those who had already built houses and did not belong to fishing ships since 1685.¹³ It is true, however, that when Ryan decided to settle in Newfoundland in 1807, there were still laws against enclosing property.

As a printer, with two adult sons as apprentices, and with what he believed to be a monopoly, Ryan must have seen great potential for a family newspaper business. St. John's was a

¹¹ Reeves was Chief Justice of Newfoundland in 1790 and author of History of the Government of the Island of Newfoundland. His theme of struggle between settlers and merchants in eighteenth-century Newfoundland, according to O'Flaherty, set the Island's history "on a plunge into sentiment from which it is only now emerging."

¹² Patrick O'Flaherty, The Rock Observed, p. 53, citing Matthews, "Historical Fence-Building: A Critique of Newfoundland Historiography"

¹³ Ibid., p. 53, citing C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, p.199.

seaport town fortified by a deep, sheltered harbour entrance. Ships sailed to and from foreign and domestic ports, carrying goods and passengers. That meant foreign news could be secured from ships' captains, sailors and travellers. Letters would be exchanged; newspapers as well. St. John's was the centre of trade where the population of Newfoundland was concentrated. Advertisements could be secured from shippers, ship builders, merchant importers and exporters. Commercial printing would provide lading bills and insurance forms. St. John's was the seat of the colonial government, if only for part of the year. There would be need for published proclamations. St. John's was the centre of the judiciary. Legal and magisterial notices would be necessary. St. John's would also be the cultural and social centre of the society; there would be theatre and dance, language and music; taverns, horse races and boat races. Still, starting a newspaper would not, as Withers recounted, be an easy task, even though by 1807, newspapers had already been a signpost of civilized society for some two hundred years.

When Ryan's newspaper, the *Royal Gazette and General Advertiser* first appeared in St. John's it looked much the same as its contemporaries in England and America. The *Royal Gazette* had the double ruled line under the title, giving the date, volume and number of the paper. A second band of heavy ruled lines showed the symbolic pointing finger indicating the publisher's name with the address of the printing office. The

words "Dieu et Droit"¹⁴ might suggest a defiance toward a compulsory licence to print. The masthead also carried the inscription "Fear God: Honour the King," and boldly claimed the title of "Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty."¹⁵ Nothing was found in government documents to indicate Ryan was paid a salary to print even government proclamations.¹⁶ Inside square brackets, to the left on the masthead, was the price of the newspaper, "one guinea per annum"; to the right in square brackets, "payable quarterly." It was printed on both sides of a single sheet and folded to create four pages. Each page measured about seventeen inches by ten and a half inches. The size sometimes changed according to the supply of paper, which as far as can be determined, came from England.

Exactly as Smith described the eighteenth-century newspaper

¹⁴ Possibly a derivation of "Dieu et Mon Droit" -- God and My Right [motto of the Royal Arms of England first assumed by Richard I]

¹⁵ No evidence was found that Ryan was ever officially appointed King's Printer in Newfoundland. However, his claim appears to have gone unchallenged by authorities. As well, in a letter to Governor Hamilton in April, 1820, Ryan complained of having only "filled the situation" of King's Printer, and of being only "recognized" as such. [PANL GN 2/1/A/30-31/pp.130-132]

¹⁶ Tremaine found evidence of a government salary paid to William A. Rind, the principal printer in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. In Nova Scotia and Quebec, she said, the salary to a printer was fifty pounds in 1765, rising later to one hundred pounds. In Upper Canada printers' salaries were between eighty pounds and one hundred pounds for routine printing of laws, proclamations, official speeches, notices and advertisements. There is no evidence of a salary paid to Christopher Sower even though Sower was commissioned as King's printer. See: Marie Tremaine, Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751 - 1800, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952.

in Europe, so too, did the first newspaper in Newfoundland serve to:

. . .[plant] in the mind of the individual literate citizen the picture of a world of public events which he could never see or experience for himself. It placed his own society within the context of the continent and the world.¹⁷

Smith said early publishers invented the idea of running together, in continuous prose, accounts of events occurring in different countries. Ryan, like most colonial publishers, imitated those papers on the European continent. Publishers in the colonies, however, had to rely on the generosity of travellers to supply copies and were at the mercy of the seas for delivery, which often took three months or more. It was not only interesting, it was important to know about the ongoing conflicts between England and European countries which were trying to establish rights on Newfoundland's fishing grounds. The rise and fall of these powers affected trade of all kinds.

Strategically situated, St. John's was an important trade centre, but change in social conditions would be slow. There, in 1807, "manure and wood chips and fish offal were thrown in the streets."¹⁸ Three years later a court order appearing in the *Gazette* showed little had changed:

Whereas the Grand Jurors at the General Sessions of the Peace, holden at St. John's, in and for the said district have presented to the Court that the great number of dogs kept (many of which suspected have no

¹⁷ Anthony Smith, The Newspaper An International History, p. 13.

¹⁸ Withers, "St. John's Over A Century Ago," p. 6.

owners), hogs and unyoked goats are an annoyance... Constables of St. John's are required to be assisting to the utmost of their power in having the foregoing regulations strictly enforced.¹⁹

The order was signed by Lionel Chancey, Clerk of the Peace.

Toward the end of the following year, 1811, the Gazette carried a petition to the Prince Regent (the King apparent) by "the merchants and Principal householders of St. John's" against the Act passed for taking away public use of Ships Rooms (waterfront properties). The Governor of the Island at the time, Sir John Thomas Duckworth, had set building leases at "exorbitant terms" on "empty ground, while inhabitants are kept from building homes or repairing those they have." The population was growing and overcrowding was becoming a health hazard. The petition complained that the main street, (Water Street), was "only six feet wide" and that "there were no lights, no police, no public institution for education, no marketplace and no legal provisions for the poor." Conditions had not improved, but grown worse since Ryan's own description, recounted by Withers:

...its buildings were scattered here and there, with scarcely any regard to order or arrangement. Cooking houses, fish flakes, etc., were erected on and over the principal thoroughfares which were crooked, rocky and dirty, and so narrow that it was difficult for two carts to pass.²⁰

In 1809, Jenkin Jones, an American insurance agent visiting

¹⁹ The Royal Gazette, Thursday, June 14, 1810, No. 147 Vol. III.

²⁰ Withers, "St. John : Over A Century Ago," p.2, citing a rare editorial by Ryan of the Gazette on the completion of the fiftieth issue.

St. John's described what he saw:

. . . [C]rowded stores and wharves, ancient ships rooms lined the busy water-front and created a scene of animation and prosperity. Through the heart of this incongruous jumble, the main street, nearly two miles in length, flanked on one side by stores and mercantile establishments and on the other by a miscellaneous assortment of shops, ran from one extreme of the harbour to the other...a crooked, narrow alley at its widest, eighteen feet and at its narrowest, six feet."¹

Jones noticed that almost all the buildings were made of wood and many stored with combustible material creating "a mass of insecurity and danger in respect of fire, hardly to be paralleled." Jones viewed St. John's as "filthy, overcrowded and unsanitary" with "not the slightest vestige of municipal control, the few magistrates there exercising but a tardy and ill-recognized authority."²²

Withers writes about linneys attached to the small houses where horses and cows were kept and where there was always a store of hay and straw and a "good supply of gunpowder." He also mentions the fact that there were no matches in St. John's then, making flint and steel a necessary but tedious means of making a fire. People were inclined to keep a wood fire smouldering through the night. ²³ The history of destruction by fire in St. John's is well documented.

²¹ Cited in Alexander H. McLintock, The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland 1783 - 1832, a study of retarded colonization, London, 1941. p.90

²² Ibid., McLintock, p.90 - 91.

²³ J.W. Withers, "St. John's Over a Century Ago," p. 7.

It was under such conditions that Ryan set up his printing press. He would have his business nearly wiped out by fire on at least three occasions, and found it necessary to re-locate as many as nine times between 1807 and 1829.²⁴ As a business, his newspaper was afforded no security, only risk; as an institution it was merely tolerated by the Governor at the behest of the merchants.

Despite its drawbacks, St. John's was a newspaper market without competition and growing as a commercial centre. Hundreds of troops were in garrison in St. John's and there were plenty of convoys coming and going. There were wars on in Spain and Portugal and Denmark and hostile French fleets, although fractured at Trafalgar, were still a threat to British territories such as Newfoundland. Withers claimed that Ryan, "the patriotic Loyalist editor,"²⁵ admired and praised the St. John's merchants who enrolled in the Volunteers Regiment for the defence of the town. Recording the entrance and departure of vessels in St. John's harbour was considered one of the most useful functions of his newspaper.²⁶ It was an exciting time in a developing community. Prowse, too, described St. John's as far more than a fishing station -- it was a commercial seaport open

²⁴ A change of address for the *Royal Gazette* appears in the masthead on the following dates: September 9, 1813; between January 11 and July 16, 1816 [issues missing]; October 22, 1816; May 13, 1817; December 9, 1817; April 7, 1818; January 1, 1828; September 9, 1828; May 12, 1829.

²⁵ Withers, "St. John's Over A Century Ago," p. 4.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

to the free importation of food from the United States, in spite of Britain's "bitter dislike and jealousy" of that country.²⁷

Ryan's newspaper, however, reflected the disparity between rich and poor in St. John's:

May 10, 1810. TO BE SOLD by PUBLIC AUCTION
(without reserve)
On the Wharf of Daniel Marett & Co.
on Friday, 18th instant
1 Superfine Cloth Dress, trimmed with velvet
2 Opera Tippets trimmed with fur
1 Opera Tippet trimmed with velvet
1 Opera Tippet white satin trimmed with fur
1 Velvet Spencer
1 Scarlet Trafalgar Hat, with feather
1 Green Chip Hat and Flower²⁸

Next to such advertisements, the Gazette was announcing the formation of the Benevolent Irish Society (BIS), "for the permanent relief of the wretched and distressed. . . there was everything to break the heart of sensibility"

The people were overcrowded in dirty tenements, sickness was rife to an appalling extent, children were growing up in ignorance and depravity because there were no public schools to keep them off the streets and there was no hospital for the treatment of the sick.²⁹

Impoverished conditions, Withers said, were mainly due to the "thriftness and dissipated habits" of the poor and the

²⁷ Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English Colonies and Foreign Records, 1895. pp.388-389

²⁸ The Royal Gazette, May 10, 1810.
Tippet: scarf or shoulder cape: Oxford English Dictionary.
Spencer: hat; tight-fitting bodice jacket: Oxford English Dictionary.

²⁹ Withers, "St. John's Over A Century Ago," p.14

arrival of additional "swarms of poor Irish folk." ³⁰

Advertisements for opera tippets ran next to a plea to the poor to be inoculated against smallpox. In St. John's in the early 1800s, it seems the elite thought it was only the "wretched and distressed," not themselves, who could be touched by the disease.

In the ensuing years, the advertising columns of the *Royal Gazette* continued to show the disparity between rich and poor in Newfoundland. Nicholas Latoure's "School of Dance" held classes in German and French, flute and violin, and "the Art of Fencing."³¹ That summer, E.M. Heal of Edgehill Farm "begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen of St. John's and its vicinity" that his home is still open for the reception of "Pleasure Parties" where the "best of viands, wines, spirits . . . Dinners Drest . . . a good Skittle ground and other various amusements . . . are available at moderate charge." ³² And "the young ladies" were encouraged to have their portraits done in miniature by the visiting artist, E. Metcalfe. Next to such advertisements in 1816, there were official proclamations warning that the streets had to be cleared of wandering pigs and that the "filthy habit" of throwing fish offal in the street was "preventing access to the fish market" and had to stop. The warnings suggested the offal could be thrown into the water.³³ In

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ The *Royal Gazette*, July 16, 1816.

³² Ibid., August 13, 1816.

³³ Ibid., July 30, 1816.

some ways things seem not to have changed much from 1800. That year an official in St. John's complained to Governor Waldegrave of threats against the magistrates if they persisted in enforcing the law regarding marauding pigs. Even a reward of two hundred guineas did not help control the "symptoms of anarchy."³⁴

The "Established Church," too, despite its status in St. John's, was sometimes a target of crime. On one occasion, the Gazette carried this notice:

[Two hundred pounds] Reward to be paid by Church Wardens on behalf of Pew Holders for thieves who stole the Parson's Gown, Book of Records - Marriages etc, a crimson velvet cushion with gold tassels from the governor's seat - a torn Pulpit cushion and several books. An extra [one hundred pounds] if thieves convicted.³⁵

It is open to question who was reading Ryan's newspaper in these early years. Advertisements of auctions provide a clue to the sort of books some people were reading. The summer auction of "elegant household effects" of Henry Phillips included such titles as "Tristram Shandy; Don Quixote; Turnbull's Essays; Smollet's History of England and Addington's Penal Statutes."³⁶ This might suggest that the *Royal Gazette*, with its lengthy extracts from English newspapers on foreign affairs and commercial trade was read mainly, if not only, by the two hundred

³⁴ Prowse, History of Newfoundland, p. 418.

³⁵ The *Royal Gazette*, March 7, 1811.

³⁶ Ibid., June 14, 1810. See also: Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB) v: VII pp 763-766, "Ryan" by Patrick O'Flaherty.

or so merchant class who subscribed to the first issue.³⁷

The earliest writers about life in Newfoundland were often visiting missionaries who seemed to pay no attention to the newspaper as a force in Newfoundland society. One young Naval officer, Edward Chappell, tells of reading rooms in St. John's filled with English newspapers and the 'St. John's Gazette'.³⁸ Pedley's history of 1863 suggests that when the total population of St. John's "and the neighbourhood" was not more than 30,000, nine-tenths of the newspaper circulation was confined to that area.³⁹ This would indicate only the educated elite had access.

In contrast, D.C. Harvey suggests that the period between 1812 and 1835 was when Nova Scotians began to think as "Nova Scotians" and that the newspaper was a chief vehicle of self-expression for the people there.⁴⁰

Historian, David Alexander examined the earliest census for Newfoundland, taken in 1836, and found it varied in accuracy on literacy. The definition of literacy measured at that time, he says, is a reported ability to read, which would include many

³⁷ Ibid., DCB, p.764. O'Flaherty also suggests circulation was "modest."

³⁸ Edward Chappell, Voyage of his Majesty's Ship Rosamond to Newfoundland and the Southern Coast of Labrador [1816]. O'Flaherty also cites Chappell regarding nineteenth-century conditions in St. John's but dismisses him, with examples, as totally unreliable. See: The Rock Observed, pp.59-60.

³⁹ Rev. Charles Pedley, The History of Newfoundland from Earliest Times to 1860, London, 1863. pp 243 - 245.

⁴⁰ D.C.Harvey, "The Intellectual Awakening of Nova Scotia" in Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces, G.A. Rawlyk, ed., Toronto, 1967, p. 116.

children and adults who possessed a minimal level of comprehension. Alexander concludes that such a definition is limited because

. . . [I]t exaggerates the real capacity of Newfoundlanders in the nineteenth century to absorb the information provided by print and to use literacy as a tool for developing a lively intellectual culture within their own society."⁴¹

According to the 1836 census, the fraction of the school-age population actually attending school for some time during the school year was only 26 per cent.⁴² There were no compulsory public schools in St. John's.

Withers commented in his essay that children were "growing up ignorant." The newspaper's advertisements were telling. In the May 10, 1810 issue of the *Royal Gazette* a want ad appeared for "Two Youths of 12 to 14 years of age as Apprentices to be employed in the Fishery." Another advertisement around the same time sought a "young lad of about 14 or 15 years of age" to go to Cape Breton as an apprentice to a farming business and to "bind himself for three years." Most respondents were asked to apply to the Printer, giving Ryan first hand knowledge of their ability. In 1815 Ryan was looking for "a smart active lad from 12 to 14 years of age for apprentice to the Printing Business." This particular advertisement ran throughout the spring, which

⁴¹ David Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland" in *Acadiensis*, v: 1, # 10, pp 3 - 34. (Autumn 1980)

⁴² Ibid., Alexander, p. 12, citing Journals of the House of Assembly, 1836.

suggests it was difficult to find a boy with the basic education necessary to train as a printer's apprentice.

The first official grammar school was started by Amadeus Anspach, an Anglican minister sent out from England by the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in 1799 to be headmaster in St. John's.⁴³ Two years later he was sent to the adjoining towns of Harbour Grace and Carbonear in Conception Bay.⁴⁴

Rowe's history of education in Newfoundland tells about an earlier attempt in Bonavista, "the first formal establishment of a school" started by a clergyman, Henry Jones, in 1723, and supported by the Anglican SPG.⁴⁵ Rowe notes it would be more than a century before all inhabitants of even the larger centres would have the opportunity to read and write.⁴⁶ In 1826 the number of children of the "lower orders" registered in the BIS charity school in St. John's was six hundred, but Rowe's research

⁴³ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was founded by the Church of England in 1701 as a world christianizing mission.

⁴⁴ Anspach had the dual role of magistrate in Conception Bay and later was appointed judge of the civil court of judicature. He was also author of A History of the Island of Newfoundland, London, 1819. See: James Hiller and Peter Neary, Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1980.

⁴⁵ Rowe, Frederick. The History of Education in Newfoundland, Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1952, p. 27.

⁴⁶ Rowe is referring here to the first legislation passed in 1836 whereby the state assumed a measure of responsibility for education in Newfoundland.

found that the average attendance did not exceed three hundred.⁴⁷ To suggest the introduction of the newspaper to Newfoundland created the same "intellectual awakening," as was described by Harvey for Nova Scotia, would contradict the findings of Alexander and Rowe, and perhaps romanticize a commercial venture in a developing country.

On September 21, 1830, the first two pages of the *Royal Gazette*, carried a report from the Newfoundland and British North America School Society.⁴⁸ It said "Mr. King" had sent home [to London] from his mission in Greenspond, a list of "fourteen small islands, in which are about 500 children in need of education." Yet, almost every week, advertisements ran in the *Gazette* announcing the opening of a school. These were private schools, apparently only for those who could afford to pay. Toward the end of 1810, W. MacLeod offered evening instruction in navigation, mensuration, surveying and "Euclid's Elements."⁴⁹ By 1811 these private tuition ads were increasing, with some tutors willing to instruct as many as 25 children. In late summer, 1813, Rev. Frederick Hamilton Carrington placed an ad announcing he would "take into his house at Harbour Grace" six young men to prepare

⁴⁷ Ibid., Rowe, P. 37. [The BIS charity school was run by the Benevolent Irish Society, founded in 1806 to provide for the poor and help educate children.]

⁴⁸ The name of this charitable organization underwent five name changes. It was most commonly known as the Newfoundland School Society. It was founded by Samuel Codner, a wealthy English merchant committed to educating the poor and illiterate in Newfoundland. See: Rowe, pp. 38 - 49.

⁴⁹ The *Royal Gazette*, November 29, 1810.

for going to school in England. They would be taught English and Latin, writing and arithmetic "in the Eton plan of Education." Each pupil would be provided with "two pair of sheets, a silver table and tea spoon," and each would pay 10 guineas entrance and one hundred guineas per annum.⁵⁰

Undoubtedly, the first newspaper introduced in the Island opened up the rest of the world to an isolated people and brought instructive news from neighbouring colonies on how they were progressing. But it is difficult to see that the newspaper, as an institution, made a significant contribution to the intellectual development of the common people at this particular time.

Ryan made almost no comment on social conditions, he simply recorded what was happening. Given the restrictions under which he published, this is not surprising. If such comment were construed as a criticism of the Governor, he could lose his licence to print. It is curious, therefore, to see in the *Royal Gazette*, an editorial directed toward a newly appointed judge.

Sometimes, it is only by working in tandem with history texts and government documents that it is possible to analyze the newspaper content of the day. One obscure piece of government correspondence shows that John Ryan was charged with a libel in St. John's around this time. The charge involved the printing of "pamphlets" reflecting on the character of Chief Justice

⁵⁰ Ibid., August 19, 1813.

Colclough.⁵¹ By coincidence, an anecdote about the judge, furnished in Prowse's history, provides a possible explanation. Putting the two together helps to see that the editorial on October 21, 1813, in apparent praise of Colclough, was more likely sarcastic comment from Ryan's son, Lewis Kelly Ryan. Prowse relates the story of how Colclough, on hearing of his appointment to St. John's in September 1813, wrote to his friend, Reynolds, Postmaster-General at Lisbon ". . . Fate has removed me for my sins to this cursed spot. . ." Prowse, himself, has this to say about Colclough:

. . . [H]e was not much of a lawyer, and a very sorry administrator; he had, however, shrewd mother wit, and the true Hibernian faculty of "gammoging the Saxon," and paid particular court to old Sir Richard Keats, impressing on His Excellency the great and patriotic services of Caesar Colclough.⁵²

The *Royal Gazette* editorial read:

To introduce a Magistrate into Office is an Act neither novel nor extraordinary; but when it falls to the lot of the Journalist to record the induction of an elevated character into the higher position of executive justice who has been distinguished in the previous discharge of such important duties, by the most unequivocal testimonies of probity, impartiality, ability and energy from residents of the Colony where his talents were exercised [Prince Edward Island], it is with unmixed satisfaction we announce, that yesterday the Honourable Caesar Colclough, Esq., succeeded to the Seat of Justice, lately so judiciously

⁵¹ PANL GN 2/1/A/26/189. It is not clear if the governor was referring to the newspaper editorial as a "pamphlet." No evidence was found to suggest Ryan published a pamphlet other than the editorial "reflecting on the character of Chief Justice Colclough." The term "pamphlet" was used to describe publications that included books of 128 pages. [See: Wickwar p. 29]

⁵² Prowse, p. 390.

and honourably filled by His Honour, Thomas Tremlett Esq.⁵³

It was not John Ryan's practice to write such a patronizing editorial. It is more likely that his son, Lewis Kelly Ryan, who was being groomed to take over publishing of the *Royal Gazette* in the next five months, was trying his hand at the job of editor. It will be seen in the next chapter that L.K. Ryan was capable of caustic commentary and engaged in it to his peril.

In a report to the Secretary of State, Governor Keats was annoyed there had been an acquittal in the Colclough case:

. . . It would have been gratifying to me to have informed your Lordship that the Author and Publisher of the libelous Paper . . . had been found guilty of the offence by the Jury before whom they were tried. . .⁵⁴

The reference to two people is a clearer indication that Ryan's son was the author. It would not be unusual for the publisher to be charged with libel, even if he were not the author.

From the time the elder Ryan first set up his newspaper business in St. John's he made several trips back and forth to New Brunswick. This is confirmed by notices in the *Royal Gazette* in St. John's, as well as in the *Royal Gazette* in Saint John, New Brunswick. Whether he was trying to continue both newspapers is uncertain. He had turned over the New Brunswick operation to his brother-in-law, Jacob Mott, and he might have been completing what business he had there. There were advertisements in the

⁵³ The *Royal Gazette*, October 21, 1813.

⁵⁴ PANL GN 2/1/A/26/111. See Appendix 7I

Saint John newspaper regarding the sale or rent of Ryan's premises.⁵⁵ And on February 3, 1814, there was a notice in his St. John's newspaper that he was going to New Brunswick "early in the Spring" and that "all business appertaining to this office during the Proprietor's absence should be transacted with his son, Lewis Kelly Ryan." One week later, on February 10, in the St. John's Gazette, there was an obituary for Jacob Mott. The brother-in-law, by then King's Printer, had died in New Brunswick at the age of 41. This, too, probably explains why Ryan would have left his son in charge of the Newfoundland newspaper.

There is little doubt Ryan published with difficulty in the political climate of St. John's. The correspondence between Governor Keats and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Bathurst, regarding the Colclough libel trial is the evidence. Any slight, no matter how trivial, appears to have been intolerable.

. . . It is my duty perhaps to notice the progress of sentiment formerly unknown in Newfoundland, but which within these three or four years have began [sic] to agitate the Public mind in St. John's, and which seems to be fast changing it from a quiet peaceable community to a Place easily agitated, and meddling in all matters of Government . . .

Keats complained to Bathurst that the recent wars had made St. John's the "Emporium of the Island" and changed its character from a Fishery to a commercial town with all its attendant problems including the "introduction of a few characters of the most troublesome description." Keats also complained there were

⁵⁵ PANB F 3813

"no regular Practitioners of the Law" in St. John's with the result the "greatest indecorum sometimes prevails [in the courts]." ⁵⁶ As will be discussed later, Keats would have preferred to cancel Ryan's licence.

Ryan remained under the watchful eye of the magistrates as a condition of his licence to print. It is understandable that he would not comment on the harsh sentences of death or transportation [exile] handed out for seemingly minor offenses. Later, more independent newspapers, notably, L.K. Ryan's *Sentinel*, would focus on the lack of fairness in the judicial system and promote it as a cause for reform. The *Gazette*, ordinarily refrained from such controversy, other than to report straight-forward charges of such crimes as robbery or murder. There was the occasional letter to the editor, signed by "The Ghost of Captain Sentry" , about the evils of gambling even though lotteries were accepted practice and advertised in the *Gazette*.⁵⁷

Private grievances, especially if they contained threats to take legal measures, were often published as advertisements rather than as letters to the editor. In 1812, for example, Edmund O'Donnell advertised in the newspaper that the Reverend Mr. Ewer of Harbour Grace had accused him of "stealing a considerable sum" of money and a watch from the minister's house. O'Donnell said he was obliged to quit working for Ewer and was

⁵⁶ PANL G/H 2/1/A/26/111 & 112

⁵⁷ The *Royal Gazette*, February 4, 1813.

now unemployed, having "suffered damage to myself and my family." O'Donnell demanded the clergyman declare him innocent not only "from the altar" but also to publish it in the Gazette and to pay him the balance of his wages within fourteen days, or else he would sue for defamation. ⁵⁸

Sometimes, if local magistrates were lax in their duty to keep order, the newspaper served the purpose of venting frustration. Nicholas Brand, an eloquent farmer at Aquaforte, an Irish settlement on the Southern Shore near St. John's, took such action. Having run out of patience with "evil-disposed persons" breaking down his fences, Brand paid for space on page three of the Gazette to insert a "warning" to persons "not evil-minded" that he would:

. . . [P]lace one month after this publication and ever after, man-Traps and Spring Guns on the property . . . limbs with their lives may be lost by those terrible instruments of punishment . . . Thus cautioned, it is presumed none but Rogues or Fools will be taken, whose punishment no man can pity, and whose loss none will lament. ⁵⁹

Ryan did not establish his newspaper in a lawless town, however. There was a civil establishment with a high sheriff and deputies, magistrates, resident surrogate judges, constables,

⁵⁸ The notice appeared a second time a week later, September 17, but did not show up in following papers to November 26, after which there is a gap in available issues to February 4, 1813. There is no way of knowing whether justice was done or if Ryan was ordered to stop publishing the complaint against a minister of the "Established Church." A brief look at court records provided no further information.

⁵⁹ The *Royal Gazette*, September 2, 1813. As in the case of O'Donnell's warning to Reverend Ewer, there was nothing further in the Gazette to suggest that Brand suffered recrimination for publishing his views.

customs officers, and collectors. The sheriff carried out the orders of the court and the governor. He enforced writs for the removal of unauthorized structures, meted out punishment for convicted criminals, maintained district accounts and was responsible for summoning the grand jury. The grand jury, a relic of seventeenth-century England was still in force after the creation of a legislature in the 1830s. It was a court-appointed body of respected locals, whose primary duty was to issue indictments and recommend corrective measures for the public good.⁶⁰

Dr. William Carson, a physician from Scotland, who arrived in St. John's shortly after Ryan, was an outspoken critic of the naval governors, too outspoken for the *Royal Gazette*.⁶¹ Instead, he wrote, and published abroad, "A Letter To The Members of Parliament Of The United Kingdom." The pamphlet was looked upon as a dangerous innovation because it was the first time the Colonial administrators in St. John's were criticized publicly. Curiously, it was advertised for sale at three shillings in the *Royal Gazette*. Carson's pamphlet painted a picture of a bustling

⁶⁰ Patrick O'Flaherty, Address to the Joint Conference of American and Canadian Legislative Clerks and Secretaries in 1987, Centre for Newfoundland Studies Collection, Memorial University of Newfoundland. "Established Church" is also explained here as the Church of England, officially recognized and financially supported as part of the administration of the island. This created an alliance between church and state.

⁶¹ The naval governors were officers of the British Royal Navy in command of ships in the Newfoundland station with civil jurisdiction. See: George M. Story, W.J. Kirwin, J.D.A. Widdowson, Dictionary of Newfoundland English, 2nd.ed., St. John's, NF Breakwater Books, 1990.

society with great potential. "Five hundred and forty-eight sail of Merchant vessels" in the span of one year, Carson said, "gave sinews to the British Navy." Such industry, he argued, afforded a market for British manufactured goods "filling the coffers of the British merchant and the British Government." In Carson's view, it was time for self-government.

Governor John Duckworth recommended court proceedings be initiated against Carson, but government officials in London rejected the idea. The force of local authority was applied anyway. Duckworth enforced his "preemptory determination" not to reappoint Carson to the lucrative and prestigious position of chief surgeon to the local militia unit.⁶² Carson's pamphlets were filled with a rhetoric of hope and were key to the constant agitation for legal reform that would take another twenty years to achieve. There would be no noticeable support from Ryan's newspaper. Carson, and those who followed his lead in 1812, would wait another two years to see Ryan's newspaper monopoly broken. As an institution, the newspaper would then start to become a social force in Newfoundland, flourishing amid competition.

⁶² "Carson," O'Flaherty, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, v. V p. 274.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPETITION

John Ryan seemed determined to establish his two eldest sons in the newspaper business in Newfoundland as quickly as possible. Having failed to sustain two separate publishing ventures in New Brunswick, Michael Ryan, the eldest, accompanied his father to Newfoundland. It appears he was a partner in the business because various print jobs in 1807 and 1808 bear the inscription, *John Ryan & Son* and *Ryan & Son*, respectively.¹ No address for the printing office is provided. Michael Ryan might have been engaged later as an independent printer. In 1810 he printed a memoir by Edmund Violet inscribed, *Printed by MICHAEL RYAN AT HIS OFFICE In the Lane opposite Parker Knight and Bulley's* [emphasis in the original].

On July 5, 1810, Michael Ryan published in his father's newspaper, the *Royal Gazette*, a prospectus for a new weekly newspaper, the *Commercial Register* to be issued "every Tuesday morning on a Neat Type and good Demy paper." Appealing to the Society of Merchants and the public in general, Ryan said, as was

¹ Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Atlantic Canadian Imprints, 1801 - 1820 A BIBLIOGRAPHY, University of Toronto Press, 1991 pp 47 - 49.

customary, that if he could get a "moderate number of subscriptions" he would start publishing the new paper that month. His father's paper, published Thursdays, he suggested, would "ensure a comprehensive detail of intelligence for the whole week." It also meant merchants could advertise every three days -- "an advantage," Ryan said, "that does not bear comment."

The idea of a new paper for St. John's did not arise, he said, "with a view to oppose the publication of another, but to establish himself in business." Here again is evidence of the "entrepreneur printer" described earlier, and of the newspaper operation seen as a legitimate part of a mercantile system. Ryan stressed that he was not in competition with his father's newspaper, but declared his newspaper would be "different" and "more practicable" than the *Royal Gazette*. It would offer more "correct entries and clearances [ships through customs] and statements of imports and exports." More importantly, it promised "political discussion with complete IMPARTIALITY," [emphasis in the original].

The prospectus appeared again in the following week's *Royal Gazette*. At the same time, Michael Ryan wrote a letter to R.C. Sconce, the governor's secretary, asking permission to publish a newspaper to be called the *Commercial Register*. In the letter, Ryan explained that he had already made "extensive arrangements" but that he "thought it [his] duty" before the first publication, "to solicit the patronage and support of his excellency." The reply from Fort Townshend was swift and terse. Sconce informed

Ryan that his excellency "cannot conceive of the necessity of two Gazettes in this Town." Further, since "no reason has been given why a second should be established, [the governor] does not think it proper to comply."²

The young printer made no further effort to convince local authorities. He soon left Newfoundland for the West Indies where he established the *Barbados Globe*.³ All of this activity is evidence that the Ryans intended to create a publishing industry in Newfoundland. Had Michael Ryan secured a permit it would have expanded the family enterprise and probably kept competition at bay for a much longer time. As it was, Michael Ryan was not the only aspiring publisher in St. John's.

Within a few years Alexander Haire and Robert Lee, who

² PANL GN 2/1/A/ v.20-21, p. 40-41.

³ Journal of Barbados Museum and Historical Society, v.14(3) May 1942, p. 24.

Jerome S.Handler, Guide to Source Materials on the study of Barbados History 1627 - 1834, Providence, R.I., John Carter Brown Library, 1991, pp. 31-2; 49-50.

A report regarding Michael Ryan is seen in The Public Ledger And Newfoundland General Advertiser, April 20, 1827: A Captain Warren from the ship *Velocity* brought to St. John's a file of newspapers from Barbados containing a copy of a note taken from a bottle picked up on the windward side of the island of Barbados on 30th September last and forwarded to its address by Michael Ryan. The address was: Bay of Biscay, 1st March, 1825, To John McGreggor, Esq., Commercial Bank, Edinbrough. The note read: The ship, the Kent Indiaman is on fire. Elizabeth, Joanna and myself commit our spirits into the hands of our blessed Redeemer: his grace renovates us to be quite composed on the awful prospect of eternity. The note is signed, J.W. McGreggor. The complete transcript is signed: (A true copy), Michael Ryan, Editor of the *Barbados Globe*. Captain Warren told the *Ledger* that the writer of the note called in at Barbados in January last to thank Ryan for his kindness in forwarding the note.

said they had been employed in printing handbills and shipping papers, petitioned the governor for a permit to publish a second newspaper in St. John's.⁴ It was to be called the *Newfoundland Mercantile Journal*. They were refused.

John Ryan was disturbed by their intention to compete with him and composed a letter to the governor, the tone of which can be described as at once pleading and indignant. Having established his newspaper, with the understanding his would be the only press, the veteran printer presented his case against Haire and Lee. He expressed "alarm" that the "ostensible Party in the opposition is only 15 years old." Ryan reminded the governor that three years earlier, his son, Michael was refused a permit to print by Governor Duckworth, "on the strong ground that one printer was sufficient for the business of this place..." [emphasis in the original] and that should a second be necessary, his son would "have the preference." "Consequently", said Ryan, "he [Michael] was obliged to seek a livelihood in the West Indies."⁵ Ryan goes on to plead for his second eldest son, Lewis Kelly Ryan, who "has served his regular apprenticeship" and claims a "just right" over those who have not, to "pursue the

⁴ Research has not been done on the background of Haire and Lee. It is possible they had been employed in Ryan's print shop.

⁵ Michael Ryan visited Newfoundland in 1828 and on his return to Barbados, the vessel on which he was a passenger was lost at sea. See: J.W. Lawrence, The Judges Of New Brunswick And Their Times [1983], p. 139.

line of business to which he has been bred."⁶ To this, the governor appeared to capitulate. Ryan received a short reply from the governor's secretary saying there was "no intention at present" to authorize any paper other than the *Royal Gazette*.⁷

Ryan challenged authorities from a business point of view in order to resist competition from outside his family. ⁸ But he did not question the right claimed by the governor to grant or to withhold a licence to print. That question arose as interest in publishing increased along with the discussion of ethics in the business of journalism.

Haire and Lee attempted once more to secure permission to publish a second newspaper. They informed Governor Richard Goodwin Keats that they had imported a "complete press, types and apparatus for the printing business" and pledged "never in our conduct give your Excellency cause to regret" the sanction of their undertaking.⁹

A reply to this request has not been located but correspondence between Keats and the Earl of Bathurst shortly afterwards shows that the governor had only lately become aware

⁶ See: Ryan's memorial to Keats, Appendix II.

⁷ PANL GN 2/1/A/ v. 26, pp.50 - 51.

⁸ In the correspondence with Keats, Ryan said he would be satisfied with, "at least" an exemption from the risk of competition in lieu of the salary that "usually" attaches to the appointment of King's Printer. See again: Appendix II.

⁹ PANL GN 2/1/A/v.26/pp.50-51

that most laws governing England, also governed her colonies."¹⁰ Much to his consternation, Keats was obliged to take legal advice from London that the old licensing act had been obsolete for some time. The colonial governor was told he had no authority to refuse the right to print or to prevent publishing. Keats reported to Bathurst that his loss of authority over who could publish seemed

. . . to settle the unrestrained Freedom of the Press in Newfoundland and to abridge the Exercise of an authority of the Governor in a Settlement where hitherto it has been respected in Cases of this and a similar nature. . .

Keats feared that the decision was "not calculated to lessen" the difficulties of the Island. ¹¹

By the governor's own words, this was the beginning of a free press in Newfoundland, though not by way of a public proclamation. The *Royal Gazette* was not required to publish this obscure change in the law and it is perhaps significant that there was no mention of it in the newspaper.¹²

¹⁰ PANL GN 2/1/A/ v. 26, p. 112-113

¹¹ Ibid. [Colonial governors were appointed from the ranks of the British admiralty and referred to as naval governors. Evidence suggests they were not always familiar with the parliamentary laws of England.]

¹² Kobre says the first struggle over press censorship between American colonists and their governor occurred in 1721 when a controversy arose in the Massachusetts legislature. The governor had retained the prerogative as licensor to suppress any detrimental publication. It was brought to the governor's attention that colonial governors no longer had that power since 1695 when the king in England lost the power to licence to the House of Commons. Thus from 1721 in Massachusetts, there was no more legal censorship of the press by a licensor. (See: Sidney Kobre, Development of the Colonial Newspaper, Gloucester, Mass.,

The barrier against newspaper competition was removed, and the *Mercantile Journal* was established in 1814. The first issues of this newspaper are not available, consequently there is no way of knowing if Haire and Lee publicized the fact that freedom to publish no longer required the governor's sanction.¹³ Within six years there were four newspapers on the market in St. John's. But the only "freedom" they would know would be freedom from compulsory licensing. As Wickwar explains it, in 1695 the British House of Commons raised so many objections to the Licensing Act that it was not renewed in the same form and the session ended before new measures could be drafted. So the old licensing act had expired almost without public notice. Wickwar cites Hallam's Constitutional History : "The Liberty of the Press consists, in a strict sense, merely in an exemption from the superintendence of a licenser."¹⁴ Such liberty is something less than freedom. The period from 1819 to 1832 is described by Wickwar as the period of change from aristocratic to democratic concepts. But in those intervening years there were numerous prosecutions of the press:

There were at least seventy prosecutions for public [criminal] libel during the first thirty years of George III's reign. In the years 1819, 1820 and 1821 there were more than one hundred and twenty prosecutions on charges of seditious and blasphemous

1944, 1960. p. 29.)

¹³ The first available issue of the *Mercantile Journal* is No. 108, Wednesday, September 11, 1816.

¹⁴ William H. Wickwar, The Struggle For Freedom Of The Press 1819 - 1832, London, 1928; New York/London, 1972, pp. 14 - 18.

libel -- thus punishment for breach of privilege and prosecutions for libel survived as serious restrictions on the Press after the expiry of the licensing system in 1695.¹⁵

It meant that while publishers were no longer obliged to ask permission to print, they ran the risk of prosecution for what they printed without permission. The law of criminal libel still loomed for anything that had even a tendency to breach the peace of the established order. The evidence that the arm of British law reached well across the Atlantic is in the pages of the colonial papers. Much of what was said about libel suits in the "Mother country" was of interest and found its way into print in St. John's.

The threat of legal action against printers and publishers was perhaps never more pronounced than in the time of Ryan and his contemporaries. Ryan had experienced its full force in New Brunswick which, in turn, may have influenced his dealings in Newfoundland. Had he remained in New York or returned to Newport things may have not been much different. Tebbel says it is not true that colonizers in America set up a free society when they gained independence from Britain. In fact, he says they created a system of political and religious control that had, as its key element, control of the press.¹⁶ When war with France seemed about to happen in 1798, the Federalist president of the United

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 17 - 18.

¹⁶ John Tebbel, The Compact History of the American Newspaper, Hawthorn Books Inc., New York. 1963.

States, John Adams signed a congress bill, the Alien and Sedition Act, aimed directly at the press:

. . . That is any person shall write, print, utter or publish. . . any false, scandalous and malicious writing. . . against the Government of the United States, or either house of the Congress. . . or the President. . . with intent to defame. . . or bring them into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them. . . the hatred of the good people of the United States. . . [that person] shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars and by imprisonment not exceeding two years. . .¹⁷

In Europe, the French Revolution was having its impact not only on trade and commerce around the world but especially on freedom of the press. As Smith points out, there was no declaration of rights put forth in Napoleon's constitution in 1799; Article XI of the Declaration Of Rights of Man spoke of free communication of thoughts and opinions as the most precious of human rights, limited only for the abuse of such freedom. But Article VII of the constitution of 1793 made it clear that press freedom was not compatible with warfare. French writers, editors and publishers were under police control.¹⁸

Smith says Napoleon's sanctions on the press were imitated and reacted to throughout Europe and much of the world. The French Revolution, Smith says, had the effect of "magnifying the cause of liberty"; that in the early nineteenth century the

¹⁷ Emery and Emery, The Press and America, 6th ed., p. 83; and U.S. Statutes at Large [1798], p. 596. See also: Mitchell Stephens, A History of News, Viking, New York, 1988, p. 199.

¹⁸ Anthony Smith, The Newspaper An International History, pp. 87 - 89.

attacks on the propertied classes by the un-propertied caused "the evolution of a radical press."¹⁹

Given Newfoundland's slow start, it would be some time before the press in St. John's would be described as radical. But with younger publishers and a little competition, changes were readily seen. During the time John Ryan conducted business between New Brunswick and Newfoundland, the *Royal Gazette* was being edited by his son, Lewis Kelly Ryan. The younger Ryan's name first appeared on the masthead March 10, 1814." As the weeks progress there is a noticeable difference in style. The space provided for letters to the editor grew from a few inches to more than two columns. Comments by the editor seemed a little cheeky. One curt notice enhanced by the 'pointing finger' symbol warned advertisers their inserts would be repeated "unless instructed otherwise." And to drive home the point,

We wish it to be distinctly understood that no advertisement whatsoever is continued merely *for our own convenience*. [original italics]²¹

There was a general liveliness now with detailed reports of social events at the Merchants Hall, describing the decorations and listing as many as thirty toasts exchanged at the dinner

¹⁹ Ibid. pp. 87 - 95.

²⁰ This would continue until 1818 when John Ryan's name as owner and publisher, is seen once again on the masthead.

²¹ The *Royal Gazette*, April 7, 1814.

table.²² Poetry contributions were encouraged and apologies made when they didn't appear:

Correspondent's piece of poetry was received two [sic] late an hour for admission. His poetical genius, however shall not be blasted for want of a place in our next.²³

These literary contributions were often lengthy. One titled "The Explanation," aimed at "removing illiberal prejudices," had nine stanzas.

The Royal Gazette is noted for its lack of editorial comment, particularly on local affairs. This also changed when the paper was under the control of Lewis Kelly Ryan. He had an obvious rapport with subscribers. Letters to the editor often began with "Mr. Ryan" rather than the customary "Mr. Printer" or "Mr. Editor". Some of these letters were critical of the space allowed for poetry. But if the criticism was too severe, the editor refused to publish it and said so in his column.²⁴ The youthful and irreverent Ryan played up news of the Napoleonic wars with large, bold headlines on the front page of 16 May 1814:

LOUIS XVIII RESTORED TO THRONE OF HIS ANCESTORS

BONAPARTE AN EXILE IN THE ISLAND OF ELBA!!!

This was followed with an editorial that said:

Never have the annals of history had to record a more glorious event than that which our columns are at

²² The following week, May 5, 1814, under a bold head, 'Errata,' the editor was obliged to correct one of the toasts and apologize for one he omitted.

²³ Ibid., March 16, 1815.

²⁴ Ibid., April 13, 1815.

present occupied.

Then the headline is repeated and a comment about Napoleon Bonaparte added:

. . . [H]e who would have dictated to Kings and Princes, while usurping the Throne of France, is now become dependent upon its lawful sovereign.

This issue is filled with extracts from the French papers including news of the new constitution which guarantees civil liberties.²⁵

In the summer of 1815, the Royal Gazette carried an article from a Boston newspaper [June 18, 1815] regarding British blockades along the American coast. The view of the young editor was that was as it should be:

. . . [T]he Americans will feel more forcibly the effects of war, now that it is at their own doors. . . Great Britain has little else to do with her immense Army and Navy, than to bring those "modern heroes" to a sense of their feebleness, which as yet they appear to be unconscious of. . .

The editorial goes on to condemn the Americans for their declaration of hostilities at a time when England was contending against the greater part of the civilized world --

. . . The Newfoundland fisheries they seem very uneasy about, and assert that they will not give up their right to them -- but we imagine that before many months have elapsed, they will be glad to accept Peace upon almost any terms that Great Britain may think proper to dictate.²⁶

²⁵ Ibid., May 16, 1814

²⁶ Ibid., August 3, 1815. [The peace treaty ratified between the U.S. and Britain in February, 1815 did not bring an end to navigation restrictions and fisheries disputes. Both continued for many years. For discussion see: Frank A. Updyke, The Diplomacy of the War of 1812, The John Hopkins Press, 1965.]

Such comment would be in direct opposition to the original permit to print, which demanded John Ryan publish no comment on the policies of other nations. This suggests either that the editorial met with the approval of local authorities or that the governor was now uncertain about what power he held over the press. It may also suggest that fire in the belly of a Loyalist dies hard. Certainly, by 1814 the threat of having a printing licence revoked was lessened, but a new bravado is apparent under L.K. Ryan's direction. Editorials on censorship became more frequent. One reprinted from a New England paper denounced any authority that would suppress freedom of speech and of the press.²⁷ In his father's absence, Lewis Kelly Ryan was beginning to make a name for himself.

The *Mercantile Journal* began as a weekly. From at least September 11, 1816 until January 11, 1817, it published twice a week -- Wednesdays and Saturdays. A notice in the *Mercantile Journal* on January 11, 1817 said the paper would publish only once a week "until business picks up to demand more." It then published on Fridays, "as a service to the public" since the *Royal Gazette* published on Tuesdays. Apart from the appointment of magistrates, lists of officers for the grand jury and a social note on the laying of the foundation for the new Methodist chapel, there is not much of great interest in the first available issues. Being the only rival newspaper, there is nothing to show any marked competition between the *Mercantile*

²⁷ Ibid., July 21, 1814.

Journal and the Royal Gazette.

These were hard times. The hostilities among the trading nations created a serious depression in Newfoundland. Merchants were receiving as low as ten shillings per quintal [112 pounds] for dried fish exports compared to more than three times that price a year or two earlier.²⁸ Unable to obtain credit, many merchants left the Island.²⁹ The newspaper advertisements of property auctions told the story, even if there was little editorial comment.

Prowse describes St. John's and the outports in the winter of 1815 being in a state of starvation.

. . . By Christmas 1816, when communication with the outside was virtually shut off, the dread spectre of famine threatened our unfortunate Colony.³⁰

Adding to the misery was the influx of some eleven thousand poor Irish immigrants between 1814 and 1815.³¹ In February of 1815 a fire in St. John's left many homeless. The Royal Gazette reported December 24, 1816, the names of sixty-one residents of New Brunswick who donated two hundred, forty pounds for the people affected. The newspaper report said the money was entrusted to

²⁸ For a discussion of fish markets and prices see: Shannon Ryan, Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland saltfish trade 1814 - 1914, St. John's, Breakwater Books, 1986, pp. 36, 40, 41, 110t, 111.

²⁹ Joseph Hatton and Moses Harvey, Newfoundland, Boston, 1883, p.79. During the months of May and June in 1817 there were numerous announcements of bankruptcies in the *Royal Gazette*.

³⁰ Daniel Woodley Prowse, History of Newfoundland from the English Colonies and Foreign records, 1895. p. 404.

³¹ Ibid. Prowse, p. 404, fn 2

the printer, John Ryan, for distribution.³² More reports of fires in December of 1816 added warnings to be careful in the crowded town "built of wood." An official notice in the *Royal Gazette* ordered Planters [settlers] and other employers of Irish immigrants to provide the forty shillings return passage for each man discharged and left destitute.³³ Along with the government proclamations, both the *Royal Gazette* and the *Mercantile Journal* carried many long letters decrying the "impoverished state of Newfoundland."

The "terrible season" of 1817 was generally known in Newfoundland as the "Hard Winter" or "Winter of the Rals" or "Winter of the Rowdies." Prowse describes the frozen coastline, the famine and two more fires on the seventh and twenty-first of November that destroyed three hundred homes and left two-thousand people homeless in St. John's -- ". . . like three avenging furies, to scourge the unfortunate Island."³⁴

The pages of the *Royal Gazette* reflected the scene [Issues of the *Mercantile Journal* are unavailable between June 13, 1817 and January 9, 1818].³⁵ The major fire occurred November 7,

³² The *Royal Gazette*, December 24, 1816.

³³ Ibid., December 31, 1816.

³⁴ Prowse, p. 405.

³⁵ On May 16, 1817 there was a dissolution of the partnership between Haire and Lee, publishers of the *Mercantile Journal*. Lee said the situation "leaves everything on the shoulders of a young boy" and begs the indulgence of subscribers for any "imperfections or delays that might occur." On June 13, Lee once more "begs indulgence" due to "illness of our compositors." On December 2, 1817, in the *Royal Gazette* is a notice of death of

1817. The Gazette reported it was discovered at 10:30 p.m., started in a vacant house "about forty yards distant from the Royal Gazette office, in front of Mr. Wm. B. Thomas' dwelling."

. . . The major part of our printing materials having been destroyed, the Proprietor of the Mercantile Journal has, with great kindness, offered us the use of his types etc., from his office, therefore this paper will at present be issued -- all orders left at the house of Mr. Robert Parsons for the Royal Gazette will be attended to with punctuality and executed with despatch.³⁶

Even in such times of disaster, this kind of neighbourliness seems to indicate a benign competition between the only two St. John's newspapers.

The Royal Gazette continued to publish throughout the turmoil. Government proclamations stated that no provisions were to be exported; no ships were allowed to leave port without inspection; a committee was struck by surrogate judge, David Buchan, to provide rations for the poor. A week's ration for one family, depending on their number and their means of support, was three pints of peas; two pints of rice; seven pounds of fish; half a pound of butter and half a pound of sugar. References had to be provided to obtain the rations.³⁷ There were numerous

Robert Lee, proprietor of the Mercantile Journal. The obituary said Lee had lately returned from Prince Edward Island where he had "spent a few months" in hope of some benefit from the change in air. But his case "appears to have been past all relief."

³⁶ The Royal Gazette, November 11, 1817, No. 515, Vol. XI.

³⁷ If large numbers of people were unable to read the newspaper, it was used by those who could read to help spread the word. Certainly it served as a public record. The November 18 issue of the Royal Gazette carried a reprint of its account of

advertisements of lost or stolen personal property:

. . . [F]rom the house of Mrs. Travers, Merchants Hall, a Black Leather Portmanteau containing mercantile documents.³⁸

John Masters lost a parcel of promissory notes drawn by himself.³⁹ Masters's advertisement read:

John Masters requests if any [notes] are tendered in payment they may be sent to him and the person tendering them noticed, as it is probable the same individual who was seen to steal some watches from his Shop, took the notes from his desk.⁴⁰

The Gazette ran its own advertisement:

LOST

During Fire on Friday night. 7th November

A large mahogany Dining Table, a small Toilet Table, a mahogany tray, a quantity of writing and Printing Paper, some Blank Books with other articles of Stationery, most of which is marked with one or more initials of Lewis K. Ryan under the selling price. A small machine with two wooden screws, for pressing Blanks. A plaid cloak, a Silver Watch, several Bedspreads with articles of Bedding. Anyone having any Printing Materials from the fire...
(signed) John Ryan.⁴¹

the fire. The editor apologized to subscribers who didn't receive the previous week's copy because of "unusual demand."

³⁸ The Royal Gazette, November 25, 1817.

³⁹ There was little need for cash in Newfoundland prior to the Napoleonic Wars. There was only a small resident population and fishermen received no wages. Instead, they were paid for their catch by the merchants with food and supplies. War changed those conditions, interrupting the migratory fishery and creating increased settlement. Local merchants found it necessary to draw up private paper money for the settlement of accounts.

⁴⁰ The Royal Gazette, November 25, 1817.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Following the November 21st fire the Gazette reported an investigation showed it started by accident. "Water Street gutted. . . five hundred more left homeless." The editor wrote,

. . . As public Journalists it is perhaps rather our duty to record than advise. Yet we cannot refrain from most earnestly beseeching all masters of families be extremely vigilant in watching over the different fires and lights in their premises. *Though fire is a good servant, it is a bad master.* (Italics in the original)⁴²

The *Mercantile Journal* later suggested there was evidence that the recent fires were deliberately set.

. . . [We] hope that the liberal rewards now offered by his excellency the Governor and the Magistrates will have the desired end of dragging from concealment those monsters in human shape, to answer at the tribunal of public justice for their diabolical deeds.⁴³

There was no further comment by the *Mercantile Journal* in subsequent issues. Beyond tragic events and crime, the newspaper did not "report" what was happening locally. People's "stories" of lost possessions in the fires were not "told" in the editorial columns. Readers learned such details from the advertisements placed and paid for by individuals wanting to recover their goods. So numerous were these ads Ryan said he was "obliged to defer the insertion of two important law cases lately decided in the Supreme Court."⁴⁴ The fire itself, perhaps because of its

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ The *Mercantile Journal*, January 9, 1818.

⁴⁴ The *Royal Gazette*, December 9, 1817. At this time the masthead showed the newspaper was still being published out of the office of the *Mercantile Journal*, hardly a sign of competition or unfriendly press relations.

all-encompassing effect on the town, was "reported" and given generous space. The suicide of a local businessman was also reported.

. . . Daniel Tracy, a respectable hairdresser in this town shot himself through the heart . . . his business was burned down . . . left wife and several small children . . .⁴⁵

Despite the pilfering and looting that went on amidst the chaos, St. John's at the time was not in a complete state of lawlessness referred to by the Grand Jury.⁴⁶ Subscribers to the Royal Gazette paid for space December 9, 1817, to thank friends in "the public method," for helping to preserve their property during the fire. Their published sentiments provide insight into how the elite in St. John's viewed the world. The subscribers said they considered it "but justice" to add,

. . . that though the greater number of those to whom they feel so indebted , may be classed among the *lower orders of this community* [original italics] yet their conduct on both occasions, influenced by the most disinterested motives, was marked with the strictest integrity . . .⁴⁷

The editorial column carried information about relief funds set up in New Brunswick and Boston and New York for the homeless in St. John's. Captain Peterson of the brig, *Messenger*, arrived from Boston with provisions for fire victims. The Benevolent Irish Society convened a meeting to thank the captain. The message of gratitude was printed, in the form of a resolution in the two

⁴⁵ The Royal Gazette, November 18, 1817.

⁴⁶ Prowse, History of Newfoundland, p. 405.

⁴⁷ The Royal Gazette, December 9, 1817.

local newspapers as well as newspapers in London, Dublin, Edinburgh and Boston.⁴⁸

On January 13, 1818, L.K. Ryan's name was seen for the last time on the masthead of the *Royal Gazette*. The next week it was replaced with John Ryan as printer and publisher -- "now at his new building in King's Place."⁴⁹ There is no explanation offered for L.K. Ryan's departure. No published prospectus for a new newspaper has been found, yet there is concrete evidence that L.K. Ryan started publishing his own newspaper, the *Newfoundland Sentinel and General Commercial Register* from his father's printing office at King's Place.⁵⁰ It is clear from the letters to the editor, Donald McPhail Lee of the *Mercantile Journal*, that hostilities were building between the two from 1818 and would reach a critical point for Ryan in 1821. These letters show, too, that freedom of speech and of the press were being closely monitored; that the threat of libel was not only present, but

⁴⁸ The *Royal Gazette*, January 27, 1818.

⁴⁹ Ibid., January 20, 1818.

⁵⁰ The *Newfoundland Sentinel* is not listed in any newspaper bibliography. One copy of one issue (an original), 9 January 1819, is held by Alan Wilson in Nova Scotia, a photocopy of which is seen in Appendix IX. A photograph of the masthead, along with a caption, is in Part of the Main An Illuscrative History of Newfoundland and Labrador by Peter Neary and Patrick O'Flaherty. A copy of a letter to the editor of the *Sentinel* concerning the Rev. John Leigh is in Leigh's private papers (PAC A/191/344/1&3 Nov. 28, 1821). The only other reference to this newspaper I have seen is in the minute book of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland for March 2, 1820, where it is named as containing an alleged libel against John Bland in a letter to the editor signed by William Carson (GN5/2/A/1 p. 23C-31).

continually discussed in the newspapers. ⁵¹

Because only one copy of one issue of the *Sentinel* is extant, the content of the *Mercantile Journal* is crucial to discerning what was in the *Sentinel*. There is no way of knowing if the editors of the *Sentinel* and the *Mercantile Journal* received duplicate letters or if they simply cribbed them one from the other. On August 7, 1818, a letter addressed to the "Printer of the *Sentinel*" appeared in the *Mercantile Journal*. The long-winded diatribe accused L.K. Ryan, editor of the "infant paper" of printing a libelous letter, signed "Piscator," implying local magistrates were guilty of "extortion." It had to do with a fine of fifty pounds for selling liquor illegally. The letter advised Ryan he was being "used as a tool" and had better seek legal advice. This kind of criticism of L.K. Ryan continued through the fall of 1818.

On January 28, 1819 the *Mercantile Journal* carried a scathing warning to the editor of the *Sentinel* from Captain P. Faddy, Commanding Royal Artillery. Captain Faddy took offence to a letter signed "Civis" in the *Sentinel* a week previously, asserting officers at Fort Amherst were negligent for not coming to the rescue of the schooner, *Helen*, in St. John's Harbour. The captain obviously obtained the real name of "Civis," Newman W. Hoyles and extracted an apology from him. The captain published

⁵¹ There is a gap of about ten years in available issues of the *Royal Gazette*, between April 7, 1818, No. 536, v. xi and January 1, 1828, No. 1060, v. 20 making comparison of the three newspapers impossible. The continuation of numbers suggests, however, that the *Royal Gazette* was published in that time.

the apology in the *Mercantile Journal*, warning the editor, Ryan, that he was printing "hearsay" about the schooner incident. However, despite the captain's scolding of Ryan, he included an official statement of action taken by the military on the night of August 20 when the schooner was lost. Implicit in this exchange is the value of public scrutiny as well as the intolerance borne by the military toward such scrutiny, especially by the *Sentinel*.⁵²

On March 4, 1819 Georg Niven complained to the *Mercantile Journal* that the editor of the *Sentinel* published a letter about a duel, bearing his signature. Niven wanted the public to know that he was not involved in a duel.

. . . I therefore call imperiously upon the Editor of the *Sentinel* to exonerate me from any such charge, which I have no doubt he will do in his next. . .

Niven then accused a writer to the *Royal Gazette*, who signed himself "A.Z.," of slandering him. Niven claimed A.Z. was "one of the very lads who fought at fifty paces !!! " "

These anonymous letters continued through the winter and spring . An editorial in the *Mercantile Journal* on March 18, questioning the *Sentinel's* responsibility for printing anonymous slander, asks rhetorically,

. . . If the Editor of a newspaper receives an

⁵² The attitude displayed by the military toward the local press probably carried great influence. In 1820 there were about 700 troops in a permanent army garrison in St. John's, supported by officers of ordnance. Their function was mainly as enforcers of law and order.

⁵³ The *Mercantile Journal*, March 4, 1819.

anonymous communication, either by letter with the bona fide name of the author, or from the hands of the author, does he act with propriety if he publishes, by shewing or reading the whole or part of such communication to any person, in his office, not belonging thereto, when he has determined not to give it an insertion in his paper[?] ⁴

This apparently started a feud between the two young editors, Lee and Ryan. On March 25, an editorial by Lee of almost two columns said Ryan would not find the *Mercantile Journal* an "equivocating or a feeble opponent." Lee questioned the propriety of allowing anyone outside the newspaper to read letters to the editor until and only as they appear in the paper. Lee writes:

. . . [H]ow far he has endeavoured to act as "correctly as possible" the sequel will shew, and we strongly recommend to him, to reserve his canting appeals, until the merits of the case are fairly before the Public -- he may have more real occasion for their levity and indulgence, than he appears to contemplate.⁵

The editorial squabbling continued. One letter to the *Mercantile Journal* expressed surprise that the *Royal Gazette* allowed the publication of the *Sentinel*.⁶

Little was reported about local affairs during these exchanges. Late in the summer of 1819, Lee delivered a brief comment on the poverty in Newfoundland. Then toward the end of the year another letter to the *Mercantile Journal* was aimed at the editor of the *Sentinel*:

⁴ Ibid., March 18, 1819.

⁵ Ibid., March 25, 1819.

⁶ Ibid., April 22, 1819. This letter was signed, "A Subscriber" to which the editor, Lee added a note of thanks for "Subscriber's" advice.

Sir, I admire the dexterity with which our sentimental publisher of the Newfoundland Sentinel shifts the charge of slander from his own shoulders, and requires his good natured readers to believe that he is but a second-hand dealer in this kind of ware and therefore not responsible for the quality of the goods. Whether this be conformable to certain general rules of civilized society will not be a question for this place, and Mr. Ryan, for anything I know may be exempt from the observation of such fastidious rules.'

Here, the writer was referring to a poem published in the *Sentinel* and compared to "Spencer's 'Fairy Queen,' " [sic] with apparent reference to the governor. Reference is also made to the "blessings of a free press" in Newfoundland insinuating that Lewis Kelly Ryan abused his position:

. . . our capabilities in this humble spot are nothing inferior to those of the country from whence we sprung and that no more than the *means* was required to summon them forth.

The letter was signed. "An Other Advocate," who writes again on November 11; this time regarding a poem published by the *Sentinel* about some all-night party.

. . . I should be degraded in my own opinion were I to enter the lists of controversy with every unlettered contemptible scribbler, who may find a ready vent for his coarse abuse in a public newspaper. . ."

The level of criticism in the *Mercantile Journal* increased with the controversial contributions to the *Sentinel*. On December 2, 1819, a poem is directed at both newspapers:

. . . Blest is the clime and favour'd is the Isle
Where spite of winter's fiercely drifting snows
The barren mountains and the sterile soil

⁵⁷ Ibid., November 4, 1819.

⁵⁸ Ibid., November 11, 1819.

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

Such "sparkling wit" in rich abundance glows."⁵⁹

On December 16, a writer accuses "Albion," one of the most prolific anonymous contributors to the *Sentinel*, of being the editor himself. In addition, the writer says the "old drake", apparently referring to John Ryan, was the "bearer of the song from Yankee Town"; the *younger duckling* [italics in original] not being "sufficiently fledged" for the undertaking. Without access to the *Sentinel*, there are no clues to the "song from Yankee Town," or what was meant by this exchange. ⁶⁰

The controversy continued into the spring of 1820, becoming critical during a court case involving Dr. William Carson and the local sheriff, John Bland. Carson was attempting to have Bland prosecuted for slandering his daughter. Bland, in turn, had Carson charged with libel and claimed five hundred pounds damages. Ryan published Carson's account of the proceedings and Bland filed for a criminal information against the editor, claiming Ryan had prejudiced his case before the court. An anonymous letter to the *Mercantile Journal* suggested Carson had libelled the judge of the Supreme Court by stating the judge "perverted the court and provided an asylum for libellers." ⁶¹

On May 25, 1820, the *Mercantile Journal* reported that at the last sitting of the Supreme Court, Mr. Lewis K. Ryan moved to

⁵⁹ Ibid., December 2, 1819.

⁶⁰ Ibid., December 16, 1819.

⁶¹ Ibid., March 9, 1820. The letter-writer suggested Carson "couldn't get away with saying this in England."

dismiss the criminal information pending against him for republishing Dr. Carson's alleged libel against Mr. Sheriff Bland:

On the 20th March he had moved the Court to the same end and as two months, from that period, had since elapsed, without any step being taken to bring the cause to an issue, he begged that the Court would consider the hardship he laboured under.

But according to the attorney for the prosecution, Mr. Simms, one year was prescribed by law limiting the prosecution for libel.⁶² There was no further discussion in the newspaper until July 27, when Lee's editorial condemns remarks made against him in the *Royal Gazette*. Lee seemed to suggest the author was Lewis Kelly Ryan, not John Ryan, "with whom we have been on friendly and neighbourly terms."⁶³

More than a year later, on December 13, 1821, the *Mercantile Journal* reported the Attorney General had moved for a rule "to shew cause why a criminal information should not be filed against the defendant, as editor and publisher of the *Sentinel* paper." The rule was granted and was "returnable in four days."

Mr. Dawe, rose and requested to be informed on whom the rule was to be served, as Mr. Ryan had sailed for the West Indies the preceding day!!⁶⁴

The *Sentinel* disappeared from the publishing scene. The *Mercantile Journal* continued to publish another six years, to 1827. The dialogue of these two newspapers does not appear to be simply petty personal quarrels in an isolated community. Rather,

⁶² Ibid., May 25, 1820.

⁶³ Ibid., July 27, 1820.

⁶⁴ Ibid., December 13, 1821.

it was a discussion about the function of a free press in society. It mirrored the discussion that was going on in the rest of the British Empire, in America and in Europe. By this time articles about press freedom in the papers received from abroad were frequently reprinted in the St. John's papers. It was at this time, Smith says, that the mechanical and organizational foundation was being laid for the popular newspaper of the twentieth century.

. . . The French Revolution, though its journalistic freedoms had been virtually obliterated by 1820, had provided a lasting comprehension of the point of a free press, showing that the newspaper could behave as an instrument of power, not of a faction, but of a party, and attempt to mobilize a segment of society."⁶⁵

Granted, Newfoundland's newspapers would continue to lag behind the developing dailies and Sunday papers; they would not follow the Penny papers because theirs was a much smaller and a different market. But the newspaper content of the weeklies in St. John's supplied the same information from around the world, if a little late, as did the newspapers in New York or London or Paris. The newspapers in Newfoundland looked much the same too. *The Royal Gazette* looked almost identical to the *New York Mercury* produced years before by Lewis and Ryan. The design of the *Sentinel* and the *Mercantile Journal* was similar to that of the *Royal Gazette*. There was little, if any, deviation from the pattern set abroad. A taste for the sensational was included in that pattern. The *Mercantile Journal* reserved the fifth column of

⁶⁵ Anthony Smith, The Newspaper An International History, London, 1979, p. 106.

the front page for such items, filling the other four columns with advertisements. Sometimes these tales were reported from private letters such as the following, received from Spain:

. . . [T]he execution of Don Pablo, Inglisias and Colonel Santos, on the 25th ult. for their constitutional opinions, the executioner jumped upon their shoulders and beat out their brains in the air. The royalist volunteers wished to cut them up and drag their limbs about in the streets and the irritated populace seconded the idea; but the Royal Guard charged upon them and dispersed them to their homes with strokes of their sabres.⁶⁶

Other front page, fifth column articles in the *Mercantile Journal* were about "betrayed innocence" or extracts from Thatcher's Sermons on the influence of the female personality, or,

FOUND -: A lady's reticule [woman's handbag] containing among other minor items, a small bottle of Gin, a neck of mutton, a raw onion, a jackknife and a pocket pistol. The owner may recover the property by calling at the sign of the saddle bags in Water Street and paying charges.⁶⁷

Page two was usually reserved for local events, such as a meeting of "inhabitants of St. John's" called to raise money for relief of victims of a storm and fire in the Miramichi of New Brunswick. The people of New Brunswick were referred to as "our neighbours." The report said that within ten minutes "upwards of three hundred pounds was subscribed." The St. John's committee canvassed the town and "in a short time" came up with a subscription of six

⁶⁶ The *Mercantile Journal*, November 3, 1825.

⁶⁷ Ibid., November 24 and December 1, 1825.

hundred, forty-seven pounds."⁶⁸ Page three often included what might be considered gossip or human-interest. One such piece was about an inheritance claim for fourteen million francs by a baker and a shoemaker in Italy. The Prince of Piombino was to appeal the claim that the two were his natural grandsons.⁶⁹ The fourth page was generally filled with poems and extracts from the *Acadian Recorder* on the poetry of Byron, items on revolutionary France or reports on advances in marine technology:

. . . Rotche's lever fid by which ships may strike their topmasts or top-gallant masts in less than a minute and fid (hoist them again) in five minutes without slacking a lanyard or starting any other part of the rigging attached to them, and the work of only two men.⁷⁰

This invention, the report said, was about to be adopted by the British Navy. The government paid the inventor, whose name was not given, five thousand pounds. Another item in the same issue said the British government was offering ten thousand pounds to the proprietors of a large vessel which could first succeed in accomplishing a voyage to Calcutta.

Such variety of items was seldom seen in the *Royal Gazette*.⁷¹ Both papers, however, carried recipes and remedies. Readers learned they could preserve eggs for as long as two years

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., November 10, 1825.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ The *Royal Gazette* carried occasional sensational articles. One was a lengthy extract from *Motley's Portsmouth Telegraph* in May, 1810, concerning the execution of a British Naval surgeon, Nehemiah Taylor, on board the *Jamaica*.

by burying them in cold sand, or how to cure tree blight by piercing the trunk with an awl and filling the hole with quicksilver.⁷² A popular remedy for haemorrhoids was chick weed, dried before the fire, pulverized, mixed with water or beer and taken twice a day.⁷³

Court cases were almost a trademark of the *Mercantile Journal*, but even the staid *Royal Gazette* could not ignore convictions for murder. Women were often the victims, usually of their husbands. Generally, alcohol was established as a contributing factor.⁷⁴ Duels were always of interest. On April 20, 1826, the *Mercantile Journal* reported the first duel ever to take place in St. John's (March 31, 1826). Ensign John Philpot died in the encounter. Charges of murder laid against Mark Rudkin, George Farquar Morice and a surgeon, James Strachan, all naval officers, were heard in the Supreme court. The full testimony and court proceedings took up most of the space in the *Mercantile Journal* for each of two weekly editions. The officers were acquitted.⁷⁵

⁷² The *Mercantile Journal*, November 10, 1825.

⁷³ The *Royal Gazette*, November 18, 1813.

⁷⁴ The *Royal Gazette*, June 8, 1815: A reward of forty pounds offered for the capture of Michael Connors, suspected of beating to death, his wife, Margaret, at Bay Bulls.

Ibid., June 29, 1815: John Hearn, a pilot "of the Harbour," is found guilty of beating, bruising and otherwise ill-treating his wife, Mary.

Ibid., September 28, 1815: Hearn is reported hanged for his wife's murder.

⁷⁵ The *Mercantile Journal*, April 20, 1826; April 27, 1826. Issues of the *Royal Gazette* for these dates are missing.

In a last fight against competition, the publisher of the *Royal Gazette*, still clinging to the notion that he was "recognized" as King's Printer, challenged the right of the *Mercantile Journal* to any government print jobs. Ryan received little sympathy from the governor. Instead he was invited to submit tenders, as the government was determined to have its various forms printed in England if they could not be done cheaper locally.⁷⁶

In 1820 Henry David Winton established the fourth competing newspaper, the *Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*. A native of Kent, Winton had arrived in St. John's two years earlier and set up a stationer's shop. He had been an apprentice to a printer and bookbinder in Dartmouth and worked in the trade in London. In St. John's he took as his partner, Alexander Haire, the former printer of the *Mercantile Journal*.⁷⁷

By 1827, at least, (the earliest available issue) the *Ledger* was published twice a week. Social justice, freedom of speech and of the press comprised the dialogue in the newspapers. The movement toward reform in the colony, begun with Carson's published pamphlets in 1812, was gaining momentum.

With the emergence of a fifth newspaper, the *Newfoundlander*, in 1827 newspapers became more aggressive. The mood for democratic reform, already in evidence, was heightened. The next

⁷⁶ GN 2/1/A/v.30-31/p.130-133

⁷⁷ All biographical references to Winton cite the DCB entry by O'Flaherty, 1966, v. 8, , pp.947 - 951.

chapter will examine the reform movement in Newfoundland and the role played by the newspapers and their publishers.

CHAPTER IV

REFORM, REBELS AND RELIGION

Early attempts by Newfoundland's first newspaper publisher, John Ryan, to challenge authority appears to have had more to do with self-interest than any kind of stand for democratic or natural rights, in general, or freedom of the press, in particular. The arrival of Henry Winton in St. John's, however, marked a new spirit of inquiry and the most controversial publishing period in Newfoundland for some time. It will be seen in the examination of this period that important social change occurred, affecting people's lives and the development of journalism.

On November 23, 1820, the *Mercantile Journal* reported a "numerous and respectable meeting " held at the Commercial Room in St. John's. The meeting was held "to take into consideration the cases of the unfortunate men, Philip Butler and James Lanergan."¹ The two fishermen were held in contempt of the surrogate court for not appearing on charges of unpaid debts.

¹ The *Mercantile Journal*, November 23, 1820. [The accepted spelling of the name, Lanergan, has become Lundrigan.] The original court documents of this case are found in PANL GN 5/2/A/1 (1820 - 1821).

Surrogate judges, David Buchan and the Reverend John Leigh, ordered the men arrested, publicly flogged to the point of collapse, and their property confiscated. The case has been described as a "sensational event" and a "celebrated episode in Newfoundland history."² The meeting in St. John's was chaired by Patrick Morris, a St. John's merchant, and one of the leaders for reform. Listed among the members of this committee was L.K. Ryan, editor of the *Sentinel*. A resolution was passed to protest the treatment of the fishermen and to demand judicial and constitutional change.³ Petitions followed to both the House of Lords and the House of Commons in London, the result of which was a Judicature Act for Newfoundland and suppression of the surrogate courts. Prowse claimed the case of Butler and Lundrigan was used as a lever to obtain a legislature for the Island.⁴ O'Flaherty says the "locally sensitive" matter of the right to property was part of this action but the appeal to the Privy

² Patrick O'Flaherty, "James Lundrigan" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, v.6, pp. 409 - 411. See also: fn 1.

[Note: surrogate judges were deputies of the naval governors appointed in place of regular judges, and travelled around the coast holding court on board their vessels. See also Dictionary of Newfoundland English, p. 547.]

³ The *Mercantile Journal*, November 23, 1820. [John Ryan is also listed among the committee members. This is not necessarily John Ryan, publisher. There were at least two other prominent men by the same name in St. John's at the time. Again in 1822, on August 10, this committee met and the names John Ryan, as well as Henry Shea, who would become publisher of the *Newfoundlander*, are listed as members. See: CIHM No. 18348 Memorial University of Newfoundland, Morris, Patrick. "Observations on the government, trade, fisheries and agriculture of Newfoundland: in a series of letters addressed to Earl of Bathurst, London, 1824."]

⁴ D.W. Prowse, History of Newfoundland, p. 411

Council on that question was never acted upon because the reformers saw they could gain politically without going through the courts.⁵

The 1820s were particularly critical times for politics and journalism in Newfoundland. As a society, it was still in its infancy. Even in comparison to its "sister colonies," Newfoundland was behind in many ways. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island already had local Assemblies; Nova Scotia as early as 1758; Prince Edward Island, 1769 and New Brunswick, 1784. The *Acadian Recorder* and the *Free Press* were reporting the Halifax Assembly in 1818. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor of Nova Scotia, was personally trying to improve methods of agriculture and engaged as his chief allies the publisher of the *Recorder*, A.J. Holland and the local agricultural expert, John Young.⁶ Holland's newspaper ran a regular column, *Letters of Agricola*, written by Young over a pseudonym, containing technical information and promoting ploughing matches. Young's articles ignored the indifference of the merchant class to agriculture.⁷

In contrast, in Newfoundland, the governor was not so involved; the newspapers made no such effort to legitimize agricultural development despite the farm squatting near St.

⁵ Ibid. O'Flaherty, DCB.

⁶ Alan Wilson, "The 1810s" in Colonists Canadiens 1760 - 1867, J.M.S. Careless, ed., Toronto, 1971. pp. 122 - 148.

⁷ Ibid.

John's. It is true the *Public Ledger* published Dr. William Carson's pamphlet, *Letter to Members of Parliament* (British Parliament), which attacked the 1699 prohibition of agricultural development. It is also true similar pamphlets by the other outspoken reformer, Patrick Morris, were advertised in Winton's newspapers. But there was no concerted newspaper campaign for reform. It was Carson's and Morris's pamphlets that made their way to London and created a political stir, not the St. John's newspapers.

In the September 4, 1829 issue of the *Public Ledger*, Winton suggested voluntary subscriptions of one hundred pounds a year be paid to some "respectable journal at home" [England] to advocate the interests of Newfoundland. His idea was sparked by disparaging remarks about Newfoundland in the *Liverpool Mercury* attributed to the radical publisher, William Cobbett.* Cobbett was quoted as saying Newfoundland was a "miserable place" where temporary governors lived in luxury at a "Cottage at Virginia Water" dining on American fresh meat and vegetables. Winton was of the opinion that paying someone to counteract such "misrepresentation" would serve a "laudable purpose." This seems to suggest that Winton, whose newspaper was the first to become

* Cobbett was publisher of the Weekly Political Register, a controversial 16-page pamphlet in London. In 1810 (Aug.30) the *Royal Gazette* carried an extract from a London newspaper reporting the fines and imprisonment of Cobbett, his printer, Hansard and his publishers, Budd and Bagshaw, for libel against the government. A review of the case, and of Cobbett's role in the penny press, is seen in William Wickwar, The Struggle for Freedom of the Press 1819 - 1832. London, 1928 (1972).

aggressively involved in the local reform debate did not see his own newspaper as a force to be reckoned with abroad. On the other hand, if he was hoping to be paid to supply copy to the London papers there is no evidence his suggestion was acted upon."

The 1820s were a time of reform. A wave of liberal thinking was leading Britain away from aristocratic rule and toward more democratic concepts in government, education, religion and the press. Smith says that by the 1820s journalism in Britain had come to rely upon itself; no longer was it manipulated by government or financially hampered by the Post Office; that it was now driven by the "political engine of the nineteenth century -- the middle class of society."¹⁰ In Newfoundland at this time, there was no middle class; there were the merchant class and the poor.

The newspaper during the era of revolution [in Britain] had ceased to be the simple handmaiden of parliamentary faction and taken on a more mature role of independent actor in the political world. The solid pressure of radical public opinion which brought about the great Reform of 1832 was trained over decades by the press to pit itself against the will of a reluctant legislature.¹¹

⁹ McCann claims much of the copy reprinted in the *Public Ledger* and the *Times* from British papers attacking Catholicism and the Irish and creating the impression that Newfoundland was at the mercy of a priest-led mob of blood-thirsty Irishmen, was first supplied by the St. John's Tory press. McCann counts 45 extracts between August 1838 and May 1839. See: "Bishop Fleming and the Politicization of the Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland, 1830 - 1850" in *Religion and Identity*, Terrance Murphy and Cyril Byrne, eds., St. John's, 1987. p. 91 - 92.

¹⁰ Anthony Smith, *The Newspaper An International History*, p. 102.

¹¹ Ibid.

In Newfoundland, at this time, the press was just developing, the goal of reform was to obtain a local legislature. Radical public opinion consisted simply of a request for a say in how the island was being governed. Even that was at the demand of the merchant class by way of pamphlet and petition. The poor, far from being liberated by the press, were still being chastised in the *Public Ledger* for "lawlessness" if they demonstrated against what they considered injustice.¹²

In Britain, as in America, the emergence of the penny press made newspapers cheaper and more available to the masses. In 1821 the population of Great Britain was about fourteen million.¹³ Wickwar says that "only" half a million newspapers sold in a week because of the government duty of fourpence on each paper published. The tax was designed originally as revenue but also to reduce access to the penny press, described as "paramount in the guidance of public opinion" and "lever to shake the foundations of social and moral order."¹⁴ In Newfoundland the population at this time was about 50,000. St. John's was the

¹² The *Public Ledger* referred to fishermen as "lawless" who protested against being paid for their catch with supplies instead of money by merchants. The protest against this "truck system" became heated and public between 1830 and 1832.

¹³ William Wickwar, The Struggle For Freedom of the Press 1819 - 1832, p.30.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 181, citing the Annual Register for 1821. For discussion of the U.S. case, see: Daniel Schiller, Objectivity and the News: the public and the rise of commercial journalism, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981, pp. 47 - 75. See also: Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers, New York: Basic Books, 1978, pp. 12 - 60.

economic centre of the colony and the only place where newspapers were published until the late 1820s.¹⁵ There was a mail boat running once or twice a week between St. John's and Conception Bay. Winton was its agent in St. John's. As Prowse noted, there were carpenters, shipbuilders, mechanics and blacksmiths living in Petty Harbour to the south of St. John's, around by Cape St. Francis to Holyrood and Conception Bay. No records seen, however, have determined exactly who or how many were reading the newspapers. About the only clue available is the subscription list of about two hundred for the *Royal Gazette* referred to earlier. In Newfoundland the newspaper sold by subscription for a guinea per annum, about twenty-one shillings -- a price only the merchant class could afford. There were no comparable circumstances in Newfoundland to create a market for a penny press. Whether the tax on newspapers in Britain was applied in Newfoundland is not certain.¹⁶ Wickwar claimed that people in Britain looked upon a free printing press in all its aspects as

¹⁵ *The Harbour Grace Chronicle and Carbonear Weekly Journal and General Advertiser for Conception Bay*, Thomas Ball, publisher and printer. [First issue located is August 6, 1828; last issue located is July 11, 1829]

¹⁶ Winthrop Boggs, *The Postage Stamps and Postal History of Newfoundland*, Lawrence, Mass., 1975, discusses postmaster collecting two pence on each newspaper received in the 1840s and official postage rates applied to newspapers and other publications in 1856. This is the only reference found to any kind of duty on newspapers in Newfoundland and is different from a direct tax that was applied to newspapers in Britain. See also: Richard Henry Bonnycastle, *Newfoundland in 1842*, 2 vols., London, 1842, v.II, pp. 151 - 152. Bonnycastle notes that St. John's has a population of 26,000 and supports seven newspapers, the main revenue of which is mercantile advertisements, and on which no tax is paid.

the "symbol of human progress and emancipation."¹⁷ It seems obvious, from the evidence presented, that in Newfoundland no such fervour for the newspaper existed. By its very presence, nevertheless, the newspaper was a social force in Newfoundland in the 1820s and perhaps because of Winton. He was the first publisher in Newfoundland to define his newspaper as 'the public organ of expression,'¹⁸

The motto emblazoned on the masthead of the *Public Ledger* declared -- "*Nothing Extenuate Nor Aught Set Down In Malice.*"¹⁹ On January 1, 1828, Winton incorporated a new motto -- "*Open To All Parties -- Influenced By None.*" By this time, the movement for government reform in the colony was growing. The *Royal Gazette* remained non-committal. At first, the *Public Ledger* supported the cause for a local legislature. On August 29, Winton came to the defence of Patrick Morris whose pamphlet, addressed to the secretary of state for the colonies "to prove the policy and necessity of granting to Newfoundland constitutional government," was being criticized in the London papers by another

¹⁷ Wickwar, The Struggle for Freedom of the Press 1819 - 1832, p. 311.

¹⁸ *The Public Ledger And Newfoundland General Advertiser*, December 21, 1827 in a long-winded editorial taking issue with the Chief Justice over his insistence that jurors stand while a judge delivers a charge to the court.

¹⁹ Winton appears to misquote Shakespeare's *Othello*: "Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice..." [Act V, Scene II, 1.338].

pamphleteer in England.²⁰ By October 1828, the fervour for a local legislature increased as did the number of letters to the editor on the subject. Winton commented on any lull in the newspaper, challenging those who "support their old and favourite system."²¹

Morris, a wealthy Irish merchant in St. John's, bolstered his argument for a local legislature by attempting to reverse the poor image of the Island's potential for agriculture. His supply of potatoes, for example, was advertised as "THE GROWTH OF THIS COUNTRY " headlined in large bold type. Twenty-five pound turnips grown on merchants' estates were the topic of editorials in the *Public Ledger*.²²

On December 5, an advertisement appeared in the *Ledger* signed by David Buchan, Chief Sheriff, calling a public meeting to petition England not to impose any more tax on imports from Britain and to ask for constitutional legislative government for the Island. Winton's editorial directed readers' attention to

²⁰ It is noted that Morris, a merchant in St. John's, advertised in Winton's newspaper and that the Morris pamphlets were sold for three shillings each at the Ledger office.

²¹ The *Public Ledger*, October 24, 1828.

²² Ibid., October 28, 1828. Winton never missed a chance to respond to Newfoundland's detractor, the English publisher, William Cobbet. On September 15, 1829, Winton reported a large crop of oats in Harbour Grace, "equal we think to any English oats imported into this country -- what would farmer Cobbett say to this ? " The editorial was slugged "A Spice For Cobbett."

O'Flaherty notes that commentators on Newfoundland in the nineteenth century, such as Morris, Carson, and others, came from places where fishing was not the main activity and were inclined to exaggerate the potential of the land for future prosperity. See: The Rock Observed, p.55.

the advertisement urging people to attend the meeting.

Newfoundland captured the attention of the British Parliament mainly through the efforts of George Richard Robinson, MP for Worcester, who also carried on a business in St. John's. His firm, *Robinson & Brooking* advertised in almost every issue of the local newspapers.²³ In the summer of 1828 Robinson gave notice of motion in the House of Commons "to inquire into the state of Newfoundland and Labrador with a view to amend the laws relating to these settlements." In the summer of 1830, Robinson told the Commons that Newfoundland was still receiving no improvements and that the British government was treating the Island as a "movable fishery." Robinson presented to the House, a letter from Francis Forbes, former Chief Justice of Newfoundland, stating that the Island trade occupied almost ten thousand seamen; that the fish they caught was sent to markets in Europe and the West Indies in British vessels and that Newfoundland was providing more to Britain than it was receiving. The only thing Britain was asked to furnish, he said, was military defence, yet Newfoundland had no domestic legislature, not even the authority to build a new road although the population was by then "almost one hundred thousand."²⁴

²³ O'Flaherty said Newfoundland received better representation in the British House of Commons than the large industrial cities of Birmingham and Manchester prior to 1832. (Address to American and Canadian legislative clerks and secretaries, August 16 - 20, 1987 in St. John's)

²⁴ The *Royal Gazette*, June 22, 1830. [Issues of the *Public Ledger* for June, 1830 are missing.] Official records placed the resident population figures at 55,504

Robinson moved again a motion for a committee to be struck to investigate the grievances. The vote was lost but the debate continued. In July, a member by the name of Bernal, was reported in the Gazette as saying, "Sir, this colony is no doubt less important than many others; but that is no reason it should be slighted." However, Bernal saw no need for a grievance committee.²⁵ The colonies were described as a "burthen" Great Britain kept, rather than see them lost to France or America. Those members promoting Newfoundland raised the issue of wealth afforded Britain from dried fish exports to Italy and from the manufacture of twine and equipment in England for the Newfoundland fishery. Still the motion failed.²⁶

By the end of 1830, King George IV was dead and the Duke of Wellington had resigned as Prime Minister of Britain. The working class was becoming more vocal and Britain was ready for its own reform. The newspapers in Newfoundland told the story. But now the front pages of the papers in St. John's were filled with local petitions to the new monarch, William IV, calling for a local legislature. Those agitating for local government who had years before formed the Committee of the Inhabitants of Newfoundland now held meetings throughout the Island. The *Royal*

in 1825. The first Newfoundland Census in 1836 showed 74,993 residents. See: Shannon Ryan, 'Collection of CO 194 Statistics' unpublished paper: Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland.

²⁵ The *Royal Gazette*, July 27, 1830.

²⁶ Ibid.

Gazette said the petitions were signed by about twenty-five hundred persons. The move prompted a directive from London to Governor Thomas Cochrane to evaluate the situation and report back. This was done by calling public meetings in the various outports. The minutes of those meetings were faithfully reported in the *Conception Bay Mercury*, the *Harbour Grace Weekly Journal* and carried in the St. John's papers. Support for a local legislature was almost unanimous.²⁷

Still, there were those who opposed the idea. Their protest was recorded, conspicuously, in the *Royal Gazette*. A letter in the September 28, 1830 issue signed "Looker On" cautioned everyone before they "affixed their name" to the petition to ask what benefits would be gained. It discussed the cost of a local legislature and how its jurisdiction would not force the French or the Americans out of the Newfoundland fishery. It argued that a local government would create, "as in other colonies," a "party spirit" disturbing the peace and harmony they now enjoyed.²⁸ On October 5, 1830, a letter to the *Royal Gazette* signed "A Native" said that some of the people getting up the petition for representative government had no stake in the country and were trying to "cram a Legislature down [their] throats."²⁹

²⁷ The *Royal Gazette*, October 12, 1830; January 11, 1831; The *Newfoundlander*, October 27, 1831.

²⁸ The *Royal Gazette*, September 28, 1830.

²⁹ The *Royal Gazette*, October 5, 1830.

The Newfoundlander, established in St. John's in 1827³⁰ amid agitation for reform, contributed little to the debate in the first few years. Its publisher, John Shea, was the son and mercantile partner of Henry Shea, one of the proponents for judicial reform in the Lundrigan-Butler case.³¹ On August 9, 1831, the *Royal Gazette* carried a report from the British House of Commons. Included were remarks made by Lord Howick, who suggested the outports of Newfoundland were not interested in a local legislature and that St. John's, "the one town of importance," was imposing the idea. *The Newfoundlander* took exception to this and said its readers would be surprised by Howick's ignorance.³² Shea later wrote an editorial to discount Howick's claim. He said the population of St. John's was 12,000 compared to the settlements in Conception Bay, which together had a population of 25,000. Further, Shea said the outports had foreign trade in imports valued at more than 130,000 pounds, giving employment to 144 ships, "a total burthen of 18,323 tons manned by 1,125 men." Exports from Conception Bay, Shea said, were more than 195,000 pounds employing 156 ships and 1,212 men as well as 228 decked vessels employing 4,750 men in their

³⁰ The editor of the *Public Ledger* noted July 24, 1827 "the first number of a new weekly paper, the *Newfoundlander* will make its appearance tomorrow," [July 25, 1827] The first issue available is No. 3, August 8, 1827.

³¹ Information on the Sheas is obtained from the biography written by John Mannion in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, v.5, pp. 709 - 711.

³² *The Newfoundlander*, August 11, 1830.

fishery. Shea's impassioned editorial said that Conception Bay "bid fair rival to the capital itself" and criticized the British ministry whose view of Newfoundland, he said, had not changed in thirty years.³³

Despite the increased promotion of local government in the *Newfoundlander* and the *Public Ledger*, Governor Thomas Cochrane was firmly against the idea and communicated his convictions to his superiors in London. Thomas Brooking, the business partner of the Worcester MP, George Robinson, went to London to press the case with James Stephen, a legal advisor to the crown, who prepared a report. To Cochrane's surprise, a quick decision was taken in 1832 to grant Newfoundland its own constitution.³⁴ The *Royal Gazette* took no official stand against reform, but it carried more discussion against than in favour of the action.

The new government would comprise a governor, a legislative council and an assembly. The legislative council would have judicial power as the final court of Appeal for the colony. In extending the franchise, no stipulation was made about property value or ownership; annual income, annual rent or literacy. The reason for this may have been because of the concern expressed that a new legislature would be dominated by the merchants of St. John's. Governor Cochrane, who had misgivings from the start about the whole process, said the dominance of the merchant class

³³ The *Newfoundlander*, October 27, 1830.

³⁴ Gertrude Gunn, Political History of Newfoundland 1832 - 1864, University of Toronto Press, 1966. pp. 3 - 32.

in St. John's; the temporary nature of their interest in the colony; the transience of their agents in the outports and the poverty and ignorance of the "lower orders" was proof Newfoundland was not ready for local government. Both Cochrane and his Attorney General, James Simms, believed the campaign was designed to "advance the mercantile interest rather than the welfare of the Island." ³⁵

The concern that the new legislature would be dominated with members from St. John's was not an issue taken up by the editors of the St. John's newspapers. This raises the question of the newspapers' own economic interests and their position in an elite, mercantile society.

The vote for an elected assembly would be given to all registered male householders, either tenants or owners, resident in the colony for one year. The qualifications for candidates were the same, except they had to be resident for two years.³⁶ Women in Newfoundland would have to wait another one hundred years, until May 21, 1927, to exercise their right.³⁷

The timing of Britain's sanction of representative government for Newfoundland coincided with newly-won rights of British subjects who were Catholics and others outside the "established church." Just as the *Public Ledger*, at first,

³⁵ Ibid. pp. 3 - 5.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 11.

³⁷ [Newfoundland] House of Assembly Amendment Act, April 3, 1925.

supported the cause for a local legislature, it also supported, in the beginning, Catholics' right to religious freedom. Winton provided generous coverage of the House of Commons debate on what became regarded as the "Catholic question." Much of that debate was led by Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Nationalist member of parliament for County Clare and friend of the Roman Catholic prelate in St. John's, Bishop Michael Fleming.³⁸ O'Connell's connection with Newfoundland is evident in the St. John's newspapers as well as in historical literature.³⁹ Winton made it clear on several occasions that he did not admire O'Connell, though he provided generous space to his re-election as a member for County Clare in 1829.⁴⁰

It should not be surprising that religious emancipation would be of interest in St. John's. The ruling merchant class were, for the most part, Protestant, but the influx of Irish immigrants to the colony increased the number of Catholics to fifty-two per cent of the population in the 1830s.⁴¹ During the

³⁸ See Wickwar, pp. 305 - 307 for discussion of O'Connell's dramatic conflicts with the London Press; his defence of a Dublin publisher; his "Bill to secure Liberty of the Press" and his key role in changes to the law of libel.

³⁹ Prowse tells of O'Connell's intimidation of Patrick Morris at a meeting in Waterford (History of Newfoundland p. 425); O'Flaherty refers to Winton's dislike for O'Connell. (DCB, v. 8, pp. 947 - 951)

⁴⁰ *The Public Ledger*, September 4, 1829.

⁴¹ Philip McCann, "Bishop Fleming and the Politicization of the Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland 1830 - 1850" in Religion and Identity, Terrance Murphy and Cyril Byrne, eds., St. John's, 1987, p. 82.

early days of reform debate the *Public Ledger* seemed the epitome of equal rights. Freedom of speech and of the press; religious freedom and government reform were all intertwined. Through 1827, 1828, and 1829 parliamentary debate in Britain on the "Catholic question" filled the pages of the *Public Ledger*. Winton regularly supported the "propriety" of giving Catholics the right to vote as well as worship and their clergy to perform marriages. On July 20, 1827 Winton published Thomas Jefferson's Act to establish religious freedom in America. In his editorial, Winton refers to the Jefferson document as a "valuable document" that should be "recorded in letters of gold." He notes that Jefferson, whom he calls a patriot and philanthropist, was "stigmatized as an atheist." Winton describes the Jefferson document as:

. . . [T]he religious charter of a free, happy, and thriving country, where it has been experimentally demonstrated by a trial of half a century -- that religion can flourish unconnected with the state.⁴²

Jefferson's tenet held that people should never be compelled to support any one religion and that legislatures have no power to infringe upon such natural rights. For Winton, it expressed his own strong belief in separation of church and state. This belief was reflected in his newspaper. However, when Winton opposed Bishop Fleming for his involvement in the movement for a local

⁴² The *Public Ledger*, July 20, 1827.

legislature, it was seen by some as anti-Catholic.⁴³ Although some historians describe Winton as anti-Catholic "only in the political sense" it is generally held that he disliked the Irish Catholics. This might stem from the *Public Ledger*'s consistent reference to the "lower orders," many of whom were Irish Catholic, as "rabble." Nevertheless, there is much evidence that Winton went out of his way to be respectful to the Catholic community.

On April 28, 1829, the *Public Ledger*'s front page banner headline announced the "Removal of Catholic Disabilities" in the British parliament. That issue and the two following issues are filled with its discussion. Winton writes,

. . . [I]t is humiliating to think that so obvious an act of policy and justice, should have been so long deferred . . .⁴⁴

He concludes with a hope for peace in Ireland. In his May 15 editorial Winton provided an historical look at the oppression of Catholics under English law, saying the "Catholic Question" was introduced in the House of Commons fifty years before, in 1799, and thought it worthy of comment that the new bill came into effect on St. George's Day, April 23 -- a day of Protestant celebration.

. . . No indecent triumphs appear to have been displayed in any part of Ireland in consequence of late events; and we understand that in Dublin, where a

⁴³ O'Flaherty says Winton was on friendly terms with Bishop Michael Fleming prior to the election campaign for representative government in 1832. (See DCB reference)

⁴⁴ The *Public Ledger*, May 8, 1829.

proposal had been made to illuminate the city, the proposition was, at a public meeting upon the subject, immediately and simultaneously rejected. This is extremely creditable; as in an earnest, we trust, of the speedy oblivion of everything which can create an unpleasant recollection.⁴⁵

In St. John's, the *Ledger* devoted three columns to the St. George's Day festivities, with every word spoken and every toast made.

Later in the month the Catholics in St. John's celebrated their new freedom. Winton provided a full report covering the parade led by a band to the reception at the Orphan Asylum School; the divine service at the chapel and Bishop Fleming's request that the crowd give "three cheers for the good King; three cheers for the Duke of Wellington; three cheers for the right honourable Robert Peel ⁴⁶ and as many cheers as their lungs would permit for Daniel O'Connell." The *Ledger* reported the bishop's request was "liberally and literally complied with," guns were fired and vessels in the harbour were decorated -- "illumination would have taken place except for the danger of fire." ⁴⁷

Bishop Fleming regarded O'Connell as a champion of the Irish poor and encouraged financial donations in St. John's for

⁴⁵ The *Public Ledger*, May 15, 1829.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of Robert Peel's role as Home Secretary, promoter of religious freedom and also for his role in the prosecution of the press in Britain, see: Wickwar, p. 253 and p. 290.

⁴⁷ The *Public Ledger*, May 22, 1829. [This report on the Catholic celebration was tagged, "*Communicated.*"]

his friend. On January 3, 1832, Winton carried the following article in the editor's column:

. . . On last Sunday at the R.C. Chapel sixty pounds were contributed by the Ladies of St. John's toward the "O'Connell Tribute" -- a gratifying evidence, if any were wanting, that our fair citizens fully participate in that feeling which has induced Mr. O'Connell's admirers of the other sex to yield him their undivided esteem. This new year's gift in the cause of liberty, and coming, too, from such hands, must make a forcible impression on the sensitive mind of Mr. O'Connell; and while advocating the extensions of British privileges to every portion of the British Empire will cause the particular interests of Newfoundland to be prominent in his mind. -- *Communicated*

However, in the same issue of the *Ledger* there was an extract from the *Dublin Evening Mail* referring to O'Connell as a "disturber of the peace for the last five and twenty years."⁴⁸

The *Newfoundlander* pledged at the start of publication in 1827, never to meddle in religion "when unmixed with politics." This newspaper, however, became a platform for religious discourse, clearly mixed with politics. The Sheas, owners of the *Newfoundlander*, were staunch Catholics and closely connected with the clergy in church affairs.⁴⁹ They, and their newspaper, went head to head with Henry Winton and the *Public Ledger* during the campaign for representative government. Together, they helped set the course in press coverage of Newfoundland politics along ethnic and sectarian lines for decades to come.

On September 6, 1832, the *Newfoundlander* expressed dissatisfaction with the small number of persons that would

⁴⁸ The *Public Ledger*, January 3, 1832.

⁴⁹ John Mannion, DCB, v. VI, pp. 709 - 711.

comprise a local legislature. The new constitution for Newfoundland provided for an Assembly of fifteen members, elected from nine districts, along with seven appointees having legislative as well as executive powers.⁵⁰

Shea said that fifteen members would place "[too] important a portion of His Majesty's dominion" in the hands of a majority of eight." The editor urged people to "make diligent and judicious use of the important privileges conferred upon them." Agitation for local government came mostly from the merchant class, whose members only, were also expected to run for election. Since that class was composed mainly of Protestants, some might argue that the paper was urging resistance to a Protestant oligarchy. Others might argue that the *Newfoundlander* was already setting a tone of religious difference in the public press.

McCann describes the political situation in Newfoundland in 1832 as something a Protestant elite was ill-prepared for:

. . . [T]he "constitutional revolution" that had taken place in Britain in the 1820s and 1830s had upset the old social and political certainties. . . The Protestant administrative elite of Newfoundland found themselves facing not only a unique political situation -- a population with the vote and a body of Catholics determined to assert their newly-won rights -- but the two combined in a militant electoral bloc which also indulged in what today we would call extra-parliamentary activity. . .⁵¹

⁵⁰ Gunn, Political History of Newfoundland , p. 11.

⁵¹ McCann, "Bishop Fleming and the Politicization of the Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland 1830 - 1850" in Religion and Identity , p. 82.

One of the candidates for the new legislature was John Kent. Kent was 26, a friend of Bishop Fleming, and later married the bishop's sister. Winton wrongly suggested Kent should be disqualified because he was "too new to the colony." Legally, candidates had to be resident two years. Kent was resident more than ten years.⁵² Kent campaigned on the slogan of "honest representation" criticizing the system that the new Assembly would have an appointed legislative council with more power than the elected assembly. As explained earlier, the legislative council would have judicial power as the final court of appeal for the colony. It was this Kent found fault with, calling the measure despotic.⁵³ These were the same sentiments expressed earlier by the editor of the *Newfoundlander*.⁵⁴

In the September 7 issue of the *Public Ledger* Winton wrote in an editorial that the colony was not ready for an assembly "filled by demagogues and visionaries -- by inflated schoolboys or superannuated old men."⁵⁵ Kent took it as a personal slight and responded to Winton in a letter to the *Newfoundlander*. He accused Winton of opposing him because he was Irish and Catholic.⁵⁶ In an earlier letter to the *Newfoundlander* Kent noted

⁵² Gertrude Gunn, Political History of Newfoundland 1832 - 1844, p.15.

⁵³ The *Public Ledger*, September 7, 1832.

⁵⁴ The *Newfoundlander*, September 6, 1832.

⁵⁵ The *Public Ledger*, September 7, 1832.

⁵⁶ The *Newfoundlander*, September 20, 1832.

that Winton had, until now, supported the idea of a local legislature only for the sake of stirring interest which boosted sales of his newspaper. Now that everyone supported it, Kent said, Winton saw no singular role for himself in the spotlight and so "seceded from our body."⁵⁷

There are numerous examples in the *Public Ledger* that Winton was capable of obstinacy, but it appears the editor's about-face had more to do with Bishop Fleming's open support of Kent. Winton claimed his newspaper's record in support of Catholics spoke for itself.⁵⁸ It was the cosiness between clergy and politicians that seemed to aggravate the editor:

. . . such a bare-faced insult, not only to the Protestants, but to every respectable Catholic in the district ! Upon what influence, let it be inquired, does Mr. Kent depend for such an outrage upon common decency? Sure we are that the Right Rev., the Bishop at the head of the Church of which Mr. K is a member will not tolerate such conduct, nor permit it to be tolerated by any of his respectable clergy; and no less certain is it that the respectable portion of their flock will turn with disgust from so consummate a piece of folly . . .⁵⁹

Two days later, in the *Newfoundlander*, there appeared a letter from Bishop Fleming condemning Winton for ascribing to him political influence with John Kent. Fleming questioned Winton's conclusion that if Kent had support from the bishop then he must be a "highly dangerous political character" and if not, then he

⁵⁷ Ibid., September 13.

⁵⁸ In an editorial May 19, 1829, Winton noted that his newspaper had always advocated religious freedom.

⁵⁹ The *Public Ledger*, September 18, 1832.

must be "a political imposter." Fleming says,

. . . [W]hen I look at this most unfortunate syllogism that ever came from the brains of a man, I cannot persuade myself that the author was in his sober senses when he penned it . . . ⁶⁰

The bishop said he had the right of any citizen to take an interest in politics. He claimed he was responding to Winton not in his own defence, but only because the publisher had cast aspersions on his clergy. The tone of the letter, however, was personal and political. Fleming admitted his direct involvement in Kent's election campaign-- even considered it his duty. Fleming also claimed in his letter that he was "one disposed to quiet" and had taken care "not to encumber [himself] with broad changes...to excite the disgust of the public." ⁶¹ Yet, in subsequent replies to Winton's comments, which were published exclusively in the *Newfoundlander*, Fleming repeated his berating of Winton. It might be argued, by his public reaction to Winton, he did encumber himself, and did excite, if not the disgust of the public, the fervour of much of the Catholic population.⁶²

⁶⁰ The *Newfoundlander*, September 20, 1832. [There are references in the historical literature by Prowse and O'Flaherty to Winton's drinking habits.]

⁶¹ Fleming would later claim that he had been ". . .dragged before the public and forced to make [his] position clear. . . ." See: McCann, p. 85. See also: The *Newfoundlander*, November 1, 1832.

⁶² It should be noted that Fleming also publicly supported Dr. William Carson and William Thomas, both Protestant candidates. On the one hand, there was an outpouring of devotion to Bishop Fleming and on the other, a segment of the Catholic population worked against him to defeat the Protestant candidates he supported.

The bishop also used the pulpit to express his political ideas, complaining that the local press was not open to him. Gunn suggests Fleming did not "try their columns."⁶³ There is no evidence that the *Public Ledger* refused letters from the bishop. Winton's editorials were clearly opposed, not only to Fleming, but to any clergy involvement in politics. Winton published letters for, as well as against, the bishop's actions. The *Ledger* also published letters from candidates who expressed no apparent bias. Kent's letters, which were always critical of the publisher, seemed to be welcomed with relish, judging by Winton's replies. There seems no reason to suspect letters from Fleming would not have been received with the same elan. On the other hand, Fleming had full access to the *Newfoundlander* and used it accordingly, despite his claim of "one disposed to quiet."

On September 21, Winton began his editorial:

To The Right Rev. Dr. Fleming, Roman Catholic Bishop

He accused Fleming of "gross misrepresentation" of the *Ledger* in the previous day's *Newfoundlander*. Winton said, until then, he was prepared to believe the bishop had nothing to do with Kent's "attempt to throw the firebrand of religious discord among us." He accused Fleming of "prostitut[ing] [his] sacred calling to secular purposes."

. . . Sir, you had better retire from the contest . . . you are not beyond the influence of the Press, which has only begun to deal with you. In your collision with it, take care that you do not overrate your own strength.

⁶³ Gertrude Gunn, Political History of Newfoundland, p.20.

Winton, a class-conscious proponent of law and order, said Fleming had "thrown [himself] upon the rabble to be by them protected . . ." ⁶⁴

A meeting, held by Roman Catholics in Harbour Grace, followed and was reported in the *Newfoundlander*, September 27, condemning Winton for this attack on Fleming. The report said Winton was "as unworthy of an independent editor as it is disgraceful to the columns of a newspaper hitherto supported by a liberal public."

The full text of the resolutions passed at the meeting were published and read in part:

. . . that as admirers and supporters of the Liberty of the Press, we regret to see so powerful an engine, placed in the hands of such an individual as the Editor of the Public Ledger, who by his late conduct would evidently disturb that harmony which has hitherto existed and we hope still continue between all classes of every denomination or sect . . . ⁶⁵

From a different perspective, the independence and courage shown by the *Public Ledger* to challenge and to question could be judged as a desirable standard of press freedom. McCann notes that the "harmony . . . between all classes. . ." was described by Governor Cochrane as the smooth surface of society covering "the seeds of discord, which only required a sufficient exciting cause to shoot into life."⁶⁶ The role of the newspapers,

⁶⁴ The *Public Ledger*, September 21, 1832.

⁶⁵ The *Newfoundlander*, September 27, 1832.

⁶⁶ McCann, p. 82, cites Cochrane to Stephen, April 8, 1834, PRO, CO 194/87.

particularly the *Public Ledger* and the *Newfoundlander* served to reflect the discord in the community and to enliven the debate.

A committee had been formed by Dr. William Molloy, Peter Brown, John Fitzgerald, Justin Dwyer and James Prendergast to assure the bishop that such an attack [by Winton] only endeared him more to his flock. The text of the address was to be published as well in the *Conception Bay Mercury*. It said, in essence, those who insulted Bishop Fleming insulted the Catholics of Harbour Grace. Fleming responded in the same issue of the *Newfoundlander* [September 27, 1832]: -- "No praise can be more precious than that which comes from the good and the wise." The bishop repeated much of what he said earlier about Winton and confirmed his support of Kent, saying he wished "only one" Catholic representative -- "no more." Fleming praised the *Newfoundlander* as the "channel" by which the "good and wise" conveyed their message. Fleming's letter appearing in the same issue of the *Newfoundlander* suggests the bishop was privy to the newspaper's content before it was published.

Similar resolutions later appeared in the *Newfoundlander* from Carbonear and Brigus. They said Winton was widening the gap between Catholics and Protestants. The Brigus resolution had a warning for Winton:

. . . But let him be aware -- the public voice is rising loud against him and he that sows the wind may reap the whirlwind. It were well for Mr. Winton, had he reflected upon the possibility of these things before rushing headlong into combat; may we request him to pause, and in future better to weigh his words before he again comes forward with his insults as it is far from our desire to see events leading to the crisis

towards which this man is labouring to conduct them...⁶⁷

Whether or not this was a deliberate personal threat to Winton can only be judged by the reader. Certainly the rhetoric was becoming increasingly pitched. There were reports of crowds surrounding Winton's home and breaking his windows. One letter to the editor of the Ledger said an unnamed candidate enticed a public gathering to "put down the Public Ledger -- put down the Orange Press." The writer claimed there was a call for a "Free Press" to which the crowd responded, "We have it, John Shea, John Shea."⁶⁸ A writer to the Ledger, from Carbonear, accused Kent of introducing the word "Orange" to Newfoundland, a word, the writer said, which was the vernacular for national prejudices in Ireland.⁶⁹ So, it seemed that while the press was reporting on religious bigotry, the newspapers themselves, were being divided by it.

Reports of violence were connected to the political campaign. One incidence, reported from Harbour Grace as "Kentism," told of a group of people accosted by someone demanding to know if they were "for Kent." A second report described how a Lieut. Kean, on his way to Maggoty Cove, was

⁶⁷ *The Newfoundlander*, November 1, 1832.

⁶⁸ *The Public Ledger*, September 25, 1832.

⁶⁹ *The Public Ledger*, September 28, 1832.

forced to turn back from a "shower of stones."⁷⁰ Kean said he had rung the chapel bell to quell a noisy political meeting being held there. He said he believed the attack on him was the result of Bishop Fleming's "use of his name" in complaining about the incident from the altar of the Roman Catholic chapel in St. John's. Winton added an editorial note to say if Kean's account was true he should report it to the Attorney General. . . "who, we have no doubt, would soon settle matters right." ⁷¹

Winton's fearless opinion, freely expressed against religious influence in politics, would continue to enrage his opponents long after the events of 1832 were over. In May 1835, Winton was attacked near Carbonear by masked men who cut off both his ears. Repeated rewards by government, advertised in the newspapers, failed to find the persons responsible, though it is reported the Catholic faction was believed to blame.⁷² On July

⁷⁰ There are several coves in Newfoundland by this name. The one referred to here is most likely Maggoty Cove in Bay Bulls, near St. John's.

⁷¹ *The Public Ledger*, October 2, 1832 and October 12, 1832.

⁷² There are several references to this event in the literature. Some accounts say one of Winton's ears was cut off and two pieces cut from the other ear. See DCB entry on Winton by Dr. Patrick O'Flaherty. In addition, an account of the savage attack on Winton is found in Life of Philip Henry Gosse by Edmund Gosse, a masters graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge. Gosse wrote in 1890 that Philip Gosse, who was a friend of Winton's, attributed the mutilation to a Dr. Molloy, a surgeon in Carbonear. Gosse also seemed to implicate the clerks at Elson's. Elson was a Carbonear merchant. [No evidence was ever proven and no one ever arrested for the crime.] Winton recovered and carried on his newspaper business as before. His editorials became even more impassioned even when five years later a similar physical attack took place on his foreman, Herman Lott.]

25, 1835 a committee was struck by subscribers to the *Public Ledger* and "friends to the 'Liberty of the Press' " to raise money to "sustain [Winton] in the exercise of a Free Press, devoted to the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty." A circular was sent abroad, with an account of the attack, soliciting support.⁷³ It should be noted that, while Winton and Fleming did battle in the pages of the newspapers, at no time did the *Public Ledger* renege on its support for religious freedom. The argument, from Winton's point of view, was always to do with separation of church and state.

Developments in the election campaign of 1832 had become complicated when what appeared to be a united Catholic front was weakened with the entrance into the election campaign of Patrick Kough, a Catholic carpenter and government contractor.⁷⁴ This was said to be in defiance of Bishop Fleming's support of Carson and Thomas who were both Protestants.⁷⁵ Governor Cochrane suggested that it was only when the "well-to-do" Catholics, supporting Kough, threatened to break with Fleming that he stopped trying to

⁷³ See: Appendix X for a copy of this rare document, courtesy of D.J. Squires' private collection, St. John's, NF.

⁷⁴ The name was spelled Kough in the newspapers of the day. Historians, such as Prowse, changed it to the current spelling, Keough.

⁷⁵ Dr. William Carson came from Scotland . He set up medical practice in St. John's in 1808 and was one of the leaders of reform. William Thomas was a successful English merchant in St. John's. Thomas was elected, along with Kough and Kent for the district of St. John's. Carson was defeated in the first election, but would become one of most important political figures in Newfoundland history.

influence his followers.⁷⁶ Whether or not that was the case, Kough defeated Carson in his bid for a seat in the new Assembly. The election was held in the fall of 1832. The results were published in all of the newspapers.

The election of Kent to the first Assembly in Newfoundland must have, to some extent, gratified the "irascible prelate."⁷⁷ Fleming was, as McCann described, an advocate of the nationalist ideals of O'Connell that sought to eliminate Irish oppression. In defence of Fleming, however, McCann claims that the Irish Catholic poor in Newfoundland were not puppets "animated by a Machiavellian bishop," rather, they acted collectively and independently.⁷⁸

The editor of the *Public Ledger* was aware that what he wrote was being discussed every Sunday from the pulpit of the Roman Catholic chapel in St. John's.⁷⁹ In his October 5, 1832 editorial, Winton counted the Catholics in St. John's at 8,590; the Protestants at about 3,000 -- all of whom he noted had in the past "vied only in their works of charity and justice." Winton

⁷⁶ McCann, p. 85, cites PRO CO 194/85.

I found no explanation for the vexing question of Bishop Fleming supporting two Protestant candidates in the 1832 election campaign. The time available for this thesis does not allow for the research necessary to attempt an analysis of Bishop Fleming's intricate political involvement in Newfoundland.

⁷⁷ Gertrude Gunn, Political History of Newfoundland, p. 29. James Stephen, the crown lawyer in London referred to Fleming as ". . . a very irascible [*sic*] and coarse-mannered man."

⁷⁸ McCann, p. 88.

⁷⁹ Both McCann and Gunn also make reference to this.

said the current election campaign would make people wish for their "primitive position." He expressed the belief that the "humble uneducated classes" were "superstitious" which accounted for their "veneration" of what Winton called "Priestcraft."⁸⁰

Such a view would seem to be at odds with Jefferson's principles of religious and political freedom which Winton espoused. But Winton's ideal world did not include equal justice for rich and poor. He frequently wrote, in a patronizing way, of the "lower orders" and of the "kindly bond of union" which should exist between employer and the employed.⁸¹ When a crowd

⁸⁰ The *Public Ledger*, October 5, 1832.

⁸¹ The *Public Ledger*, January 11, 1828; October 21, 1828; December 26, 1828; May 26, 1829. Editorials in these issues railed against the "insolence" and "ignorance" of the "humbler classes" of workers who showed up late for work, or in other ways showed disrespect for their "masters" and the "respected of the community." However, Winton's attitude appears no different from Ryan's, whose *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* ran the following notice, January 21, 1800:

Absconded from his master's service, on the 14th (instant) William Durant an indentured apprentice. This is to caution all persons not to trust him on my account, (particularly shoemakers and taylor's) as he has long been in the habit of running me in debt without my knowledge. He is an artful, insinuating, dangerous character -- fond of Nocturnal frolics, Card-playing and Tippling and appears to have arrived at great perfection in these accomplishments within a few months. His principal place of resort is at the Youth's Hostel in Duke Street, a most dangerous receptacle for the (drifting) generation should it be continued. He is well known for being in the service of the subscriber for a number of years.

N.B. All persons are hereby forbidden harbouring or concealing said apprentice and all masters of vessels are cautioned not to take him out of province, under penalty of the law.

-- John Ryan

of angry fishermen demonstrated near Harbour Grace in February, 1832, because the merchants controlled their livelihood, Winton saw no injustice, only a "lawless mob" that disturbed the "established order of society."⁸² The events of 1832 seemed merely to entrench the equally irascible editor of the *Public Ledger* against all radicals.

The level of debate in the newspapers of the next two decades intensified, but would not rise much above political and religious squabbling. Newfoundland was, nevertheless, moving toward political and social maturity. The period leading up to 1832 had also set the stage for a more independent and vigilant public press.⁸³ Journalism in Newfoundland was trying to catch up with the rest of the world.

⁸² The *Public Ledger*, February 21, 1832.

⁸³ On November 20, 1832, a prospectus for the *Carbonear Star and Conception Bay Journal* was published in the *Royal Gazette*. It claimed, along with increased population and business, its purpose for publishing was that the "chain of political degradation was broken and that the island is about to enter upon a new existence." It said elected representatives would have to be "carefully watched" and that "this duty devolves upon the Public Journalist, if he act with independence and for the advantage of the country." This newspaper lasted less than a year. The *Newfoundland Patriot* made the same claim when it started up in St. John's in the summer of 1833. Its founder, R.J.Parsons, became Henry Winton's chief rival. It lasted almost 60 years under various titles.

CONCLUSION

Newfoundland's complex history provides no clear pattern of progress. However, between 1806 and 1832, permanent settlement and social organization in Newfoundland had begun, full colonial status was obtained, and representative government was established. The population was less than one hundred thousand, if an average is taken between official figures and figures provided by those who promoted the Island's potential. The greatest concentration of people was on the east coast, in St. John's, the main seaport and commercial centre, and Conception Bay.

There were two distinct classes of people, the relatively rich professional and merchant class, and the poor who worked for them in the fishery. The fishery provided the Island's economic base. For the most part, the merchants were educated English Protestants, and the poor, uneducated Irish Catholics. The cultural divisions between the two carried over from the old country to the new. Social conflict based on ethnicity and religion was present from the start.

Almost nothing is known about the level of literacy in Newfoundland for this period. Private schools catered to the merchant class who could afford them. There were missionary schools, sponsored by the Church of England, and there were charity schools for the poor, but there was no compulsory public education.

Political and economic life was dominated by the merchant class. It is not surprising, then, that Newfoundland's first newspaper would have evolved to serve the commercial needs of St. John's merchants.

The political changes occurring between 1806 and 1832 started in earnest with a letter from Scottish immigrant, Dr. William Carson, to the British Parliament, and published as a pamphlet in 1812. It described conditions, criticized the Naval governors, and called for local representative government. In 1818 a governor was assigned, for the first time, to reside in St. John's year-round. In 1824, three hundred years after the Island was claimed by Britain, and more than one hundred years after British sovereignty was settled by the Treaty of Utrecht, Newfoundland was officially recognized as a colony. In 1832, after years of agitation by local reformers, Britain granted Newfoundland a constituted, elected local government.

Eight newspapers were started in Newfoundland during this period. As far as can be ascertained from the evidence, the press in Newfoundland developed in three distinct stages:

- phase one, as a commercial enterprise controlled to some degree by the Governor
- phase two, as a competitive enterprise concerned with survival, press ethics, freedom of the press and libel laws
- phase three, as a social influence shaping public opinion while embroiled in religious/political controversy.

Given the lack of attention paid to the press by the

earliest writers of Newfoundland history, it appears the newspaper did not take a leading role in the society at first, but was regarded as part of the mercantile establishment. From the examination of extant issues, such an assessment, though tentative, has merit. Not until the late 1820s, when political debate over a new legislature became heated along ethnic and religious lines, was there a noticeable involvement in local affairs by the newspapers. Even then it was mainly by two newspapers, the *Public Ledger* and the *Newfoundlander*, which themselves, became divided over ethnic and religious issues. Nevertheless, the newspapers of this important transition period served as a public record of the events and the mood of the day.

John Ryan, the American Loyalist who introduced the newspaper to Newfoundland, was a skilled craftsman with a long and impressive record in publishing when he arrived in 1806. His motive for moving to the Island from New Brunswick is not clear. Ryan's publishing experience in New Brunswick had been fraught with problems, from libel suits to failed attempts at establishing his son in the newspaper business. Careful examination of scattered pieces of information suggests that his newspaper in Newfoundland was established strictly out of need to secure a steady income and expand a family enterprise. This incentive matched the mercantile interests of a group of St. John's merchants who saw that their businesses would benefit from the publication of a weekly newspaper.

To obtain the Governor's permission to publish in

Newfoundland, Ryan was willing to accept severe restrictions, even censorship. By doing so he rejected the principles of a free press and the ideals of an independent journalist. In return, he fully expected to have a newspaper monopoly and established his press on the understanding that only he or his sons would hold a permit to produce a newspaper in the settlement. One licence, to the father only, was granted grudgingly by the Colonial Governor.

Ryan's *Royal Gazette and General Advertiser* began publication August 27, 1807. It remained without competition for seven years. The publisher seemed unaware, as was the governor of the day, that the legal right to establish a newspaper did not require the governor's permission. The requirement of a compulsory licence to publish was eliminated on instructions from legal administrators in London in 1813. The right to publish in Newfoundland did not come from any concerted campaign for freedom of the press.

Once the obstacle of a compulsory licence was removed, the newspaper monopoly was broken and other publishers came forward. Ryan was obliged to submit tenders, along with his rivals, for government contracts. The veteran publisher continued to publish until his death in 1847. ¹

The *Royal Gazette* maintained the neutral policies on which it was founded. It stayed out of the religious/political

¹ The newspaper came under the direction of his partner, J.C. Withers, in 1832. In 1924 it became the *Newfoundland Gazette* carrying only government notices and continues to be printed by the Queen's Printer.

controversy engaged in by the *Public Ledger* and the *Newfoundlander*. It would be inaccurate, however, to suggest that the *Royal Gazette* exhibited no critique of any kind. It has been shown that between 1814 and 1818, in John Ryan's absence, with his son, L.K. Ryan, as the editor, a more lively dialogue was noticeable. In later years the *Royal Gazette* published letters against reform, although this would have been in keeping with the thinking of the governor at the time.

The short period between 1818 and 1821, when L.K. Ryan published the *Newfoundland Sentinel*, a youthful irreverence toward authorities was evident. A gentle rivalry developed between the *Sentinel* and the *Mercantile Journal* attracting what appeared to be young readers who wrote letters to both papers. This created a marked contrast to the staid and proper *Royal Gazette*. It was short-lived, however, as the dialogue in the fledgling journals became contentious, and the editor of the *Sentinel* fled the country rather than face libel charges.

None of the important social issues -- poverty, starvation, injustice, public flogging, the fishery problems on the French Shore or the truck system that paid fishermen in kind instead of cash -- nor even the demand for local government, engaged the newspaper in Newfoundland as did the election campaign for local representatives to the first House of Assembly. This campaign combined religion and politics in a way that would continue to characterize the press and the cultural consciousness in Newfoundland for more than a century. It was the spirit of

fearless journalism practised in Henry Winton's *Public Ledger* and the religious ties of Henry Shea's *Newfoundlander* which set the stage.

The Newfoundland newspapers patterned themselves after those published in Britain in both style and content. "Foreign intelligence" dominated the front pages of the colonial newspapers because their existence depended upon what was happening "at home" in England, in the rest of Europe and the world. The revolutionary wars waged at the time had a direct effect on supply and trade. Despite the small type, crowded columns, and laudatory pandering to authorities, newspapers in Newfoundland between 1807 and 1832 were never dull or boring.

The early Colonial newspapers are sometimes described as nothing more than advertising sheets with extracts from the foreign press. Examination of the earliest nineteenth-century Newfoundland newspapers shows otherwise. Taken together, there was considerable local content. Details of all local issues could not be included in a thesis of this length. For example, there was discussion about forming a fishermen's association; competition from Norway in the fish markets of Europe; compulsory fees for construction of a hospital; the ravages of smallpox and the introduction of vaccination; rivalries in the medical profession. Some of this information was included in the advertisements which also contained amusing and interesting developments in people's lives, providing important information on conditions of the time. These advertisements would prove a

useful separate study.

Important and dramatic local events received a special place in the editor's column. Reports of crime and court proceedings; murder, assaults, robberies -- anything that disturbed the peace was scrutinized. As the numbers of newspapers grew they became more of a social force. Some historians, who have relied on these newspapers as sources, suggest religious discord was fostered in the newspapers. This thesis suggests that the discord, which was already present, was simply exposed and played out in the pages of the *Public Ledger* and the *Newfoundlander* during the first political election campaign.

Without more information about literacy levels and newspaper subscriptions, the reason(s) for an increase in the number of newspapers published during this period can only be surmised. The official statistics show the population doubled between 1809 and 1825. In that time, five newspapers began publishing in St. John's. But the influx of Irish immigrants are described as poor and uneducated. The numbers of people, therefore, cannot be stated as a principal cause of newspaper expansion. Between 1825 and the first census in 1836 there was a further increase in a more permanently settled population. It stands to reason there would also be an increase in business resulting in increased advertising revenue. At the end of 1832, the *Carbonear Star* and *Conception Bay Journal* stated these increases as a reason to start publishing. However, the *Star*, as well as the *Times*, earlier that year, and the *Patriot*, the following year, placed

more emphasis on the fact that a new legislature was established. It appears that it was the lively newspaper debate about politics and religion during the first election campaign, perhaps of greatest interest to the merchants, that gave the strongest impetus for the growth spurt in the newspaper industry of Newfoundland at the end of that period.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the progress of the newspaper beyond 1832 because it leads naturally into the second phase of newspaper press development (1832 - 1855), equally deserving of a separate study. ²

The conclusions drawn by this thesis are tentative; they do not claim to be definitive. Gaps in the available issues of the newspapers, the most important primary source, were a major drawback. Other primary sources, such as court records for the period, are incomplete and unorganized. Government records are obscure and scattered throughout Atlantic Canada and the U.S. Eastern Seaboard.

There was, however, sufficient material to make an exploratory examination. The result is a piecing together of the

² Any study of the second phase of newspaper development in Newfoundland would be incomplete without further research into the politicization of Irish Catholics in Newfoundland and the influence of Bishop Michael Fleming on public opinion and the press. Such a study would necessarily include a review of the Lord Durham Report which outlined the defects of representative government and explained what was meant by responsible government. Also useful would be a discussion of the Colonial Reform Society in England which founded the Colonial Gazette in 1838 for the purpose of informing the English public about what was going on in the colonies. One source is Peter Burroughs, The Colonial Reformers and Canada 1830-1849, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1969.

fragments of information to begin, at least, the history of journalism in Newfoundland. This thesis provides a sketch of the people and motives involved in producing newspapers, the conditions journalists encountered in Newfoundland in the early nineteenth century, and the events they recorded, leading up to representative government in 1832. For this reason, it makes a contribution to the literature as well as to the history of Newfoundland. Its main contribution is that it establishes a beginning history of Newfoundland journalism.

APPENDIX I

**Chapter N-4: An Act Respecting Newspapers and Books
(Province of Newfoundland)**

CHAPTER N - 4

AN ACT RESPECTING NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

Analysis

Section:

1. Short title
2. Definitions
3. No publication without affidavit
4. Incorporated company
5. Affidavits in other cases
6. A change requires affidavit
7. Affidavits before Provincial Court judge, etc.
8. False affidavit
9. Affidavits admitted as evidence

Section:

10. Name of printer and publisher
11. Inspection of affidavits
12. Copy of newspaper to be delivered to minister
13. Notice where publication discontinued
14. Printer's name to be on a book or paper
15. Name and address of author
16. Penalty

Short title

1. This Act may be cited as the *Newspapers and Books Act*.

RSN1970 c272 s1

Definitions

2. In this Act

(a) "candidate" includes a person who, after the dissolution of the House of Assembly, or the occurrence of a vacancy in its membership, and until the return of the writ for the next election, is publicly represented personally or by others as standing or intending to stand, and who intends to stand, or has stood, for election as a member of the House of Assembly for a seat then vacant;

(b) "minister" means the Minister of Municipal and Provincial Affairs; and

1990	Newspapers and Books Act	Chapter N - 4
	<p>(c) "newspaper" includes a newspaper or other paper containing public news or intelligence or serving the purpose of a newspaper.</p> <p>3. A newspaper not shall be published until affidavits as described in this Act have been delivered to the minister.</p> <p>RSN1970 c272 s2</p> <p>RSN1970 c272 s3;1973 No18 Sch B; 1979 c49 Sch D;1981 c4 Sch F;1989 c30 Sch B</p> <p>4. Where a newspaper is printed or published by an incorporated company</p> <p>(a) the president of the company or, if none, the chief executive of the company, and the chief editor of the newspaper, shall each make oath or affirm to and deposit with the minister an affidavit that he or she is acting in that capacity, with a description of the building where the paper is to be published, and the title of the paper;</p> <p>(b) the secretary of the company shall make oath or affirm and deposit with the minister an affidavit that the newspaper is being printed or published by the company, giving the title of the paper and the name of the company, and the names of the directors; and</p> <p>(c) the president of the company or, if none, the chief executive officer, the directors, the printer, publisher and the chief editor of the paper shall be jointly and individually liable for the publication of a defamation contained in the newspaper.</p> <p>RSN1970 c272 s4;1973 No18 Sch B;1979 c49 Sch D; 1981 c4 Sch F;1983 c63 s22;1989 c30 Sch B</p>	<p>(2) The printer, publisher and chief editor of the paper shall be jointly and individually liable for the publication of a defamation contained in the newspaper.</p> <p>RSN1970 c272 s5;1973 No18 Sch B;1979 c49 Sch D; 1981 c4 Sch F;1983 c63 s22;1989 c30 Sch B</p> <p>6. Affidavits shall be sworn or affirmed and deposited with the minister whenever there is a change in the information required under section 4 or 5.</p> <p>RSN1970 c272 s6</p> <p>7. Affidavits shall be made before a Provincial Court judge, justice of the peace or commissioner of the Supreme Court.</p> <p>RSN1970 c272 s7;1979 c38 s7</p> <p>8. A person required under this Act to make an affidavit who knowingly or recklessly states falsely information, or omits to give information required, is guilty of an offence and is also liable for penalties to which persons are liable for wilful and corrupt perjury.</p> <p>RSN1970 c272 s8</p> <p>9. Affidavits made under this Act or copies certified by the minister or the Deputy Minister of Municipal and Provincial Affairs to be true copies, shall in all proceedings be admitted as conclusive evidence of the facts contained or mentioned in them against the person making them, except as against a person proving that he or she has before the date of the publication to which the proceeding relates, deposited with the minister an affidavit that the person has stopped acting as publisher, printer or editor of the paper.</p> <p>RSN1970 c272 s9;1973 No18 Sch B; 1979 c49 Sch D;1981 c4 Sch F;1989 c30 Sch B</p> <p>10. (1) Newspapers shall contain, printed in a conspicuous place, the name and address of the publisher and printer.</p>
No publication without affidavit		A change requires affidavit
Incorporated company		Affidavits before Provincial Court judge, etc.
		False affidavit
		Affidavits submitted as evidence
Affidavits in other cases		Name of printer and publisher

(2) A person printing or publishing a newspaper without the information required under this section is guilty of an offence against this Act.

RSN1970 c272 s10

Inspection of affidavits

11. The Minister or Deputy Minister of Municipal and Provincial Affairs shall upon application by a person permit inspection of the affidavits, and upon application by a solicitor deliver a copy certified according to this Act to a solicitor requiring the copy.

RSN1970 c272 s11:1973 No18 Sch B; 1979 c49 Sch D:1981 c4 Sch F:1989 c30 Sch B

Copy of newspaper to be delivered to minister

12. (1) The printer or publisher of a newspaper shall within 10 days of the publication of each issue deliver at the office of the minister a copy of the issue, signed by the printer or publisher, and the printer or publisher shall be entitled to be paid half-yearly the usual subscription for the newspapers by the minister and the minister is authorized to pay the subscription out of the contingencies of his or her office.

(2) Upon application by a person to the minister in order that the newspaper may be produced in evidence in a proceeding, within 2 years of the publication, the minister shall, at the expense of the party applying, produce the newspaper at the trial, and the production in evidence of a copy of the newspaper shall be sufficient proof of the publication of it.

(3) If a newspaper is in the custody of a court, and cannot be conveniently produced at a time required, the minister shall produce it as soon as possible.

RSN1970 c272 s12:1973 No18 Sch B; 1979 c49 Sch D:1981 c4 Sch F:1989 c30 Sch B

Notice when publication discontinued

13. Where the publication of a newspaper is discontinued the printer or publisher of that newspaper shall, within 10 days after the publication of the final issue, deliver to the minister a written notice notifying the minister that publication of the newspaper has been

discontinued and of the date of publication of the final issue of the newspaper.

RSN1970 c272 s13:1973 No18 Sch B; 1979 c49 Sch D:1981 c4 Sch F:1989 c30 Sch B

Printer's name to be on a book or paper

14. (1) A person printing a book or paper intended to be published or dispersed shall print upon the front of each paper, if it is printed on 1 side only, and upon the 1st and last leaves of every book or paper consisting of more than 1 leaf his or her name and address, and address of his or her printing establishment.

(2) A person who omits to print the name and address upon a paper so printed, and a person who publishes or disperses or assists in publishing or dispersing a paper or book on which the name and address of the person printing it is not printed as required, is guilty of an offence under this Act.

(3) Nothing in this Act shall extend to papers printed by the authority and for the use of the government, or the Legislature of this province, nor to a paper printed or published by a member of the clergy, and containing religious instruction only.

RSN1970 c272 s14

Name and address of author

15. (1) The true name, and address of the author shall be attached

(a) to circulars, pamphlets, placards or other similar publications, articles or reports in a newspaper not written by a member of its staff, and letters in a newspaper, containing a reference to the Lieutenant-Governor, or other officer, administering the government of the province, which is published; and

(b) to all publications and matter described in paragraph (a) containing abusive, scurrilous, or defamatory references to a candidate, published between the date of a proclamation for a general or by-election at which the candidate intends to stand, and the return of the writ for the election.

(2) The particulars set out in subsection (1) shall be, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, evidence of the authorship by the

person named there of the publication or matter to which they are attached.

(3) The chief editor, printer and publisher of a newspaper, and the president, and directors, or if none, the chief executive of a company printing or publishing newspapers, in which a publication contrary to this section is made, is guilty of an offence against this Act.

RSN1970 c272 s15

Penalty

16. (1) A person who contravenes this Act is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding \$500, and in default of payment of a fine, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 3 months.

(2) Where a complainant or defendant feels aggrieved by the judgment of the Provincial Court judge he or she may appeal to the Trial Division, provided notice of appeal is given to the Provincial Court judge within 7 days after the judgment, and security satisfactory to the Provincial Court judge is entered for payment of the amount of the fine and the costs of the trial and appeal.

RSN1970 c272 s16:1974 No57 s38 (262);
1986 c42 Sch A

DAVID C.B. DAWE, QUEEN'S PRINTER

INTRODUCTION

In 1835, William Charles St. John published The Catechism of the History of Newfoundland.¹ It was a small, wafer-thin manual of questions and answers about significant names and events.

Q. What is remarkable of 1807 ?

A. The first newspaper ever issued in the Island was published this year; it was entitled 'The Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser.' The proprietor was John Ryan.²

Beyond that kind of fill-in-the-blank statement, early writers found little to say about newspapers in Newfoundland. Histories of Newfoundland have not regarded the newspaper, specifically, as a social force in the early nineteenth century.

Newfoundland is about 76,000 square kilometres, one of the world's largest islands. Located at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the east coast of Canada, it is where English,

¹ William C. St. John, The Catechism of the History of Newfoundland, St. John's, NF., 1835. Rare Book Collection, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland. This edition was published in St. John's by J.M'Coubrey, Printer. A later edition, published in Boston in 1855 is also at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University and in the Newfoundland Collection at the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. The title page of the later publication states the author was "the late U.S. Vice Consul for the Bay of Conception." It also states it was "intended chiefly for the use of schools" and is dedicated to John Irving Roddick, Esquire, Principal of the Harbour Grace Grammar School. [William C. St. John is listed in Ellison's historical directory of Newfoundland and Labrador newspapers as publisher and proprietor of the *Weekly Herald and Conception Bay General Advertiser* from November 2, 1842 to June 28, 1854.]

² Ibid., p. 27 (1835 edition); p. 37 (1855 edition)

APPENDIX II

John Ryan's memorial to Governor Richard Goodwin Keats

to the Academy of the United States
that Knight of the Order of
the Order of the United States
Commander in Chief in and over
the State of New Brunswick

For

The undersigned do leave to state to your
satisfaction that he is a Loyalist from Newport, Rhode Island
where he religiously adhered to his Allegiance. That on
the evacuation of that Province in 1779 he accompanied
the British Army, to New York, where he remained until
1783 when went to Nova Scotia, and has ever since continued
his System of Loyalty.

That at St. Johns - New Brunswick, he
established a Printing Office, and edited and published his
Newspaper for six years; and in 1789 was appointed by
Governor Carleton, to be Kings Printer.

That in 1800 he came to this Metropolis of
New Brunswick, and being solicited by the Mayor of the same
he founded a Printing Office; and in the subsequent year
printed the Mayor's Order, and under the authority of the
Attorney for the Province.

That being impeded from doing business with
the Government of the Province, that as the Mayor must be
satisfied in the settlement, in the printed Receipts, that it
was not sufficient to be paid the most valuable

admission being given
with encouragement.
The student felt the
appearing the name of
Garcia. thought the surname
15 years old. That was 1890 he
was 15 years old.

[illegible][illegible]

Qualities in the West-Indies -
 that no other Sea who is capable of producing the
 greatest things, would feel particularly great value of your
 Excellency for permission to commence the Commerce: but the contrary
 really exists. That if any Company or colony, to enter the
 West-Indies, to one who can claim a privilege, they must proceed
 from having some to regulate themselves.

Opposition should be graciously given to him
as offering him the best to know the best
thing to do which he has seen here.

John C. Calhoun
24th October 1813

Albany.
John C. Calhoun
24th October 1813

Oct. 24th 1813
24th October 1813

Postmaster General
Sir

24th October 1813

I am directed by the Governor to acknowledge the
receipt of the letter of the 26th inst. which you have addressed
to him: and to acquaint you that he has no intention
at present of authorizing any other letter than the Royal
 Gazette and Newfoundland as mentioned.

Mr. John C. Calhoun
Printer

I am, Sir

Your most obedient servant
J. C. Calhoun

John C. Calhoun
24th October 1813

Postmaster General
24th October 1813

John C. Calhoun
24th October 1813

Postmaster General
24th October 1813

John C. Calhoun
24th October 1813

Postmaster General
24th October 1813

John C. Calhoun

APPENDIX III
Conditions of Permit to Print

The House together is entirely in the control of the House of Representatives and the Senate is entirely in the control of the Senate and the President is entirely in the control of the President and the Supreme Court is entirely in the control of the Supreme Court and the Justices are entirely in the control of the Justices and the People are entirely in the control of the People and the Government is entirely in the control of the Government and the Law is entirely in the control of the Law and the Order is entirely in the control of the Order and the Peace is entirely in the control of the Peace and the Justice is entirely in the control of the Justice and the Truth is entirely in the control of the Truth and the Right is entirely in the control of the Right and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful and the Ugly is entirely in the control of the Ugly and the Wicked is entirely in the control of the Wicked and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful and the Ugly is entirely in the control of the Ugly and the Wicked is entirely in the control of the Wicked and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful and the Ugly is entirely in the control of the Ugly and the Wicked is entirely in the control of the Wicked and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful and the Ugly is entirely in the control of the Ugly and the Wicked is entirely in the control of the Wicked and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful and the Ugly is entirely in the control of the Ugly and the Wicked is entirely in the control of the Wicked and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful and the Ugly is entirely in the control of the Ugly and the Wicked is entirely in the control of the Wicked and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful and the Ugly is entirely in the control of the Ugly and the Wicked is entirely in the control of the Wicked and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful and the Ugly is entirely in the control of the Ugly and the Wicked is entirely in the control of the Wicked and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful and the Ugly is entirely in the control of the Ugly and the Wicked is entirely in the control of the Wicked and the Good is entirely in the control of the Good and the Beautiful is entirely in the control of the Beautiful

Given under my hand and seal at Fort-
Trenchard. 22nd Feb. 1865. *Henry Ford*

Nov 22^d - Sp. Service 1800.

Spencer

The Commencement of the Excellency
By the same

Fig. 1. *Guernsey* 22nd Sept 1880.

11

The Governor-General, in considering the proposed Indian House and a further Bill, viewing it, arrived to me that the shape of the Synagogue Court had suggested some objection to the mode of enclosing areas which had adopted in carrying the new effect into effect and having heard the reason for the change in this respect at 3 1/2 and necessary, to me to explain to you that the ground of the House does not allow it to become the property of individuals, but it is to remain

APPENDIX IV
Permit to Print

APPENDIX V

List of *Royal Gazette* Subscribers (1807)

[defect in original]

Living Conditions in Newfoundland, as Revealed in the First Volume
of the Royal Gazette.

WRITTEN IN 1907, BY THE LATE J.W. WITHERS, THEN
KING'S PRINTER.

PROPOSALS

For Printing a Weekly Paper to be
Intituled the

ROYAL GAZETTE AND NEWFOUNDLAND ADVERTISER,

Intended for the Diffusion of Useful as
well as Ornamental Knowledge, News
and Liberal Amusement in General.

CONDITIONS.

The work will be published early every
Wednesday morning and sent to the houses
of subscribers in town, and to such public
houses, inns, etc., as the Outharbor sub-
scribers may direct.

THE ROYAL GAZETTE, &c., will be printed
on a neat type and good demy paper, in a
folio form. The terms of subscriptions
will be One Guinea per annum, payable half
yearly.

In order to evince the uprightness and
integrity of the Editor's intentions, he
will not ask for subscriptions in advance;
he will first publish regularly three mon-
ths, after which he makes no doubt every
gentlemen whose name graces his list read-
ily pay the half year on demand.

As profession of service is no proof of
sincerity, the Editor will not trespass
on the time of the public with a line about
the merits of the undertaking—time and
experience will be the proper judges of
its general utility.

Advertisements will be gratefully receiv-
ed and inserted at One Dollar a square for
the first and Eighteen pence for each sub-
sequent insertion.

The preceding articles include the gen-
eral plan upon which the work is meant to
be edited, and which it is hoped upon be-
ing properly executed will meet with the
countenance of the public.

The Editor hereby pledges himself to use
his best endeavours to render THE ROYAL
GAZETTE a work of merit; and as far as
his exertions or abilities will permit,

worthy the patronage of the public.

Should a moderate number of subscribers
previously offer, so as to afford a tol-
erable prospect of success, the first pap-
er will be issued on Wednesday, the 6th.
of May next.

By the Public's most obed't,

Humble Servant,

(Signed) JOHN RYAN.

St. John's, Newfoundland.

Sept. 10th, 1806.

Subscriber's Names

Thos. Tremlett, John Harries, John Ren-
nell, George Thesiger, A. H. Brooking, E.
Phillips, Dan. Coughlan, John Broom, R.
Hutton, George and Thomas Keough, John
Murray, Thomas Forth Winter, Alex. Miller,
Hunt, Epps & Gaden, William Elmer, Thos.
Williams, D. Rennie, Nich. and Jos. Gill,
John Ryan for George Elliot, Hunter & Co.,
Alex. Coucher, Thomas Meagher, Hunt, St-
abb, Preston & Co. R. Pike, W. Skerrett,
Thomas Cook, James O'Donel for Dr. Lam-
bert, John Houston, Wm. B. Rowe (2),
McBairre, James Melledge, Parker & Knig-
ht (4), Pat. Hines (3), D. Duggin, Dan.
Codner & Co., Crawford, Robertson & Co.,
Patten, Baine & Co., Luke Maddock, Tim
Ryan, Wm. Goff, J. Williams, Henry Shea,
J. Ryan for W. Newman, Eighard Langley,
Walter MacAlister, John Dowsley, Augus-
tus Mainson, Jer. Hearn, John Masters
John Stentafor, John and Peter
rdan, John Bonve
G. Henley, Corn
len, Robert Pr
Henry Batter
Wm. Notting
nagh, Wm R
Peter Le
John P
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ST. JOHN'S OVER A CENTURY AGO.

& Butler per L. Knight, Bombardier Lindas, Wm Noble, David Dodderick, Philip Christian, Capt. Muddle, James Anderson, John Murch, Anthony Steward, Alex. Hutchinson, Sergt. J.P. Klein, Sergt. Alex. McLeod, James Strikley, Robert Hammill, Mr. Parker, Mr. Linagar, Capt. Summerville, Dr. Thomson, George Trapnell, Thomas Murphy, J. Biggs, Dr. Trembell, Peter McKie, His Excellency John Holloway, Esq., John Villeneuve & Co., John Dunn, Mr. Lanlgey, Wm Power, Miller & Fergus, Arnall, Dalton & Arnall, Dinah Elliott, G. Kemble & Co., James Kennedy, John Tanner, John Haley, Mrs. Geo. Best, Dr. Dunnogan, Henry Parsons, Wm Denning, Dr. Connors, Dr. Shea, Dr. Dan. O'Connor, Dr. Richard Shea, Joseph Tumbaun, Wm. Pinsent, Thomas Mallowney, Mr. Langley, Wm. J. Delaney, Thomas Ever, Dr. Sterling, Richard Kelan, Mrs. Maloney, J. Churchill & Co., James Brown, James Cawley, Samuel Newman, David Dunell, Joseph Gover, Wm. Taylor, James Lane John and R. Brine, Thomas Atkins, Richard Langley, Archibald Nevins, Richard Hammond, Thos. Murphy, Robert Dooling, Michael Murphy, Wm. Branscombe, John Harvey, Wm. Phippard, Pat. Murrin for Wm. Power(2), Ml. Farrell, John Brophay, Robert Lee, George Hutchings, John Winter, M. Warren (paid), W. Boden, W. Withycombe(paid 5/3), W. Rendell, jr., John Williams, Wm. Stephenson, Murphy & Gleeson, John Burke, Walter Murphy, Follett, Hoyles & Co., Edward Kenney, John Godfrey, Lieut. Estaff, Wm MacLeod, W. Warren, T. A. Ruggles, Francis Gillman(N.S.R. Quartermaster), F. Goff, John Steward, Wm. Kirby, Benjamin

Johnson, Joseph Church, John Byrne, Richard Purcell, R. A., Alex. Dunbsten, Rover Angel, Mrs. Withycombe, M. Neave & Sons, James Sinyard, John Keith, John Shuett, Michael Curran, Pat. Murrin, Charles Jade, R. Keefe, Arch. C. Dodd, Esq., Richard Hooper, Mr. Solomon, Constable Phippard, Sergt. Grant, Mr. Street, Sergt. James Brophy, John Duncanson, Sergt. John Congdon, Mr. Byrne, Mrs. King, Adj. Moores, Mr. McCarthy, Sergt. Dent, Jacob Harbs, Mr. Roe(2), Sergt. McCullach, Matthew Henesey, W.P. Carter, Sergt. John Brady, George Gutheridge, Sergt. Stewart, Williamson, M.D., Wm Matthews, Stuart S. Hill, Rev. Person Vialette, Sergt. James Brophy, Mr. Warren, Stephen Woolcock, Jonathan Parsons, Mich. Curran, Mr. John Wall, Thomas Dolenty & Co., Gosse, Chancey & Co., A. Nevins, Roberts & Moore, John O'Donald, Michael Hennessey, Robert Kenny, James Brown, R.A., Levi McCulloch, Parsons & Gover, Dr. James Oakley, Mrs. Towill, N. Gibbs, Lieut. J. McNab, John Guest, Wm Raystone, Thos. Parr, Esq., Mrs. Lilly, Kearney & St. John, Alexander Camel, M. O'Lannigan, Wm. Lilly, Jordan & Henderson, Wm Jordon, Thomas Parsons, Wm. Adams, Philip Coats, Wm. Brien, H. E. Gaden, Wm. Cull, Mr. Hampton, George Moulton, Peter Brown, Richard Bishop, Rev. A. Fitzpatrick, Dr. Nich. Brand, Mrs. Butler, Mr. McCarlmon, Mr. Canada, Wm. Barnes.

APPENDIX VI

**Government Correspondence
Keats to Bathurst**

preferential delays to engage in that work as persons would
that if it can be deferred until the return of peaceful
relations with America or for only a season or two that
the fall in the prices of Labour or Materials will way
considerably reduce the cost of the Buildings.

~~It would have been gratifying to me~~
to have informed your Lordship that the Author and
Publisher of the Bellows Paper, submitted to the Opinion
of His Majesty's Law Servants, had been found guilty
of the Offence by the jury before whom they were tried.
But though the facts were complicated, and the charge
of the Chief Justice & Sir J. no doubt. They were
acquitted. It is my duty perhaps to notice the
progress of sentiment formerly unknown in other
foundland, but which within these three or four
years have begun to agitate the public mind in
Ireland, and which seems to be fast changing it from
a quiet peaceable community to a violently
agitated, and meddling in all matters of Government.
When, in consequence of the Famine War, & John
became the Emporium of the Island, and changed its
Character from a quiet day, to a considerable Commercial
Town, difficulties proportioned to its rapidly increasing
population and Commerce were to be seen repeated
in so singular and still different a formant - but
they have been much accelerated and increased by
the

The introduction of a few characters of the most troublesome description, who either come or fashion their opinions from other parts, then to leave the Mother Country, and above all, the unceasingly employed to enflame (and mislead) are just capable of exciting mistrust, and jealousies on the most groundless pretexts. There being no regular Practitioners in the Law at St. Johns persons of all descriptions are admitted to plead, and by an abuse of an indulgence which is extended on account of the supposed ignorance and inexperience of the Pleaders with the Customary Excess and Language of Courts the greatest Indecorum and Impudency of Language sometimes prevails, which the authority of the Court is not always sufficient to restrain. This turbulent behaviour is principally confined to those who are ignorant and who are not confined to their own jurisdiction, are entrusted advocates for what they term colonization.

confined to those who are un-qualified and uneducated when others are entrusted with education for what they term self-education. It is in this short view of your Lordship will see the increasing difficulties of the Government at present and the opinion of Mr Mayhew and Mr Mayhew is that the General transmitted to me from your Lordship's Office which decides against the Power of the Governor to prevent the publication of a newspaper which seems to be in unqualified freedom of the Press in England and to admit the existence of an unqualified of the Governor in a document which shows it has been submitted in cases of this and a similar nature.

APPENDIX VII

New York Mercury or General Advertiser

Copied with permission:

American Antiquarian Society

185 Salisbury Street

Worcester, Massachusetts

01609-1634

Vol. IV. Number 1

100

N E W - Y O R K

**MERCUY,
ADVERTISER.**

NEW-YORK: Printed by WILIAM LEWIS and JOHN RYAN, at their Printing-Office,
No. 28. Wall-Street, between the Coffee-House Bridge and Murray's Wharf.

Left Tuesday, Morning was brought to the General Post Office, the Mail of the Sandwich Packet, commanded by Capt. Dillon, which left Richmond the 24th of June. From the papers brought by her we have extracted the following information.

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APPENDIX VIII

**Libel judgment: William Lewis and John Ryan
Saint John, New Brunswick 1786**

Sam. A. C.

William Lewis
& John Ryan

St. H. G. C. S. T.

My dear Anne
William Lewis Esq
Newbury St So And

County of St. John

Be it remembered that on the 11th day of November in the year of our Lord the 1795, William Lewis said County of St. John, and William Bartley, of the County of St. John, personally came before the Hon^{ble} John B. Esq. of the County of St. John, and signed to keep the peace in the County of St. John, and to do so to our said Lord the King, that is say the said William Lewis the sum of £50 and the said William Bartley the sum of £50 separately of good and lawfull money of the Province of New Brunswick to be made and levied of their goods and chattels, Land Tenement, respectively to the use of our said Lord the King his heirs and Successors, if the said William Lewis shall make default in the conditions hereafter written.

The conditions of the above said written recognizance is such, That if the above said William Lewis shall appear before the Judges of His Majesty's Supreme Court to be holden in the City & County of St. John, on the first Tuesday of February next and there answer to such objections.

A resolution test chart featuring several groups of horizontal and vertical lines of varying thicknesses. Each group is accompanied by a numerical value indicating the resolution. The values include 1.0, 1.1, 1.25, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.2, 3.6, 4.0, 4.5, 5.0, and 5.6. The chart is used to measure the resolving power of an imaging system.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

As shall then be made against him in that
he hath not departed the Court without leave, and
in the meantime to keep the peace and to
good behaviour. This the recognizance to
be void with forfeiture in full force
in case he shall be found guilty of any offence.

Wm. L. L. 100

W. H. and B. H. 50 Bondman

Part. Dec. 1886. Supreme Court

Om. May 9

William Lewis
John Ryan } Exors -

Returning Fee _____ 15.00

Drawing Information _____ 1.00

Copy entered _____ 12.00

Mo. that Def. be put into Court _____ 5.00

Mo. that Def. be put to Plea? _____ 5.00

Mo. for Trial _____ 5.00

Trial Fee _____ 16.00

Brief _____ 6.00

Mo. for Judgment _____ 5.00

Drawing up Judgment _____ 3.00

Entering on the Roll _____ 2.00

Drawing the Record of the

Case. Reading Judgment _____ 10.00

Impressions _____ 12.00

Sum of _____ 9.00

Bill of Costs. Copy do _____ 6.00

4. Witness, 4 Days each - 1.00 p. 1.60

APPENDIX IX

Newfoundland Sentinel and General Commercial Register

Copy, courtesy of:
Dr. Alan Wilson
Halifax, Nova Scotia

[illegible]

11

[illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

JOHN PHILIPOT CURRAN:

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

THE GOUT CURED, OR CHIMNEY SWEEP.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANTS

The following curious specimen of logistical magnificence was quoted by Mr. Peake, a Magistrate of Kras, at a Mikadozono meeting.—A Mr. Manos boasted that he owned the best horse in the world, that he was the best man in the world, that he was the best of all those who lived in the Mikadozono, which was the best country in the world; Kras was the best country in Mikadozono; Mikadozono was the best town in Kras; Kras was the best town in Mikadozono; Kras was the best town in Mikadozono; Kras was the best town in Mikadozono; and his house was the best house in Kras street.

Opposition generates dislike, and disliking, when associated with power, will produce a desire to remove it. This is the principle of Right, so no attempt to diminish the value of reason, or to attempt to place the boundaries of influence, which are the boundaries of authority, below the standard of universal consent. The attainment of this, who can command obedience. There is no alternative, but obedience or punishment.

A considerable degree of association

[illegible]

The precise origin of this *Entomophaga* does not appear to be directly connected, but as far as we have been able to ascertain, it refers out of the following collections: (1) from a few years back, the main body of the *Entomophaga* having arrived in the city, when others of the same kind were brought in, and also others from more or less distant places; these brought from abroad, the specimens beyond those which the president of the society had thought proper to be the first of this matter. Being then that we followed out that of this one, they give way to their mutual interest, time, and spent the whole afternoon there, by their efforts, in the most expedient as well as desperate course, nearly out of health, doing, but, the end, and signs of the description. It is now perfectly aware that these persons, and that each of the two. The society is in a state of the best, and each other's service, that he could possibly bring me a chance of this description, a patient one individual, although to our great satisfaction, the following one. I have gathered out of the various ones, dependent however on the various ones, which the *Entomophaga* were being able to cover over for several in the same manner. It is now perfectly aware that these persons, and that each of the two.

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could be enabled to recover their reputations and standing. The first step of this description was of a private nature, and consisted of all attacks upon the debts and business in this way, many of which, at the right night, were torn up and destroyed. This was discovered to be the work of a Jew, and a religious discourse was preached as a penance for this. Finding himself in danger of punishment, he discovered the rest of the design. The names of the pretenses, as advertised, are *Heaven, Union, Pitt, Mercy and Justice. Against Heaven, Pitt, Mercy, upon taking this notice conferred, procured conversion of capital; and* where which he addressed the whole school on the impendency of their conversion, and requested a hope that the success of his design might have the same effect. In the midst of his discourse he was seized by the throat, and carried to the hospital of St. George, and immediately died.

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Boston, Sept. 3.

A WARNING TO DECEITFULS.

We realized our position of reliance
divided on either of houses, on the con-
sensus in this war, on Thursday last.
The approach of the ground without second
and toward us a crisis to ascertain what
should have the upper hand. The ground
over looked, the ground measured second
of the balance of the case. The ground
and the ground was but the privilege of trade
lost, destroyed by peace, a silent effort.
The silent then faced, and the silent power
through the rest of the campaign. (a silent
night) to be captured, who immediately felt
and returned. "You have killed us."
The silent said his words; the silent
position is better to observe and control
and destroyed the last formation, by
the silent house on a Tuesday.

THE NORTON.

[illegible]

MARRIED, on Tuesday, 17th inst.,
the Rev. Mr. GUNTHAM, ARDRE H.
BERT, Esq. of His Majesty's Customs,
ROBIN AVE, second daughter of JES
HOBBS, Esq. J. P.

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BULLY'S JOB & CROM
Name for Sale
 Rich pastures of hills and hills
 and Cornish Coaches—covering
 Hounds, Horses, Hares, Frogs, Rabbits,
 and many other animals.
 20 Acres **SWANSON** of an excellent
 quality.
 The **Scholar NANCY**,
 Worthless per register 10 Yrs.
 Also
 Royal, Flower, Port, House, Cedar,
 Vase, Pear, Pear, Pear, Pear,
 Glass Oil, and a variety of
 Goods and Soap Goods.
 20 Acres, 1910.

POETRY &
ENTRANCE
"It is the noblest art of
"To show itself from above"

To the Heroes
 —Pursing, it seems
 As well as Discovery,
 For each kind is called
 From foreign parts
 And back to mine,
 To enhance our art
 We think the — shall
 They were called to be

A pleasant Party they
 Discharge on Nature
 And better if they only
 Only may remain in
 For Nature has no time
 To rest, and so they
 — finding, they share
 — if they gave a name

The subject of the Po-
 should live and sing
 Nor should they cry
 For sake of making
 The least a man, and
 To perish thus? or
 For by the set day
 — The young leaving

Again they sigh and
 All conversation is
 Done of the spirit —
 — Is the strength of
 —, as the heart
 For communicating the

For only should love
 Justly part of the
 And always to be
 To all that is separate
 And forever, was the
 That may always
 That may always
 "The something that
 We cannot but feel
 For we cannot be
 But to reach a moment
 "In our hearts"

Yet we think we have
 something like the
 "For I have said
 is a strength of love
 Power that never
 And nothing else
 And goes there to
 We have to fight
 is making them to
 And let them go
 "A Poem"

"That, too, has
 happened in the
 color, feeling, of
 Policy is now done
 "A Poem"

And we know
 No more,

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...I had barely had time to get out of the car when I was

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should (with propriety)
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...the public decision
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...only case of the

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 of public life

CIVIL
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ATTENTION is hereby given that the General Assembly of the State of New York, will be held at the City of Albany, on the 15th day of January, 1890. All persons entitled to vote at the election of members of the Assembly, will be called upon to vote at the election of members of the Assembly, on the 15th day of January, 1890. All persons entitled to vote at the election of members of the Assembly, will be called upon to vote at the election of members of the Assembly, on the 15th day of January, 1890.

AND, H. Corry.

SALE:
In Contract,
Increasing Cotton
WELLS

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of any person, Mar-
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half the value of the
WHEEL MOON,
Hedge,
January, 1870.

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January
January, 1870.

J. W. WILSON.

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APPENDIX X

"LIBERTY of the PRESS"

Circular by St. John's merchants in support of Henry Winton

Courtesy of:

D.J. Squires

St. John's, Newfoundland

Saint John's, Newfoundland,
August 31st, 1835.

"The following are the particulars connected with the late murderous attack on Mr. WINTON, the Editor of this Paper, on the road leading from Carleton Place to Harbour Grace, in the District of Conception Bay.

"Shortly after four o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday the 19th ultimo, Mr. Winton left Carleton Place on horseback, with the intention of reaching Harbour Grace, distant about three miles. Before he quitted the town, he was joined by Capt. Churchward of the 8th Regt. who was also proceeding to the same place on foot. Having gone through the main in the neighbourhood of the town, and passed the bridge, they leisurely ascended the long and rugged hill, which lay in their way, and having passed the level ground on the summit, were descending that part of the road commonly called Saddle Hill—(familiar to many of our readers as the scene of former outrages, both accompanied and unaccompanied with deeds of murder)—when a gang of ruffians suddenly appeared with pointed staves, suddenly issued from the woods on the right of the road. Instantly the foremost of them, with uplifted arms, approached Mr. Winton, and by a heavy blow on the side of the head, with one of the staves, felled him from the horse, while others sprang towards Capt. C. and effectually prevented him from rendering any assistance. From the moment Mr. W. fell to the ground he was rendered powerless by several heavy blows being thrown in succession upon his head. Whilst this scene was passing, Capt. Churchward called out violently, and in the utmost distress begged them to desist; but he was once hurled into the woods to the left of the road, where two men threatened him with instant death if he offered any resistance or made the slightest noise.

"The ruffians, however, had not completed their diabolical purpose. Not content with the brutal violence they had committed upon their victim, they proceeded to fill his coat with sand and gravel—and in the question, "Do you mean to

murder me?" one of the ruffians replied, "Hold your tongue—you ————," and then opening a sharp knife, stooped down and mutilated one of the ears. At this period one of the gang exclaimed, "Hold his hands!" whilst another called out, "Here he is—we have him." They then took off the other ear, and left their victim insensible. Upon recovering, which Mr. Winton thinks must have been very shortly afterwards, he found himself alone, and bleeding most profusely from the wounds inflicted upon the head as well as from the excision of the ears; and upon rising from the ground, he perceived, (indistinctly, from the quantity of blood which streamed over the head and filled the eyes) two men before him, one of whom Mr. W. approached him with a pistol in his hand (of which from the suddenness of the attack he had hitherto been unable to avail himself) retreated into the woods whence he had issued, whilst the other, who proved to be Capt. Churchward, ran up and urged him to proceed as fast as possible to Harbour Grace. A desire to follow up and apprehend the murderers, now that there was some chance of his being able to do so, was the first natural impulse; but this was overruled, and Mr. Winton and his fellow-traveller walked at a rapid pace until they reached the house of Dr. Stirling (about a mile and a half from the scene of these horrid acts) where the hemorrhages ceased and the wounds were carefully and skilfully dressed.

"To the immense effusion of blood (so copious as to be traceable along the road down even to the precincts of the town) is no doubt to be ascribed in the first instance, Mr. W.'s rapid convalescence; but he is under the deepest obligations to Dr. Stirling and to his numerous and kind friends at Harbour Grace for their successful attention and unceasing acts of kind, tender and disinterested care the most painfully discharging. He is now restored to a degree of comparative health and strength, and resumes his intercourse with his readers."

Sir

The Committee appointed at a meeting of the Subscribers to the PUBLIC LEDGER newspaper, and friends to the "Liberty of the Press," held in this Town on the 25th July last, having observed with satisfaction, numerous proofs of the general attention and universal sympathy which the account of a brutal outrage perpetrated on Mr. Henry Winton, the Editor of that journal, has excited; and entertaining an anxious desire to sustain that gentleman in the exercise of a Free Press, devoted to the support of the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty, have Resolved, that an appeal shall be made to you, with an account of the outrage, and a transcript of the proceedings of the Committee; and I am directed to add on the part of the Committee, their earnest request, that you will be pleased to extend your valuable co-operation and assistance in support of the cause which they advocate.

Allow me to intimate that Subscriptions will be received by the undermentioned Mercantile Establishments in this Town, or by either of the Members of the Committee, for whom I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Robert Newman
Chairman.

S. John's, Newfoundland,
25th July, 1835.

At a Meeting of the Subscribers to the "PUBLIC LEDGER" Newspaper, and friends to the Liberty of the Press, held this day at the Central School-room,

MR. BROOKING in the Chair,

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Moved by Mr. H. MURCH, seconded by Mr. WARREN—

Resolved 1st—That this Meeting doth bound to express publicly its abhorrence of the late outrage and inform attack upon the person and life of Mr. Henry Winton, the Editor of the Public Ledger, by a band of lawless ruffians, instigated to the perpetration of the brutal outrage by men whose spirit and intentions appear to be hostile to every principle of Liberty and good Government.

Moved by Mr. TRIMMINGHAM, seconded by Mr. W. LANGLEY—

Resolved 2nd—That being deeply impressed with a belief that Mr. WINTON has been made the object of personal

violence and cruelty, in consequence of the bold, independent, and fearless manner in which he has endeavored, through the columns of the Public Ledger, to uphold the rights and liberties of the people, and to maintain the laws; and sincerely commiserating Mr. Winton under the painful sufferings and irreparable bodily injury which he has sustained, this meeting is determined to extend to Mr. WINTON a substantial proof of its sympathy and regard.

Moved by the Hon. JOHN DUNSCOMB, seconded by Mr. C. F. BENNETT—

Resolved 3rd—That a subscription list be immediately opened for the purpose of raising a fund to aid Mr. Winton in maintaining the freedom and independence of the Press, and in support of sound Constitutional principles and good Government.

Moved by Mr. JENNINGS, seconded by Mr. BARTON—

Resolved 4th—That

Mr. BROOKING

— JON

— DUNSCOMB

— W. GALEY

— WARREN

— C. F. BENNETT

Mr. BLAND

— NICHOLS

— MURCH

— TRIMMINGHAM

— JORDAN

Messrs. NEWMAN & Co.

" KENNIE STUART & Co.

" C. F. BENNETT & Co.

" CODNER & JENNINGS.

" BAINE, JOHNSTON & Co.

" J. & W. STEWART & Co.

" WM. & HENRY THOMAS & Co.

" BULLEY, JOSEPH & Co.

" HUNTERS & Co.

" BLAND & TOBIN.

" JOHN DUNSCOMB & Co.

" J. F. TRIMMINGHAM & Co.

" ROBINSON, BROOKING, GARLAND & Co.

Miss Hunt, North, Tregg
Potts

1879
T. H. Brookings
St Johns 31 August
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Master Mount. Book. size 10

W. H. H. H.

Constitute a Committee, with power to add to their number, to collect subscriptions, and report the same to a general meeting of the Subscribers.

Moved by Mr. C. F. BENNETT, seconded by Mr. R. HARRIS—

Resolved 1st.—That the Proceedings of this Meeting be published in the Journals of St. John's and Conception Bay.

Moved by Mr. A. B. BULLLEY, seconded by Mr. JORDAN—

Resolved 2nd.—That the Chairman and Committee be re-

quested to wait upon Mr. WENTON, and communicate to him the proceedings of this meeting.

THOMAS H. BROOKINGS,
Chairman.

Mr. BROOKINGS having quitted the Chair, and Mr. JON having been called thereto,

It was moved by Mr. C. F. BENNETT, seconded by Mr. JENNINGS, and resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this Meeting be offered to T. H. BROOKINGS, Esq. for the able manner in which he has conducted the business of this day.

ROBERT JON.

We hereby agree to contribute the Sums affixed to our respective signatures, for the purposes expressed in the foregoing Resolutions:

Thomas H. Brookings	2	0	0	M. Wilmshurst	2	0	0
C. F. Bennett & Co.	50	0	0	William Jayson	1	0	0
Bulley, Job & Co.	20	0	0	William Freeman	1	0	0
R. O. Johnson	1	0	0	Thomas Chapman	2	0	0
J. B. Hunt	10	0	0	J. B. Truitt	2	0	0
Culver & Jennings	10	0	0	C. Hays	1	0	0
Nath F. Tringham	7	0	0	William Haden	1	0	0
J. Hancock	5	0	0	W. B. Bow	5	0	0
James Chr.	5	0	0	B. Bowring & Son	2	0	0
Robert Brice	5	0	0	William Howard	1	0	0
John Butler Bailey	5	0	0	John Dwyer	1	0	0
William Langley	5	0	0	Friend	1	0	0
John Harvey	5	0	0	H. Radford	1	0	0
William Deane	5	0	0	James Stewart & Co.	10	0	0
Warr	5	0	0	John Johnston & Co.	10	0	0
W. H. H.	5	0	0	Forrest & Son	3	0	0
W. H. H.	5	0	0	Michael M'Lean Little	1	0	0
W. H. H.	5	0	0	Friend	1	0	0
W. H. H.	5	0	0	W. Randall	1	0	0
W. H. H.	5	0	0	Friend	1	0	0
W. H. H.	5	0	0	Bryan Robinson	1	0	0
W. H. H.	5	0	0	Friend	1	0	0
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W. H. H.	5	0	0	Henry Croft	1	0	0
W. H. H.	5	0	0	Friend	1	0	0
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W. H. H.	5	0	0	T. Chancy	1	0	0
W. H. H.	5	0	0	George Forward	1	0	0

APPENDIX XI**Sample copies: front pages****Royal Gazette and General Advertiser****Newfoundland Mercantile Journal****Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser****Newfoundlander**

Official Circular

And Reinforced and Advertiser.

[THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1810.]

BEAR GOD: BOMBS TWO KING.

[PUBLISHED BY YOU, III.]

Printed and Published by John Smith, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, at No. 10, St. Martin's Lane, London.

Observe: Bankers Office.

St. John's, Newcastle, 2nd March, 1810.

WANTED.

For the use of the Office, Two Hired Carriages of the Office or March.

FIRE & CO.

St. John's, 2nd March, 1810.

Is the Bank of St. John's, 2nd March, 1810.

WILLIAM B. THOMAS.

Best English Mould and Dipe Canals.

And, recently in, Popen.

For which, please, our attention.

St. John's, 2nd March, 1810.

JUST IMPORTED.

St. John's, 2nd March, 1810.

DAVID N. JAMES & Co.

Best double and single Glasses.

St. John's, 2nd March, 1810.

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From a Late English Paper.

Yesterday, at six in the afternoon, the

Emperor, accompanied by the Empress, the

Princess, and the Grand Duke, arrived at

St. John's, 2nd March, 1810.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

4-2-12
R. ROSENBERG,
1949, Boston, Mass.

1000 Doves - Free Post.
And for Sale, in moderate quantity, by
J. BULLOCK, 201 N. CROSS.

...and ...

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GENERAL COMMERCIAL CREDIT

As is customary, provided in having the members of a Publication, to derive the benefit of a Proposition, relative to the present position of the country, in regard to the subject of the Publication, will send to the Editor, in order to have a copy of the same, and for a particular discussion, that the Editor should be confined to, in writing, and on the basis of the foregoing suggested position, will be especially explanatory on above the basis of the same, to ascertain the present temperate article, in the same, in looking, with common propriety, to the support of political matters, to which the nature of the Journal, which will use, to present a faithful representation, even as to passing events.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the County of Los Angeles, California, for the term of four years, commencing on the 1st day of January, 1901, and terminating on the 31st day of December, 1904:

County Clerk
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Assessor
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Auditor
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Engineer
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Surveyor
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Jailor
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Coroner
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Treasurer
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Sheriff
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Marshal
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Jailor
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Coroner
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Treasurer
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Sheriff
J. H. W. HARRIS | County Marshal
J. H. W. HARRIS |
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The Subscriber has made arrangements for the purchase of the Journal, entitled, "The Irish Journal," and the same is expected to appear in the near future. It will be under the EDITORSHIP OF G. D. O'NEILL, a DOMESTIC FREE TRADER, an experienced and successful business man, and a well known and successful temperance lecturer, and a well known and successful member of the Young Men's Christian Association of this State, to be published by the Eastern States Printing Office, Boston.

The subscriber, in conclusion, cannot but express his warmest thanks to the friends of the cause, for their liberal contributions, and his warmest wishes for the success of the cause, and his warmest wishes for the success of the cause, and his warmest wishes for the success of the cause.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the various departments of the Government of the State of New York, for the year 1900.

JOHN McCURRY
1800 N. 1st St.
St. Paul, Minn.

**OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR**

1. **THE** **RECORD** **OF** **THE** **PROCEEDINGS** **OF** **THE** **LEGISLATIVE** **COUNCIL** **OF** **THE** **STATE** **OF** **NEW** **JERSEY** **FOR** **THE** **YEAR** **1901**

WANTED.
Hills of Exchange
 at the L. N. & A. O.
 A. M. & H. THOMAS.

April 22.
1898.
Dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. in relation to the above mentioned matter. I am sorry to hear that you are not satisfied with the results of the examination. I am, however, confident that the results are correct, and I am sure that you will be satisfied with them. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours,
J. H. H. H.

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PARTIAL LIST OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK
AND ADJACENT AREAS
IN 1890

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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

DESIRABLE COMPANY
To and from Atlantic
City

WEDNESDAY
MAY 19 1870

THE **WORLD'S** **LARGEST**

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1925-1926

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APPENDIX XII

Maps of the period by:
John Mannion, Gordon Handcock and Alan Macpherson
in
Historical Atlas of Canada, R.Cole Harris, ed., 1987.

Reprinted with permission:
University of Toronto Press

Maps of Island of Newfoundland and Avalon Peninsula(1991)
by:
Gary McManus and Clifford Wood
in
Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1991.

Reprinted with permission:
Breakwater Books
St. John's, Newfoundland

ST JOHN'S

Author: John Macdonald

ST JOHN'S TOWN, 1770
Contemporary sketch

- Top
- Side
- Front (property lot)
- City
- Unbuilt land

With a church and a dozen substantial merchant premises, St. John's was probably the largest settlement in Newfoundland in 1770. Yet fewer than 50 people lived there through the winter. Mostly English in origin, they included soldiers, sailors, and their families, as well as some civilians, and a few traders. In the spring, when the weather improved, they were joined by a large number of sailors, soldiers, and civilians, and the town grew to over 1,000 people. Almost 50 ships passed the wintered. Indeed, many stores and warehouses were built, and the town grew to over 1,000 people. Almost 50 ships passed the wintered. Indeed, many stores and warehouses were built, and the town grew to over 1,000 people.

In 1770-1771, the number of ships of various types that visited the harbor was high. The chart shows a high number of ships in the early months of the year, followed by a decline.

The permanent population of St. John's increased from about 100 in 1770 to over 500 in 1775. During the 1770s, the town grew rapidly, and the harbor became a major center of trade. The population of St. John's and the surrounding area increased steadily over time.

ST JOHN'S, 1806 after T.C.W. Russell

In 1806, when T.C.W. Russell prepared a map of St. John's, the town population, more than half of whom were permanent residents, was over 500. St. John's was the only town in Newfoundland and the principal focus of the island's commerce. It was no longer a fishing post. Only 50 vessels with no more than 100 tons each were in the harbor in 1806, and the local fishing fleet was not much larger. However, 50 ships came to trade, bringing a wide range of products from around the world. The harbor was a major center of trade, and the town grew rapidly.

Russell's map reveals a waterfront crowded with warehouses and merchant premises, large and small. Retail shops and public houses were concentrated along the north side of the harbor street, now almost a km long. Buildings were scattered along many lanes and paths. Over 500 buildings occupied some 100 acres, almost all wooden, in the winter of 1806. A great deal of land was still taken up by gardens, meadows, and pastures, even then. There were occasional houses within a kilometer of the harbor.

OCCUPATIONS, ST JOHN'S, 1770

POPULATION AND PROPERTY OF ST JOHN'S, 1770

Of the 500 people in St. John's in 1770, more than half were permanent residents. The population of St. John's and the surrounding area increased steadily over time.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY, 18th CENTURY

Authors: John Huxford, Gordon Huxford, Alan Huxford

The story of the 18th century fishery in Newfoundland is a story of the struggle for control of the fishery between the British and the French. The British fishery was established in 1713, and the French fishery was established in 1763. The British fishery was based on the coast of Newfoundland, and the French fishery was based on the coast of Labrador. The British fishery was based on the coast of Newfoundland, and the French fishery was based on the coast of Labrador. The British fishery was based on the coast of Newfoundland, and the French fishery was based on the coast of Labrador.

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THE EXPANDING BRITISH FISHERY
 — Original British shore
 — Called by France to Britain, 1713
 — French fishing rights, 1713-43
 — French shore (disputed), 1713-196
 — Called by Britain to France, 1763
 — British expansion
 — Reduction of British merchants, 1763

With the rise and fall of men employed in the migratory and seasonal fisheries, the population of Newfoundland fluctuated markedly throughout the 18th century. Winter populations included large numbers of young men arriving attached to merchants and planters. Summer populations were inflated by the arrival of ship-brokers, by-tenants, and locally engaged 'planters' men. As the migratory fishery expanded, the difference in the between winter and summer populations diminished. But even at the end of the century, when the migratory fishery had relaxed, a large part of the Newfoundland population was still made up of men, most of whom would eventually return to England or Ireland or proceed to New England.

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