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THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE CORK:

ITS ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY

1803—1858

PART 1

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THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK: ITS ORIGINS AND EARLY
HISTORY, 1803 - 1858

A Thesis submitted to the National University of
Ireland for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PREFACE

This work examines the origins and early history of the Queen's College, Cork. Designedly there is as much stress on the origins as on the early history, for it is the contention of the work that the College was something more than a legislative mushroom. It was very much in the tradition of the civic universities which added an exciting new dimension to academic life in these islands in the nineteenth century. The first chapter surveys university practice and thinking at the opening of the century, relying exclusively on published sources. The second chapter is devoted specifically to the state of learning in Cork during the period, and makes extensive use of hitherto unpublished manuscript material in relation to the Royal Cork Institution. The third chapter deals with the highly significant evidence on education embodied in the Report of the Select Committee on Irish Education of 1838. This material has not previously been published. In chapter four an extended study is made of relevant letters in the manuscript correspondence of Sir Robert Peel - even the most recent authoritative biography has ignored this material. The remaining three chapters are devoted more specifically to the College, both in the formulation of policy and in its practical working. In chapter six there is an extended survey of early College life based exclusively on hitherto unpublished manuscript material in the College Archives. All of these sources, together with incidental published material, are set out at the end of each chapter.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Academic Climate

In the admittedly meagre amount of attention given to the history of Irish education in the nineteenth century the Queen's College, Cork, has all too often found itself relegated to the lowly status of an explanatory footnote. However much this is to be regretted it is easy to understand why it should be so. Historians, biographers, educationalists and ecclesiastics have been so mesmerized by John Henry Newman that they have treated the Queen's Colleges as simply a hurried overture to the grand orchestration of Newman's "Discourses" (1) and the noble failure of his Catholic University. Irish scholarship is rightly proud that the philosophic enrichment that Newman gave to the concept of university education was first expounded in Dublin; but this exultation must be tempered by a realisation that Newman's actual achievement in providing university education for the young men of Ireland was singularly negligible. If attention from the significance of, and the actual work accomplished by, the Queen's College, Cork, has been distracted on the one hand by the excitement generated by Newman, it has been overshadowed on the other by the confused bitterness that gathered round the epithet "Godless College". A veritable battery of speeches, papal rescripts, synodal decrees, pastorals, pamphlets, charges and counter-charges was directed at the College from the moment of its legislative conception in May, 1845. Mere

matters of scholarship or of professional competence or of educational contribution to society were brushed aside as men agonized over whether or not the College would be "Godless". The repercussions stretched from the Cabinet Room in Downing Street to the inner sanctums of the Vatican, and in their time such towering political figures as Peel, Disraeli and Gladstone in England, and O'Connell and Davis in Ireland, joined with churchmen of the stature of Cardinal Cullen, Archbishops MacHale and Murray - and Newman himself, in the debate over the religious issue in university education. This aspect of the College's history has been more fully explored; but by confining the terms of reference almost exclusively to purely Irish dimensions the result has too often been presented with shrill overtones. A later chapter in this work will seek to deal with the religious issue with the sensitivity it deserves.

Considered in the context of trends in higher education in these islands in the first half of the nineteenth century, the story of the origins and early history of the College gives a revealing insight into a period of exciting educational challenge and change. The fifty years between 1800 and 1850 saw profound changes in the movements of men's thoughts, and in legislative enactments and the emerging of new social structures which reflected those changes. The era which began with the stage coach ended with the railway; the penny post was introduced; steam ships were crossing the Atlantic. Great legislative measures were symptomatic of deep-seated shifts in religious, political and

social attitudes; it was the age of Catholic Emancipation, of the Reform Bill, of the repeal of the Corn Laws. In Ireland the spectre of Famine was to change the course of history. Peel and O'Connell were the giants of politics, while the star of Gladstone was in the ascendant. Liberal thinkers like Mill and Hume were propagating the gospel of utility and equality among the rising commercial middle class. All of this ferment had a profound influence on education, more particularly on higher education. London University was founded in 1828; Newman left Oxford in 1845 and in 1850 Lord John Russell set up the University Commission. In undertaking the history of a university institution it is to be expected that full account be taken of the context of the times in which it was founded. Such a course will be followed in this work; but in order to establish the identity of the Queen's College, Cork, it seems fitting at the outset to devote some time to the inaugural ceremonies - all the more so as many of the educational themes which predominated in the first half of the nineteenth century can be rather neatly underscored in the process.

The circumstances leading to the establishment of the College were of a pattern which was to be repeatedly found in Britain in connection with the establishment of civic universities during the second half of the nineteenth century. Normally there was a local infrastructure of learned societies of a scientific and philosophic character; possibly a medical school and a public charitable infirmary, and in all cases a body of middle-class patrons, of mixed

religious denominations and drawn mainly from professional and commercial pursuits, whose energising advocacy was directed towards the founding of an academical institution for the higher education of young men destined for active life in the professions or in commerce. This classic pattern was found in Cork from the early decades of the century, as it was at Belfast, and either then or later at Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and other such centres of middle-class enterprise. When in August, 1835, Dr. Denis Brenan Bullen M.D. told the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education in Ireland that "I do not know any city where there is a greater anxiety for really useful knowledge than in Cork"⁽²⁾, he was expressing both an opinion and an aspiration. In a lengthy submission of evidence spread over two days both Bullen and the Chairman of the Committee, Thomas Wyse, M.P., actively explored the feasibility of establishing a provincial academic institution in the city. The names of Wyse and Bullen will later figure prominently in this narrative; it was the publication of the Wyse Report in 1838 that led to the formation of the Munster Provincial College Committee and Wyse's persistent advocacy of the project in and out of Parliament was largely responsible for the eventual establishment of the College. Bullen was to become the first Professor of Surgery and Dean of the Medical Faculty, and his prolonged service ought not to be obscured by the fact that he had ultimately to sever his connection with the college because of his accusation that the President had tried to burn it down!

Even if the opening ceremony was held against the background of the gathering storm of episcopal condemnation, the dominating motif was one of achievement and of hope. The event was marked by a fine flourish of social grace and academic dignity. It was held in the Examination Hall in the presence of upwards of a thousand invited guests who were representative, in the words of the President's inaugural address, "of all those who in this province and in this city are most exalted in authority, in intelligence and in rank".⁽³⁾ As the guests made their way through the then main entrance near the County Gaol, passing the classical facade designed by the Paine⁽⁴⁾ brothers who had come to Cork having worked with Nash in London, and having with their carriages filled the Western Road with the thud of hoof and the jingle of harness, there was unbounded admiration for the limestone Gothic collegiate buildings designed by the Cork architect, Sir Thomas Deane. Lord Macaulay⁽⁵⁾ had yet to make his magisterial pronouncement that the building was "a Gothic college worthy to stand in the High Street of Oxford", but the "Illustrated London News"⁽⁶⁾ in an extended coverage of the ceremonies waxed eloquent over the architectural gem. It informed its readers that "the work is executed in a masterly manner. The style chosen by Sir Thomas Deane, the architect, is that of the Collegiate or Domestic architecture of the fifteenth century. Whether viewed in the whole, or in detail, its adaptation to a given purpose, its appropriateness and fitness are evident".

If there was beauty without, there was glitter within.

The "Freeman's Journal"⁽⁷⁾ painted a colourful picture of the proceedings. "This interesting event took place at the appointed hour, the magnificent Examination Hall being the theatre happily selected for the imposing display. For nearly two hours before the time streams of public and private vehicles might be seen flowing to and from the college, and at eleven o'clock nearly the greater portion of the beautiful hall was crowded with the elite of this city. At twelve o'clock the dais, which was covered with crimson cloth and arranged with seats for the public bodies and the college committee, as well as the most distinguished of the visitors, was densely crowded. As the president of the college, Sir Robert Kane, and Dr. Ryall the vice-president, entered with the professors who had assembled previously in the library, the appearance of the hall was imposing and beautiful in the extreme. One would suppose the brilliant assemblage of rank, talent and worth was congregated in some old scholastic hall; for though just rescued from the scaffolding through the untiring energy of the architect and contractor, the hall seemed as if it had been built for centuries, so deceptive was the grey colour of the scarcely finished walls, the dull tint of the lofty windows and the dark staining of the beautiful woodwork of the elaborate roof." "In a rather charming human aside the report noted that "several of the professors are very young men, but all marked with an expression of thoughtful intelligence, and well developed in the frontal region as a phrenologist would say". The

published list of prominent guests is worthy of record, showing the wide spectrum of support for the College ranging from Catholic and Protestant clergymen to titled landlords and local businessmen; it was reminiscent of the kind of civic-minded patronage which had led to the foundation of London University, or that was then working for the establishment of Owens College (1851), Manchester; later Manchester University.⁽⁸⁾ Headed by the Mayor, Sir William Lyons the guests were: Mr. James Roche; Major Beamish; Wm. Egan, M.P.; Rt. Hon. the Earl of Bandon; Rt. Hon. the Earl of Listowel; Lord Kilworth; Thomas Ronayne Sarsfield; High Sheriff; Sir Philip Compton; Dr. Corrigan; Rev. Dr. Guinness; Rev. Dr. O'Shea; General Turner and staff; Admiral M.A. Dixon and officers; John Sweetman; Jonathan Pim; Edward Collins; Nicholas Marshall Cummins; Rev. George Brennan; Rev. Mr. Hogan; Rev. Mr. Haly; Rev. Mr. Hayes; Rev. Mr. Shiel; Sir Thomas Deane; Rev. Wm. O'Connor, Dean of Residence; Rev. Charles O'Hea; Rev. Mr. Egan; Rev. G. O'Sullivan, P.P., Blackrock; Rev. Mr. Cunningham; Rev. Mr. O'Riordan; Wm. Colburn Bennett; Colonel Chatterton; James Murphy, Ringmahon Castle; John Nicholas Murphy; Horace Townsend; Rev. Dr. Ennis; Denny Lane; Rev. Mr. Whitelegge; Rev. Wm. Coughlan; Charles Mathew; M. Marcel, French Consul; Thomas and Francis Jennings; A.B. Abell; James Leckey; Ebenezer Pike; Francis Beamish; John Bagnell; G.C. Coleby; Nelson McCarthy; W. Butler, contractor for the college; Timothy Mahony; Dr. Wycherly; Dr. Rountree; Dr. Fowler; W. MacO'Boy; John Bennett; Thomas Rogers; Dr. Flynn; W. Harrington; Colonel Chestney; Martin

Mahony; Rev. Dr. Neligan; Francis Woodley; Colonel Burke; Dr. Porter; Dr. Wm. Beamish; Thomas Babington; Dr. Wall; Mr. Jonas; John Windele; Dr. Corbett; Eugene O'Neill; Dr. Tanner; Rev. W. Townsend.

When the Registrar, Mr. Francis Albani, had read the College Charter, the Mayor received the declarations of the President and professors. Sir Robert Kane made the following declaration: "I, the undersigned, having been nominated and appointed the President of the Queen's College, Cork, by her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria do hereby declare that I will discharge the duties of that office zealously, faithfully and to the best of my ability for the honour of the College and the promotion of education in Ireland".⁽⁹⁾ If the President's declaration was unexceptionable in content, that made by the twenty professors was heavy with overtones of the religious issue which was then, and continued to be, so interwoven with the institution's history. "We do hereby promise to the President and Council of the Queen's College, Cork, that we will faithfully and to the best of our ability discharge the duties of professors in said College; and we further promise and engage that in lectures and examinations, and in the performance of all other duties connected with our chairs we will carefully abstain from teaching or advancing any doctrine, or making any statement derogatory to the truth of revealed religion, or injurious or disrespectful to the religious convictions of any portions of our classes. And we moreover promise to the said President and Council of the Queen's College, Cork,



that we will not introduce or discuss in our place or capacity of professors any subject of politics or polemics tending to produce contention or excitement, nor will we engage in any avocations which the President and Council shall judge inconsistent with our offices, but will, as far as in us lies, promote on all occasions the interests of education and the welfare of the college".

In words expressive of the genius of the city of Cork and of the province of Munster, Major Beamish, as Vice-Chairman of the Munster Provincial College Committee then introduced an address (10) to the President from that body. He stated that it was that Committee which was mainly responsible for the foundation they were then inaugurating. As early as 1829 the Royal Cork Institution had raised the need for extended academical education; the Report of the Rt.Hon. Thomas Wyse in 1838 had embodied that suggestion and the Committee was formed in Cork in November, 1838, under the Presidency of the Earl of Listowel, assisted in person by Mr. Wyse. Owing to the inertness or indisposition of the Government the movement had languished until in 1844 a second public meeting seriously awakened the importance of the subject to the Government. Their duties that day terminated; they resigned into "your fitting hands a trust which they have held untarnished for twenty years". The text of the actual Address of the Munster Provincial College Committee reiterated what Major Beamish had said in respect of the exertions of Thomas Wyse. It then proceeded in vibrant tones to express what it conceived to be the destiny of the College.

"Illustrious Sir! The path of science, illuminated by your masterhand, spreads wide her portals to Ireland's youth. The paths of literature, traced by distinguished professors, invite the competition of our gifted sons. Sound, practical and economical instruction, here offered to all creeds and classes, secures to them at the same time the domestic circle and the parent's care, while that industrial element which gives to learning an end and aim - that element illustrated by your own able and convincing pen - will be encouraged and maintained by its distinguished advocate. We would fain hope also that the present improved system of Irish collegiate education will tend to promote the harmonious union of our rising youth. Educated under the same roof - conducted to fame and fortune by the same hand - they cannot but be influenced by the common bond which holds in friendly junction their future destinies; and we view with satisfaction consequences calculated to promote the peace and harmony and civilization of our country ---- We have sown the seed; we have watched its development; we have awaited the growth of the plant, and we now triumph in the fulness of the produce. It is for Ireland's youthful sons to reap the mental harvest". The Address was signed: Listowel, President; James Roche, J.P., Chairman; N. Ludlow Beamish, J.P., Vice-Chairman; William Fogan, J.P., M.P.; Richard Dowden (Rd.).

Two points of far-reaching import need to be made at this juncture. The first concerns the origin of the College and the second concerns the religious/political complications

which its special character had aroused, and which were still very much a matter of debate at its opening. The College, together with its sister institutions at Belfast and Galway, owed its statutory life to the conciliatory package of legislation which the Conservative Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, had introduced in relation to Ireland in 1845; a policy described by the nationalist Young Ireland leader, Charles Gavan Duffy as one of "supreme civic courage".⁽¹¹⁾ Together with a minor ameliorative adjustment in land legislation, Peel boldly proposed increasing the annual State grant to Maynooth College and to extend facilities for academical education for the middle classes in Ireland; indeed, as a later chapter on Peel's policy will show, by the term "middle class" in this context he was specifically thinking of the predominantly Catholic middle class. The Bill received the Royal Assent of Queen Victoria in July, 1845, so associating a reigning Queen with the first Irish university institutions to come into being since the Virgin Queen herself established Trinity College, Dublin, in 1593. Yet, the quoted sentiments of those locally associated with the movement for extended education quite clearly indicate that they regarded the foundation of the College not as a State imposition, certainly not as an alien British imposition, but rather as a just response to a long campaign of local enterprise and practical patriotic feeling. While not all those present would endorse the advanced national thinking advocated in one of the leading Irish newspapers of the day, the "Nation",⁽¹²⁾ certainly the tone of earnest national feeling expressed by the Munster Provincial College Committee would not be out of

harmony with the editorials Thomas Davis was writing when the Irish Colleges Bill was being debated in Parliament in May, 1845. Seen, therefore, as an augury of national advance, and more specifically as satisfying the aspirations of a representative cross-section of civic-minded persons in Cork city and in Munster, the College was hailed with understandable local pride.

The second consideration flowing from the crowded attendance at the opening of the College and from the sentiments already quoted, concerns the response of local opinion on what might be termed the "Queen's Colleges issue". Without encumbering this review of the inaugural ceremonies with a clutter of the religious and political factors involved, it is well simply to set out the state of knowledge on the matter with which the majority of those present must have been familiar. The sharp divergence over the Queen's Colleges between the conservative and liberal wings of the Repeal Movement was common knowledge; a divergence that had been dramatically illustrated when O'Connell, old and full of service to Ireland, and Davis, young and full of promise, had in May, 1845, confronted each other passionately in Conciliation Hall over the issue. Between then and 1849 O'Connell's damaging epithet of "Godless Colleges" had been bandied about in the press and in Parliament. By 1849 both O'Connell and Davis were dead. With no effective national political leadership, the university issue had been left largely in the hands of ecclesiastical protagonists, with the considerable controversial talents of Archbishop John

McHale, Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, seeking to have the Colleges condemned as a grave threat to the integrity of Catholic education and to the sole prerogative of the bishops to the control of that education, while Dr. Murray, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, represented a viewpoint which sought due amendments to the Colleges' Bill and was prepared to give a pragmatic welcome to the new university scheme. It would obviously be stretching the bounds of credulity to the breakingpoint to suggest that the thousand guests arrayed before the crimson dais in the Examination Hall were either anxious or competent to pronounce on the niceties of ecclesiastical high policy, but at least their very presence would indicate that they did not regard the chaste Gothic structure as a hotbed of infidelity or a potential threat to the faith and morals of the young men of Cork and Munster.

The inauguration of an academical institution involved much more than mere structural prettiness or laudable local pride. The Address⁽¹³⁾ of the President, Sir Robert Kane, ranged with clarity and depth over the educational philosophy which was to inspire the College and over the curricular procedures by which that philosophy was to be implemented. (Full text as Appendix) Kane's competent prose certainly lacked the polished cadences and studied elegance that deservedly won for Newman's university "Discourses" a place in the cabinet of English literature, but it was, nonetheless, a notable exposition of a philosophy of university education which was the distinctive creation of early nineteenth century thought. The College was fortunate in having someone of the calibre of Kane as its first President; still in his

forties when he entered on his onerous task, he brought with him qualities of originality of mind, of ripe scholarship and of administrative expertise which the complexities of his office were to test in the years ahead. Only when a more comprehensive study comes to be made of him will the full extent of the depth and diversity of Kane's work be appreciated, but even a brief resume tells its own story. One of the first Catholics to enter Trinity College, Dublin, consequent on the relaxation of religious tests stemming from the Relief Act of 1793, Kane quickly achieved distinction in his chosen field of Chemistry. When only twenty-two he had become professor of Chemistry to the Apothecaries Hall in Dublin; in 1841 he was elected a Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland; he had published a text-book, "Elements of Pharmacy" in 1831; he had projected the "Dublin Journal of Medical and Chemical Science" with the object of making available the results of scientific advances on the Continent; in 1832 he was elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and subsequently became secretary of that body; he was appointed professor of natural philosophy to the Royal Dublin Society in 1834; with many of his research papers being translated into Continental journals, Kane had gone on an extended tour of scientific institutions abroad in 1836, visiting such eminent men in his field as Liebig and Mitscherlich in Germany and Dumas in Paris; in 1840 he had been awarded the Royal Medal of the Royal Society in London and in 1842 was elected a Fellow. In 1841 the "Elements of Chemistry" was published, immediately to be recognised in Britain and America as a standard

From the Author
INAUGURAL ADDRESS *p*

DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK,

BY

SIR ROBERT KANE,

PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE.



WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL PROCEEDINGS AT THE PUBLIC
INAUGURATION OF THE COLLEGE.

NOVEMBER 7, 1849.

DUBLIN:

HODGES AND SMITH, 104, GRAFTON-STREET,

BOOKSELLERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1849.

Rev. J. Farrell
L. Smith

work. Kane's energies were not, however, confined to the laboratory. He had a keen urge to apply scientific techniques to exploit the natural and industrial resources of Ireland. It was this practical idealism which resulted in his magnum opus, "The Industrial Resources of Ireland", published in 1843, ever since regarded as a masterpiece of thorough research into the potential of Ireland in fuel, waterpower, mines, agriculture and manufacture. In keeping with this interest in applied technology he was founder/director of the Museum of Irish Industry in Dublin. Many of his audience at the College would have recalled that Sir Robert Peel had appointed him, with Lord Playfair and Professor Lindley of University College, London, as a three-man scientific commission to investigate the disastrous potato disease when it first manifested itself in Ireland in the autumn of 1845. He had been knighted by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Heytesbury, on the 16th of February, 1846, when he resigned his professorship at the Royal Dublin Society on his appointment as President of the projected Queen's College, Cork.

With the proposition that "our system of education, and the principles upon which the College is founded, require only to be understood to obtain general acquiesce and approval", the President's Address got down to the task of unfolding the system and the principles infusing it. The College would constitute a member of the Queen's University, being aggregated with the colleges in the "north and west of Ireland"; from this university their students would

receive their degrees. Yet the College was also an "independent institution", founded by royal charter from her Majesty; under that charter the college possesses its endowment and privileges. Turning to academic life, the "college contains within itself, fully empowered, the university faculties of Arts and Laws and Medicine". The college would supply "full and complete instruction in those several faculties, and in those special branches of those faculties which the practical necessities of this country render pre-eminently important to be afforded". In accordance with the provisions made by the Senate of the Queen's University, courses would lead to the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, of Bachelor and Doctor of Laws, and of Doctor of Medicine.

It will be obvious from this part of the Address that the Queen's College, Cork, started its life as a fully constituted university institution; providing a proper academic course, but more importantly, having the right to present candidates for degrees in accordance with a statutory Charter. In this respect it started with a status which London University had not got at its inception in 1828, which the Catholic University in Dublin never got, and which civic collegiate institutions coming into being in Britain from 1850 onwards, such as Owens College, Manchester founded 1851, did not achieve until some years after foundation. Perhaps the most distinctive academic feature of the College's educational philosophy was that contained in the next passage of the Address.

The President would not then go into any detail as to

the nature of the courses mentioned, or the modes of instruction. Instead he would make a "few observations on some points which involve principles applicable to the organisation of the College at large, or which, as constituting remarkable deviations from what has been ordinary university education, require some notice". In the Faculty of Arts their course of education "differs essentially from that of the older colleges of these countries in the introduction of the experimental and natural sciences, and of modern languages. We have not forgotten that we have to educate young men, not for the retirement of ecclesiastical or purely scholastic life, but for the actual world and age in which we live. We felt that where science revealed the glorious evidence of infinite goodness manifested in the countless varieties of life with which the air, the waters and the earth are filled; whilst every day's existence makes man dependant for his means of life and movement on the laws which Chemistry and Natural Philosophy assign, it were absurd to call that education which should omit those sciences. Further, whilst most carefully securing the full and accurate study of the ancient languages, venerable as well from the sublime monuments of poetical and oratoric genius which they contain, as from being the monuments of those illustrious races who even in their ruin spread those ideas which nursed and established modern civilization, we have also recognised that the interchange of ideas with the contemporaneous world is of as much importance, as the preservation of the ideas of the past, and that the tongues

which men now speak are those which men should learn to understand. We have, therefore, made modern languages an essential part of our under-graduate course in arts".

In this passage Kane was clearly placing the College in the utilitarian tradition of knowledge and education, and so entering into the great debate, or fermentation, which characterised the intellectual life of his times. If his exposition of the purpose and procedures of university education seems only a statement of the obvious in present-day terms, then that is in itself a measure of the impact of the utilitarian concept on subsequent developments in higher education. At the conclusion of this review of Kane's Address this chapter will explore the ideas of the men and movements out of which came the shift from the traditional concept of a classically-orientated education for leisure to that of a useful preparation for the living of an active life. Kane was speaking in the accents of Priestley, Bentham, Mill and Thomas Wyse, in accord with a climate of intellectual pursuit associated with the founding of the Royal Society, the Royal Institution, the Belfast Academical Institute, London University and the curricular changes that were to invade the ancient universities.

The Address pointed out the special provision to be made for legal studies. "It has long been the peculiarity indeed I may say the disgrace, of the British Islands that for the profession to which more than any other the guardianship of the lives, liberties and properties of the people has been intrusted, no proof of education or of professional

knowledge was required". In the matter of the awarding of higher degrees, the Queen's Colleges would deviate from the older universities in granting "false and fictitious titles"; the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws would be conferred "upon full evidence of extended study". Turning to the standards required of university entrants they "were most anxious that the preliminary or school education of young men should be carried much further than it as yet has been in this our country". It was hoped that the new academical institutions would both create and supply a demand for "Irish intellect of a superior order", and in that respect attention ought to be focussed on the method of teaching. "It is a science - a science neglected in this country, but specially and successfully cultivated on the Continent where the function of the teacher is recognised as one requiring special and professional training". The President wished to draw attention to "the practical schools of Engineering and Agriculture organised within our walls". While in no way underrating the importance of the study "of critical philology or literature or of abstract science". And he was "painfully conscious that in the present afflicting position of this country the only hope we have of rescue lies in the diffusion amongst the people, both high and low, of practical knowledge and of its application to industry". It was to afford facilities for sound "industrial education" that those schools were established, and it would be the "special object" of the Council of the College to conduct them for the amelioration of the country.

Turning to the question of religion in the life of the

College, Kane displayed a candour and conviction which was to sustain him in that sensitive area right through to the end of his Presidency in 1873. He acknowledged that "on the charge of neglect of proper securities for the moral and religious discipline is based the only impediment to the instant and joyous reception of the Queen's Colleges by the universal people of this country. I honour that hesitation. I hail it as the best augury of the sound heart that throbs even within the wasted form of present Ireland, that when presented with institutions so well calculated, by stimulating intelligence and supplying practical knowledge, to afford the means of rapid emergence from our present misery, our people, down-trodden as they are, yet stop to examine if that jewel of faith, preserved already through so much suffering, may be endangered". He and his colleagues were as anxious to preserve the faith and morals of the young men "as the most needlessly zealous of those conscientious men who fear our teaching because they are quite ignorant of our rules". The College was founded on the principle of "free, impartial and united education. Yes, these colleges are founded for this country and for its people; not for a party nor for a class; not for an ascendancy nor for a creed; but that, in the pure and soul-ennobling paths of intellectual glory all ranks, all sects, all parties of the Irish people may unite; may learn to know and love each other; may soften down the recollections of those points on which they differ by mutual recognition of the far larger field of faith and charity, and love of fatherland, in which they join". They did not want "exclusive institutions"; from age

to age they had seen the different elements of the population reared up in "mutual ignorance, separated by barriers of social instincts, strengthened by misdirected education".

Clearing away any ambiguity of reference, Kane referred specifically to the students "of that faith by whose authorities the most objection to those colleges has been put forward - a faith to which I myself have the honour to belong and to whose principles I am from the most conscientious convictions absolutely devoted". Outlining the College provisions in religious matters he saw the students as falling into three categories; those residing with their parents, from whom they would get family supervision as regards religious teaching and practice; those residing with guardians appointed by their parents, who, likewise, would be safeguarded. For those outside those categories the President would license specified boarding-houses under stringent regulations, and only when the owners were certified by a clergyman as to their suitability as to religious and moral character. Her Majesty had appointed denominational Deans of Residence to take spiritual charge of the students resident in boarding-houses. "Whatever the Deans of Residence say that religion and morality require that the students must observe". The Roman Catholic Dean was the Rev. William O'Connor; the Rev. Mr. Perria was appointed for the Church of England, while the Rev. Dr. Magill would act for the Presbyterian Church. Asking where were such provisions surpassed in university institutions, the President adverted to what was done at Trinity College, Dublin, at Oxford,

Cambridge and on the Continent. At Trinity College, "the college in which I have myself been principally educated, and for which I have the highest respect", there was ecclesiastical discipline for those preparing for the ministry of the Established Church - for which purpose the College was specially intended - but there was no care of the faith and morals of Catholic students. "Yet every day we see Catholic students entering Trinity College". Why was there no protest against that system? While Catholics were not going to Oxford because of a religious test at entrance, they were going to Cambridge where such a test was not proposed until graduation. "It is the practice of wealthy Catholic families who aim at forming for their sons aristocratic habits and connections to send their sons to Cambridge.

Turning to the Continent he would not "take France nor Prussia, countries of which it has been the popular cry to say that education is not free, and that the tendency of education is adverse to morality and religion". He would take Belgium and Bavaria. After the revolution which rendered Belgium independent, the government and the heads of the Belgian church devised a university system whereby the University of Louvain was "absolutely and exclusively" under ecclesiastical control, while the Colleges of Liege and Ghent were in the hands of the government, "absolutely without any provisions for moral discipline or religious instruction". The results were fatal. There was constant antagonism between the ecclesiastical institution and the government colleges. While Louvain contained only the medieval univer-

sity faculties, the Colleges of Ghent and Liege contained "the practical branches to which the majority of the young men attach themselves. Hence the practical education is conducted at those colleges where there is no religion and no discipline". In all of the Queen's Colleges there was statutory provision "enforcing a code of laws for securing faith and morals". In Bavaria, "the most Catholic part of Germany, where the control of education has been placed, as far as possible under the church authorities", moral and religious discipline was "not thought of" in the university. The President recalled his meeting with "Dollinger, the author of the celebrated history of the church, who, chaplain of the king, represented the University of Munich in the Bavarian parliament". On hearing of the securities for faith and morals for the Queen's Colleges, Dollinger had said "he wished he could see any probability of their getting such discipline for their universities".

Kane's lengthy disquisition on the place of religion in the College was addressed to a wider audience than that which crowded the Examination Hall; it had been preceded by two Papal Rescripts, of the 9th of October, 1847, and the 11th of October, 1848, the former of which had stated "it (the Congregation of Propaganda) believes that such institutions would be harmful to religion. It, therefore, admonishes the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to take no part in them "⁽¹⁴⁾ The later Rescript reiterated the proscription already issued.⁽¹⁵⁾ However, Kane in making his Address knew that the matter was not finally closed;

both the Catholic Primate, Dr. Crolly, Archbishop of Armagh, and Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, were engaged in delicate negotiations with the Holy See and the British Government to try and devise a pragmatic formula which would safeguard the legitimate interests of religion while maintaining the statutory undenominationalism of all three Colleges. However, despite Kane's advocacy and despite a highly favourable first and only annual report from the Catholic Dean of Residence⁽¹⁶⁾ at the College, the Catholic Hierarchy at the Synod of Thurles in August, 1850, pronounced as "fraught with grievous and intrinsic dangers those collegiate institutions which have been established in this country, and associated with the name of our august, most gracious and beloved Sovereign".⁽¹⁷⁾ The lengthening shadow of the religious difficulty lay across the life of the College until it became a constituent of the newly-constituted National University of Ireland in 1908. Leaving a more comprehensive analysis of this problem and of its practical effect on the life of the College to a later stage, the narrative will conclude this evocation of the spirit and philosophy informing the inauguration by returning to the President's closing passages.

The Address ended by invoking two names; one from the contemporary scene, one from the earliest days of Irish monastic scholarship. It recalled the "stirring eloquence" in the cause of Irish education of Thomas Wyse, "now absent under that azure sky of Hellas". Wyse's exertions in the cause of academical education were manifold and unremitting both at Parliamentary and local level, but by 1849

he had quitted the Irish scene and was installed in Athens as Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary. The President concluded by invoking the memory of "Fin Barra, the patron saint of Cork (who) left to his followers the charge of founding a seat of learning in this place; here, after nearly one thousand years we open now the portals of this edifice, and accept the task of training the youth of Munster". This historical allusion fittingly concluded an address which in style and content was worthy of the unique occasion on which it was made. By a happy coincidence the new university college was built on the actual shelf of rock on which had been founded the monastic settlement of St. Finbarr in the seventh century. Finbarr's school had taken its place alongside such centres of learning as Glendalough, Kells and Clonard in that ripening of scholarship which in the eight to the tenth centuries had won for Ireland the title of the "Island of Saints and Scholars". However, if the College took up again the ancient task of promoting learning in the very city and on the very spot where it had begun in centuries long past, it did so in the middle of the nineteenth century, an age in which old simplicities would be strangely out of place as a new and complex era sought to fashion its own moulds.

Nowhere was this newness, this complexity, this breaking of old moulds and making of new ones more obvious than in the sphere of higher education in the first half of the nineteenth century; and if it was felt desirable to begin a history of the origins and early history of the College by establishing its personality through an extended account

of its inaugural ceremonies, it is no less essential to see the place and purpose of the College in the context of its times. Over and above the contributions of Peel, Wyse or Kane, or the exertions of local committees, or the effects of pieces of legislation, or the apprehensions of religious leaders, the College exemplified many of the salient features of educational changes which involved contemporary society in England, America and the Continent as much as Ireland. Broadly speaking two concepts were making themselves felt; first, the concept of utilitarian knowledge, based on the exploration and application of natural philosophy, that is the resources of the actual universe; second, there was the growth of a liberal philosophy which aimed at the overthrow of what it saw as exclusivism in all its entrenched positions in church, in politics, in economic life - and in higher education. Put simply this two-fold movement in opinion wanted to break what it regarded as the outmoded classically-orientated curriculum of the older universities and to substitute an education based on the acquisition of useful knowledge for an active life on the one hand; on the other it sought to make university education free from what it saw as the thralldom of ecclesiastical control, to open university life to all, irrespective of religious belief or disbelief. It will be obvious that Kane's Address embodied both of those concepts, as did the College in its curriculum and constitution. An understanding of the historical processes which gave birth to those new movements of ideas ought to be of interest in itself, as well as providing an informed criterion by which

to assess and appreciate the origins and character of the Queen's College, Cork.

The thinking and the sphere of action of those concerned with the promotion of university education in Ireland, men like Thomas Wyse and William Smith O'Brien at national level and James Roche, Dr. Bullen and Richard Dowden in Cork, - as, indeed, Newman - took place in the context of the then United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland; this remark is equally applicable to the great political movements which shaped the course of Irish history throughout the whole nineteenth century - O'Connell's exertions for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Act of Union, and the later campaigns of Parnell and Davitt for Home Rule and land reform. The dominant theme in the first fifty years of public life could be summed up in one word, "reform". Britain was entering on a new age, an age characterised by an unparalleled transformation from the settled centuries of an agricultural society to its new role as the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution and the "workshop of the world". Inevitably, therefore, it was a period of questioning of old assumptions, of readjustment, often resisted but inexorable in its pace, and of men and movements determined to adapt the institutions of society to fit the new society that was emerging - a new society that saw middle-class business and commerce seeking for a place in the sun commensurate with its brains, its expertise, its enterprise and its growing wealth. The great stumbling block in this onward march of "economic man" was privilege; the existence of an

order of landed wealth, closely allied to the Established Church which commanded, by sole virtue of its wealth and inherited rights, the whole range of the institutions of public life. Added to the insult of oligarchic command was the more galling fact of total exclusion of all others outside the charmed circle of the mitre and blue blood. This conflict between entrenched privilege on the one hand, and thrusting middle-class radicalism on the other, created an avalanche of change which swept away much, if not all, of the inhibiting lumber of caste and creed. Not only was the citadel of Parliament conquered by the Reform Act of 1832, following on the only relatively less significant Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, but the Law Courts, the Municipalities, the Poor Laws, the Prisons - all came in for scrutiny. Three trends can be detected as energising influences; firstly, the middle-class demand for participation in parliamentary power; secondly, the assertion by philosophic liberal radicals, in parliament, on platforms and in the press, that exclusion based on religious tests would have to be abolished, so that in a "free society" all citizens would have equal rights of opportunity; thirdly, there was a demand that the place of science, or natural philosophy as it was frequently termed, ought to be given the recognition and promotion which its obvious utility demanded. Sir Charles Grant Robertson was only stating the obvious in saying "it would have been a bewildering refutation of everything that history can teach had the universities remained untouched by this century-long Reform Movement". (17)

The demand for reform in the ancient universities centred

on two aspects of academic life which Sir Robert Kane in his Address pointed out as being significant in the curriculum and character of the Queen's College, Cork: the fact that it would provide an appropriate education for young men destined for an active life rather than for one of gentlemanly leisure or ecclesiastical retirement, and the fact that no religious tests would make it an exclusive institution or preclude anyone from teaching or studying in it on the grounds of religious belief. In order to appreciate the measure of change brought about in university life it is necessary to have a generalised appreciation of existing conditions in the early decades of the century. In their recent study Halsey⁽¹⁸⁾ and Trow point to a situation in which "an industrial middle class developed before the system of modern or reformed universities, and thus outside the university system. On one side this middle class developed attitudes that were by no means favourable to the universities either for their sons or for their managerial and technical employers. On the other side there was little interest in this new middle class within the ancient foundations of Oxford and Cambridge, which functioned mainly to serve the needs of the upper classes and those intending to enter the Anglican ministry". Oxford and Cambridge were regarded, and so regarded themselves, as being semi-ecclesiastical institutions, so continuing the medieval tradition which the late twelfth century flowering of Catholic intellectual life first embodied in the earliest universities. Under the Elizabethan and Laudian Codes religious tests were enforced at both institutions, making them Anglican preserves. At Oxford all

students were required to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles before taking up residence, again before graduating as Bachelors of Arts, yet again before going through the formality of what Kane described as the "spurious title" of a Master's Degree. At Cambridge subscription to the Thirty Nine Articles was not required until the level of Bachelor's Degree. Hence Nonconformists and Catholics could, and did, study at the university sporadically. All Fellows had to be in Holy Orders and observe celibacy; heads of Colleges could marry; all honours, emoluments and positions of trust were, of course, exclusively in the hands of Anglicans. It is of interest to note that the only Irish ancient foundation, Trinity College, Dublin, had adopted a far more liberal policy in the matter of religious tests than its English counterparts. Following on the Catholic Relief Act of 1793 both Catholics and Presbyterians were welcomed to Degree level. Both Kane and Wyse were Trinity graduates.

But even within the narrow confines of Anglican education for Anglican divines and for the sons of the aristocracy, Oxford and Cambridge were in a phase of intellectual paralysis at the opening of the century. The exposing of the details of that comparatively moribund state, lasting well into the middle of the century according to some sources has provided a happy hunting ground for commentators blessed with a capacity for astringent comment, barbed wit and the elegant exposure of academic malaise. George Pryme who went up to Trinity in 1799 said "it would scarcely be believed how very little knowledge was required for a mere degree

when I first knew Cambridge. Two books of Euclid's Geometry, simple and quadratic equations, and the early parts of Paley's Moral Philosophy were deemed amply sufficient". Of John Calcott,⁽¹⁹⁾ Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, it was recalled he "rang such learned changes on his three great questions - the nature of wild honey, the relative situation of Galilee and Judea, and the title of Our Lord". The distinguished historian of Oxford, C.E. Mallet,⁽²⁰⁾ quotes the testimony of Vicesimus Knox, himself a Fellow, in reference to the system of having all examinations conducted orally. "Two boys or men, as they call themselves, agree to do 'generals' together. The first step in this mighty work is to procure arguments. These are always handed down from generation to generation on long slips of paper and consist of foolish syllogisms on foolish subjects, of the formation or the signification of which the respondent or opponent seldom know more than an infant in swaddling clothes. When the important day arrives the two doubtful disputants go into a large dusty room, full of dirt and cobwebs, with walls and wainscot decorated with the names of former disputants. Here they sit in mean desks opposite to each other from one o'clock till three. Not once in a hundred times does any officer appear; and if he does, he hears one syllogism or two, and then makes a bow and departs, as he came and remained, in solemn silence. The disputants then return to the amusement of cutting the desks, carving their names, or reading Sterne's Sentimental Journey, or some other edifying novel".

Referring to the period immediately prior to the attacks

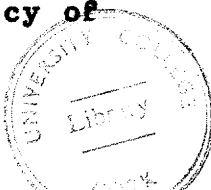
of Sir William Hamilton in the "Edinburgh Review" in 1831, Professor Goldwin Smith ⁽²¹⁾ stated that "the conjoint operation of celibacy, clericalism and sinecurism reduced the educational staff of the Colleges (which, the professoriate having fallen into total decay, was also that of the University) to a few clergymen waiting in College for College livings, and filling up the interval by a perfunctory discharge of the duties for which they received Tutors' fees. All studies but those connected with the clerical profession, or adopted by the clergy - that is to say the learned languages and divinity - fell into decay. The Faculties of Law and Medicine dwindled to shadows, the substance departing to the Inns of Court and the London Hospitals. Even the Faculty of Theology itself, the Anglican Church having developed no scientific theology to replace that of the Middle Ages, became almost a name". Albert Mansbridge, a member of the Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 1919-1922, writing on the state of the two Universities in the period from 1800 to the setting up of the first University Commission in 1850, painted this picture.⁽²²⁾ "The Church was the only career for which the Universities made any general attempt, not so much to educate students, as to provide them with superficial qualifications. There was no desire to widen the area of influence by drawing undergraduates other than the well-born to the Colleges. Scholars, of course, came of themselves for the magnetism of study was there, whilst books and some contemporaries, keen on study, were always to be found. Not that there was any stress or strain in preparing

students for examination. Those prescribed by the Laudian Statutes had become a mere farce; just as the Disputations conducted in bad Latin had become almost ridiculous. The candidate for a Degree in Arts was allowed to choose his own examiners. He could, and often did, select a couple of young M.A.s whom he entertained to a feast the night before. The examiners were expected to ask and did ask, traditional questions the answers to which were learned by heart."

However, some authorities within the Universities were not insensitive to the criticism arising from this obviously inadequate examination system which not only failed to test achievement but provided no worthwhile stimulus to serious study. At Oxford, due to the initiative of three scholarly Heads of College, Evenleigh of Oriel, Jackson of Christ Church and Parsons of Balliol, the New Examination Statute was approved by Congregation in 1800; the University Commissioners of 1850 commented that as a result "the studies of the University were first raised from their abject state". The subjects included were Humane Literature and three of the best Latin and Greek writers. Entrance was voluntary - when the examination was first held in 1802, only ~~two~~ candidates applied. But in addition to the Pass Examination provision was also made for bestowing distinction on superior candidates, so originating the Oxford Honours School. Cambridge had introduced the Mathematical Tripos in 1747 - but even though Mathematics had held a leading place there since Newton, critics alleged that Continental advances in that field were unknown.

To talk about the need for university reform without including the name of Mark Pattison would be overlooking someone who was not only a dedicated scholar but an unblinker observer of the Oxford scene. He and Jowett were among those from within who saw the need to adapt to the new age. Writing of the period immediately following Newman's departure from Oxford in 1845, he wrote "in 1846 we were in old Tory Oxford: not somnolent because it was as fiercely debating, as in the days of Henry VIII its eternal Church question. There were Tory majorities in all the colleges; there was the unquestioning satisfaction in the tutorial system, i.e. one man teaching everybody everything; the same belief that all knowledge was shut up between the covers of four Greek and four Latin books; the same humdrum questions asked in the examinations; and the same arts of evasive reply. In 1850 all this was suddenly changed as if by the wand of a magician". His reference to 1850 concerned the setting up of the University Commission by Lord John Russell. The picture so far depicted of academic inertia is certainly the truth - but it is not the whole truth. From the great quantity of reminiscences and biographies relating to university graduates who later achieved distinction in public life in the church, in politics, the law or literature there are frequent glimpses of hard-working dons and of young men serious in the pursuit of learning. A few brief portraits from the Oxford life of a brilliant quartet who were later to figure prominently in Irish affairs - and particularly in Irish educational affairs - might serve to balance the picture. Peel and

Gladstone, Newman and Whately brought distinction to their University and ever afterwards cherished a loving affection for it. Peel entered Christ Church in 1805 and came under the stimulating intellectual influence of Dean Cyril Jackson who had already put through his hands such future personalities as Canning, Jenkinson, destined to be prime minister as Lord Liverpool, Granville Leveson Gower and Nicholas Vansittart. In 1808 Peel achieved the distinction of being the first student to win Double Honours in Literae Humaniores and Mathematics under the new examination statutes. His brother gave an account of what was hardly a dullard's diary.⁽²³⁾ "I doubt whether anyone ever read harder than Robert for two or three terms before he passed his examination. He assured me that he had read eighteen hours in the day and night. The consequence was that before the time arrived for the examination he, from want of exercise and want of sleep, had brought himself into so nervous a state that he wrote to my father to propose that he should not attempt to go up, as he was convinced he would do nothing". Forty-one years later this overworked Oxford scholar of twenty was to legislate for the establishment of the Queen's College, Cork. In 1810, Peel having by then entered the House of Commons as MP. for Cashel in Co. Tipperary, Dean Jackson gave the erstwhile student and future Prime Minister the following advice.⁽²⁴⁾ "Give the last high finish to all that you now possess by the continual reading of Homer. Let no day pass without your having him in your hands. Elevate your own mind by the continual meditation of the vastness of his comprehension and the unerring accuracy of all his conceptions".



When Gladstone came up to Oxford in October, 1828, he also entered Christ Church, in which according to his biographer, John Morley,⁽²⁵⁾ "there seems, however, to have been no irreconcilable prejudice against reading, and in the schools the College was at the top of its academic form". By 1829 Oxford was in the throes of the great controversy. Its Member of Parliament, Robert Peel, who as Home Secretary introduced the Bill and incurred much odium on that account, was fighting vainly for re-election in a vigorous campaign in which the opponents of Emancipation were led by John Henry Newman. A revealing insight into the stir and alarm created by that measure is found in one of Gladstone's letters home.⁽²⁶⁾ "The bed-makers seem to continue in a great fright, and mine was asking me this morning whether it would not be a very good thing if we were to give them (the Irish) a king and parliament of their own and so to have no more to do with them". He had set himself the task of working with industry and attention, and two extracts from his Diary of 1830 confirm his achievement.⁽²⁷⁾ "May 25th. Finished Porteus's 'Evidences'. Got up a few hard passages. Analysis of Porteus. Sundry matters in divinity. Themistocles. Sat with Biscoe talking. Walk with Canning and Gaskell. Wine and tea. Wrote to Mr. G. Papers". The dictum "a sound mind in a sound body" was aptly illustrated by the activities of June 25th.⁽²⁸⁾ "'Ethics'. Collections 9-3. Among other things wrote a long paper on religions of Egypt, Persia, Babylon; and on the Satirists. Finished packing books and clothes. Left Oxford between 5-6, and walked fifteen miles towards Leamington. Then obliged to put in, being caught by a thunderstorm.

Comfortably off in a country inn at Steeple Aston. Read and spouted some 'Prometheus Vincit' there." Gladstone always was grateful for what Oxford gave him, and if in the 1850s he was as a Cabinet Minister to preside over reforms which drew anguished sighs from many within its walls, he did all he could to ward off even more radical assaults.

As Fellows of Oriel Newman and Whately were part of an intellectual galaxy which included such luminaries as Edward Copleston and such associates as Thomas Arnold, John Davison and Blanco White, forming what the "Edinburgh Review" called the "School of Speculative Philosophy in England".⁽²⁹⁾ Newman's schedule as an undergraduate was quite daunting for the Long Vacation of 1819. "From August 9th to September 9th he did for Herodotus what he had already done for Thucydides - filled a large copybook with an analysis of the history. By October when he joined Bowden at Oxford the pace was increased to eleven or twelve hours daily".⁽³⁰⁾ The association of Newman and Whately at Oriel between 1818 and 1825 affords a remarkable grouping when projected into their so differing and so decisive roles in Irish history. By 1852 both men were living on opposite sides of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin; the bizarre geographical location of those Oxford dons, so near and yet so far in their elegant Georgian square, was reflected in their respective contributions to education in Ireland. Whately as Protestant Archbishop of Dublin had, since its inception in 1831, been one of the main architects of the National School system and in 1849 had been appointed to the Board of Visitors to the Queen's College, Cork; Newman, the con-

vulsion of the Tractarian Movement now behind him, was in Dublin as a Catholic priest engaged in the founding of the Catholic University of Ireland. But in the Oriel days it was Whately, winning a reputation in Logic, who went out of his way to break down Newman's shyness. "He used to take me out walking and riding", wrote Newman "and used to talk; and thus he was the first person who opened my mind, that is, who gave it ideas and principles to cogitate upon".⁽³¹⁾ Whately was remembered as wearing "a pea-green coat, white waistcoat, stone-coloured shorts, flesh-coloured silk stockings. His hair was powdered".⁽³²⁾ However Tuckwell remembered him as "a prominent Oxford figure with blatant voice, great stride, rough dress", whose "swinging, plunging and shifting" caused a leg of a chair to break without causing the slightest interruption to the torrent of Whately's talk.⁽³³⁾

In the eyes of those crusading for reform in the institutions of national life the occasional flashes of intellectual brightness within the universities only served to emphasise the prevailing darkness. The first frontal assault came in a series of articles in the "Edinburgh Review", a publication expressing radical Whig views, between 1808 and 1810. Written largely by Sidney Smith, the articles turned a withering barrage of fire on what was termed an excessive attachment to classical knowledge - producing "narrow and limited beings"; from six to twenty-four the "sole and exclusive occupation is learning Latin and Greek, loving the instrument better than the end". Using the Baconian theory of "usefulness" the articles felt that young men entering

public life ought to have learned about the making of laws, and about such matters as wealth, foreign trade, manufactures, agriculture, money, population, poverty, taxation and public debt. The "Review"⁽³⁴⁾ was quite clear that ecclesiastical monopoly of education was basic to these alleged abuses: "A genuine Oxford tutor would shudder to hear his young men disputing upon moral and political truth, forming and pulling down theories and indulging in all the boldness of youthful discussion. He would augur nothing from it but impiety to God and treason to Kings. An infinite quantity of talent is annually destroyed in the Universities of England by the miserable jealousy and littleness of ecclesiastical instructors". Between 1819 and 1822 the prophets of middle-class utilitarian radicalism, James Mill and Jeremy Bentham, renewed the attack. Mill held that "an institution for education which is hostile to progression is, therefore, the most preposterous and vicious thing which the mind of man can conceive".⁽³⁵⁾ Bentham, scornfully wrote of five or six years spent at Cambridge acquiring "Greek particles and Xs and Ys, and lines right and curved applied to useless purposes".⁽³⁶⁾ Samuel Butler, headmaster of Shrewsbury, wanted to know how many Cambridge men could apply their mathematics to any useful purpose. Would a committee of Senior Wranglers or Mr. Rennie be best for building a bridge across the Thames?⁽³⁷⁾

In 1831 the "Edinburgh Review" returned to the attack with a series of articles by Sir William Hamilton, Professor of Civil History at Edinburgh, who brought to his task a

personal knowledge both of Oxford and of the German universities. Hamilton called boldly for State intervention to restore the universities as national institutions; ecclesiastical control was a stumbling-block, and the usurpation of the university by the virtual domination within each of the various foundation colleges. The liberal radicals who were battering on the doors of what they saw as the citadels of outmoded ecclesiastical obscurantism, and whose banners were emblazoned with the twin slogans of "reform" and "useful knowledge" found some echoing voices within. In Oxford two schools of thought clustered around two seminal minds in the decade 1835 - 1845; Thomas Arnold, the great headmaster of Rugby, represented those who saw the need for reasonable adaptation, who worked for a synthesis between the liberal and scientific spirit of the new age and the older Christian traditions. Newman, having graduated from the relatively liberal stance of his "Noetic" days, and his associations with the speculative outlook typified by Whately, had increasingly come to see in liberalism an insidious threat to institutional Christianity, to the Anglican Church, to the established political and social order, and, by inference, to the character of Oxford as enshrining those virtues and values on which rested the commonwealth of the Church and of England. It is outside the ambit of this work to retrace that tumult of dialectic and devotion which is evoked by the word "Tractarianism"; it was a valiant putting forth of spiritual energy by Pusey, Keble and above all, by Newman, in an effort to stem the tide of liberalism within the Church,

within the university, within the heart of England. But when Newman left Oxford in 1845 to join the Church of Rome the cause of university reform was on the eve of its first victory. He later wrote, ⁽³⁸⁾ "I found no fault with the liberals; they had beaten me in a fair field".

From 1845 onwards the reform party within the universities joined with the liberals without in seeking to abolish subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, so giving equality of opportunity to the growing and influential Nonconformist commercial middle classes. In 1845 a motion for a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry, having the support of Thomas Wyse and Joseph Hume was rejected, though it had the support of Benjamin Jowett, Fellow of Balliol, who was convinced that parliamentary action was necessary, as were Pattison, Stanley and Tait at Oxford and Adam Sedgwick at Cambridge. In April, 1850, the Unitarian M.P. for North Lancashire, James Heywood, introduced in the Commons a motion for a Royal Commission to enquire into the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin. On the adjournment of the debate the Whig Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, caused a sensation by announcing his decision to set up a commission. The old order was to change, giving place to the new. Gladstone, still Tory M.P. for Oxford, denounced the proposal in trenchant terms; it was probably against the law, it was odious in the eyes of the constitution; what the universities had done for learning was, perhaps, less than it might have been. "When we looked at the lawyers, the divines, the statesmen of England, even if some might judge them inferior in mere scholastic and technical acquire-

ments, why need we be ashamed of the cradles in which they were mainly nurtured?"⁽³⁹⁾ Gladstone's biographer remarks "in truth no worse case was ever more strongly argued".⁽⁴⁰⁾

Despite the recalcitrance of the university authorities in submitting voluntary evidence, the Report of the University Commission was published in April, 1852, and it fell to Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Aberdeen's Government to frame the Oxford University Bill of 1854. That measure, and the Cambridge Bill of 1856, irrevocably changed the shape of higher education. Religious tests were abolished for matriculation and Bachelor's Degree, and for Master's Degree at Cambridge. This represented a triumph for liberal opinion and opened the paths of university life to all creeds. Until 1871, however, Nonconformists were excluded from participating in university government; in that year, with Gladstone as Liberal Prime Minister, a Test Act finally threw open all offices and emoluments of university life to all comers. The University Acts of 1854 and 1856 were milestones on the road which saw a university not as a semi-ecclesiastical institution but as providing higher education in the context of a pluralistic society. That concept was not avowedly irreligious, even though its protagonists could be regarded as anti-clerical due to the fact that the institutions they sought to change were, in fact, clerical monopolies. Even after 1871 the religious services and religious instruction for those who sought it were maintained in the older universities. If the aged Dr. Pusey felt in 1871 that Oxford was "lost to the Church of

England", Dean Stanley saw the religious changes as a charter of emancipation; for him⁽⁴¹⁾ "Oxford so long the battle-field of contending religious factions (would be) in future a sacred and neutral ground". Put more pointedly, the religious aspect of the Queen's College, Cork, at its opening in 1849, was an expression of religious trends in university education which were given statutory expression at Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin, in the 1850s and 1870s. Undenominationalism was seen as the price of freedom of conscience and equality of opportunity. To Newman this secularisation of education represented a regrettable triumph of that liberal spirit he had determinedly opposed at Oxford, while it was the opportunity of continuing that opposition which induced him to accept his appointment as Rector of the Catholic University in Dublin. In his old age he crystallised his views when receiving the Red Hat at Rome on May 12th, 1879⁽⁴²⁾ "Instead of the Church's authority and teaching they (politicians) would substitute first of all a universal and a thoroughly secular education, calculated to bring home to every individual that to be orderly, industrious and sober is his personal interest. Then, for great working principles to take the place of religion for the use of the masses thus carefully educated, it provides the broad fundamental ethical truths of justice, benevolence, veracity and the like ---- as to Religion, it is a private luxury which a man may have if he will; but which of course he must pay for, and which he must not obtrude upon others, or indulge in to their annoyance".

In specifically educational terms the University Acts are seen by Professor B. Simon as follows:⁽⁴³⁾ "By removing the stranglehold of ecclesiastical control and the dead-weight of clerical place-seekers (they) gave the universities scope for development as educational institutions --- so far as developments in the curriculum were concerned both universities, but more particularly Cambridge, began to develop the sciences and even technology; they also evolved new Arts courses - Ancient Greats (classics) at Oxford and History at Cambridge - which had as their overt aim that exclusive education for an elite of statesmen which Gladstone had seen as the supreme function of the universities".

If the earlier decades of the nineteenth century saw the ancient seats of learning characterised by religious exclusivism and academic inertia, there was, however, another tradition of scholarly pursuit which involved persons of diverse beliefs and which was consistently marked by dedication, inventiveness and a very personal excitement. It might be described as the tradition of "useful knowledge", and two decisive developments were the foundation of the Royal Society in 1662 and of London University in 1828. Between those two dates a goodly number of natural philosophers - chemists, astronomers, working inventors, botanists, agriculturalists, makers of glass and pottery and machinery, social and educational theorists, medical men and artists and wealthy middle class patrons - gave to learning a more exciting dimension and a more purposeful impact than anything found within the official shrines. The fertilising waters of

this stream nurtured such healthy and fruitful plants as the Royal Academy, the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal Dublin Society, the Law Society, the British Museum, the Medical Society, the Royal College of Surgeons, the Royal Institution of London, the Mechanics Institutes and a rich outcrop of provincial Literary and Philosophical Societies. The enterprising citizens of Cork who pressed for a provincial college prior to 1849, and two local institutions, the Royal Cork Institution and the Cuvierian Society, were firmly in the mainstream of this tradition. The underlying philosophy was that of Francis Bacon - "the relief of man's estate". By studying the nature of the material world, by applying the fruits of that study to the amelioration of the wants of actual living, man was fulfilling himself and giving glory to the Author of the Universe. The objective was utilitarian and the mode of operation was to be practical rather than speculative.

Space does not permit a worthy treatment of the Royal Society in which the distinguished Irish scientist, Robert Boyle, shared in the quest for learning with Newton. In educational terms attention must be focussed rather on Joseph Priestley and the Dissenting Academies. A great deal of the support for the varied facets of the "useful knowledge" tradition came from the ranks of those who were excluded by law or conscience from the universities, or from professional and business interests who, finding the traditional educational diet either irrelevant or too expensive, were yet eager to improve their minds and to consort in the

congenial company of like-minded enthusiasts. Such a cluster was to be found from 1780 onwards in both Birmingham and Manchester. Birmingham in 1766 saw the formation of the Lunar Society in which such architects of the Industrial Revolution as Matthew Boulton, F.R.S., inventor and engineer, James Watt, Joseph Priestley, F.R.S., Unitarian minister, scientist and educationalist, Erasmus Darwin, F.R.S., Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Thomas Day and Josiah Wedgwood met monthly in the schoolroom of the Unitarian chapel in Cross Street to discuss the advance of science, technology and civic welfare. Many of them were "working natural philosophers" - engaged in the manufacture of iron, engines, pottery, textiles, soda manufacture; many, too, were doctors concerned with the provision of charitable infirmaries for the relief of the poor. If there was a conscious effort to apply new scientific techniques to the advancement of industry, there was also a desire to endow civic life with the refinement of cultural societies and the beauty of tasteful architecture. Edgeworth in his "Memoirs" left this portrait of intellectual enterprise⁽⁴⁴⁾, "Mr. Keir, with his knowledge of the world and good sense; Dr. Small, with his benevolence and profound sagacity; Wedgwood, with his unceasing industry, experimental variety and calm investigation; Bolton, with his mobility, quick perception and bold adventure; Watt, with his strong inventive faculty, undeviating steadiness and unbounded resource; Darwin, with his imagination, science and poetical excellence; and Day, with his unwearied search after truth, his integrity and excellence - formed altogether such a society as few

men have had the good fortune to live with". Outside of Manchester and Birmingham like-minded persons were associated by correspondence, by travelling lecturers and by the exchange of learned papers with this surge of practical intellectuality. One such was William Roscoe, the Liverpool banker, whose multifarious promotion of art, history and architecture won for his city the title of the "Venice of the North". (45)

Joseph Priestley's educational contribution centred around the Dissenting Academy at Warrington and his writings. The Academy undertook not only to educate intending ministers, but also to provide for young men destined for commercial lives. A syllabus offering courses in languages and literature, mathematics, German and natural philosophy, reflected the educational philosophy that was later labelled as utilitarianism. Priestley's "Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life" criticised the existing narrow curriculum - it was "a common topic of ridicule" - and called for courses covering modern history, arts, manufactures, commerce, science and mathematics. His concern was not with "low mechanics" but with young men who would have influence to advocate schemes of "public utility". The Edgeworths, Richard Lovell and daughter Maria, were equally caught up in devising new concepts and curricula, most of which they embodied in their "Practical Education". Thomas Day's "The History of Sandford and Merton" was another seminal work that came from the new philosophy. Priestley and his associates found inspiration in John Locke, while the English translation of

Rousseau's "Emile" in 1762 was greeted with unrestrained enthusiasm. When Warrington Academy closed down in 1786 due to financial problems its traditions were continued at Manchester Academy and at Hackney College. The Manchester College of Arts and Science, and its Literary and Philosophical Society joined with the Academy in promoting scientific inquiry especially suitable to local industry; the records of papers read and experiments conducted at courses of evening lectures show a particular emphasis on Chemistry as applied to the textile industry.

However, in spite of the advanced thinking associated with this enterprising section of middleclass opinion, there were storm-clouds on the horizon. Very many of them were active in demanding civil and religious liberty, in repealing the Corporation and Test Acts. Inevitably they supported the liberal principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" coming out of France in 1789. Earlier, many had supported the American colonists, but the open rejoicing over what they saw as the defeat of the forces of obscurantism in France caused a massive reaction. It was as an answer to Dr. Price's published sermon, "On the Love of Our Country", that Burke wrote his "Reflections on the French Revolution". Priestley wrote jubilantly to Wedgwood on the publication of Tom Paine's "Rights of Man".⁽⁴⁶⁾ There were riots in Birmingham; houses of members of the Lunar Society were burned and Priestley lost his books and scientific apparatus. He went on to lecture at Hackney College which gathered round it a remarkable grouping of talented lecturers and enthusiastic students. Democratic principles

were uninhibitedly mixed with advanced literary, mathematical and scientific education. Hackney College closed and Priestley emigrated to America; but the ideas of those connected with the Lunar Society and the Academies were destined to gain increased acceptance in the nineteenth century. Many would see London University as the realisation of earlier visions. If the remaining Dissenting Academies were forced by political reaction to restrict their intake to candidates for the ministry, and so ceased to be activating agencies of change, yet such societies as the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society were springing up in other provincial areas such as Sheffield, Bristol and Newcastle and thereby energising and enriching the quality of life.

Priestley himself and many of his associates were influenced by the educational ideas filtering across the Atlantic, especially the work of Benjamin Franklin⁽⁴⁷⁾ and his foundation of the University of Pennsylvania in 1755. A more direct result of American stimulus was the foundation by Benjamin Thompson of Massachusetts of the Royal Institution in London in 1799. Thompson, also known as Count von Rumford, a title gained for his services at the Court of Bavaria, saw the Institution as an agent "to diffuse the knowledge of all new and useful improvements, in whatever quarter of the world they may originate". In 1801 young Humphrey Davy, later to achieve such fame, was appointed as director of the chemical laboratory. The foundation of the Royal Institution was of particular relevance to the state of learning in Cork, and ultimately to the foundation

of the Queen's College, Cork, Not only was a body with a similar title to be found in the city before 1810, but considerable prestige accrued to it, and to Cork, when Davy's assistant in London, his cousin Edmond Davy, came to Cork in 1813 as lecturer in Chemistry to the Royal Cork Institution. Professor Armytage assesses the London foundation as follows. ⁽⁴⁸⁾ "As a middle and upper class body, the Royal Institution was a great success. The Rev. Sidney Smith lectured on moral philosophy, S.T. Coleridge on poetry and Landseer on art ---- but of all the lecturers, none had so great an influence as Davy. His own metamorphosis from a country boy to an English gentleman symbolises the change in the Institution ---- His imaginative experiments and lectures made these two activities characteristic of the Institution". Speaking of Davy's successors Armytage succinctly says ⁽⁴⁹⁾ "their names represent the masterful interrogation of nature which was to follow in the century and a half to come: Young, Faraday, Tyndall, Frankland, Dewar, Rayleigh, J.J. Thomson, Rutherford and Bragg."

Calls for the establishment of provincial universities came in the years between 1810 and 1821 from such as Charles Kelsall and James Yates, and these in many areas found support among the medical profession. The new status of State recognition given to the Society of Apothecaries by the Act of 1815 led to the formation of medical schools in provincial centres in England and Ireland. Leeds, Newcastle, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and Bristol witnessed a

growing interest, greatly stimulated by the medical profession, in proposals for civic universities. But easily the leading headline in that movement was the foundation of London University in 1828. The specific proposals for its establishment were first made public in a letter written by the poet Thomas Campbell to Henry Brougham, and published in the "Times" on the 9th of February, 1825. It was the child of middle class radicalism, and especially of the kind of thinking propagated by Jeremy Bentham and James Mill. These were the lineal descendants of the social and educational philosophers of the previous generation, of Priestley and Edgeworth. Both were apostles of middle class advancement in all spheres of national life; they saw educational change as basic to the transformation of society; they fought against the religious exclusivism of Oxford and Cambridge; they propounded anew the concept of "useful knowledge". The bible of that theory of utilitarianism was Jeremy Bentham's "Chrestomathia", published in 1817. Bentham gave a detailed blueprint, including architectural and administrative details, of a school unequivocally based on the vocational theory, with science at its very core. His list of subjects was daunting and would unquestionably satisfy the appetite of even the most insatiable nineteenth century scientific child prodigy: having surmounted the mere detail of the three Rs, there was to be mineralogy, botany, zoology, mechanics, chemistry, physics, mining, surveying, architecture, husbandry, history, geography and languages. Fortunately, perhaps, the "compleat Chrestomathic school" never

materialised, but Bentham's book did provide the middle class with a ready-made prospectus when they came to form a university in their own image and likeness. If Bentham was the educationalist-in-residence in the temple of middle class radical philosophy, James Mill expounded the law and the prophets. Educated at Edinburgh University, Mill's writings in the "Westminster Review" and elsewhere from 1820 onwards mercilessly exposed what he saw as the ridiculous and outmoded pretensions of the aristocratic oligarchy in whose hands all power was concentrated. It was the middle class, with their intelligence, competence and enterprise, who most contributed to the well-being of the nation. Yet they were excluded from Parliament, from the municipal corporations - and from the universities.

The "Westminster Review" and James Mill espoused the claims of that class in which were "the heads that invent and the hands that execute; the enterprise that projects and the capital by which those projects are carried into operation. The merchant, the manufacturer, the mechanist, the chemist, the artist, those who discover new arts, those who perfect old arts, those who extend science".⁽⁵⁰⁾ The proper education of this managerial society, at once the creators and the products of the Industrial Revolution, was seen both as a professional prerequisite, and also as an agency of political evolution. It harmonised with the kind of thinking underlying the academies, the provincial philosophical societies, and such quasi-technological institutions as the East India Company's college at Haileybury and the Naval College at Portsmouth. (1809) It was, therefore,

a fusion of creed, class and curriculum which arose on the former rubbish dump at Gower Street and, in the opinion of outraged traditionalism, impudently arrogated to itself the title of the "University of London". Dissenters - including Catholics and Jews - mainly drawn from the middle class set out to devise an institution of higher learning that would be markedly outside the mainstream of the older currents in that it would be undenominational, would cater not only for the opulent but for the "middling rich", and would offer a range of subjects suited to the actual needs of the times.

The genesis of the new institution is given as follows by its historian, Hale Bellot⁽⁵¹⁾. "The idea which occurred to Campbell at Bonn in June or July, 1820, was not proposed to the public until February, 1825, and was not realised until October, 1828. During these eight years and three months what was at first but the dream of a fertile but often fickle mind grew to be a matter of public concern". A cluster of radical politicians, utilitarian philosophers and industrialists, philanthropists and social theorists gave impetus to Campbell's projection. Henry Brougham, James Mill, Joseph Hume, Francis Place, George Birkbeck, Jeremy Bentham, Zachary Macaulay, George Grote - the names read like a "Who's Who" of those earnest reformers whose comparative innocence led them to believe that their lantern of liberal enlightenment would light up dark places and lead to a brave new world. Birkbeck and Place had been associated with the movement for working-class educational improvement which had taken shape with the Mechanics Institution; many of the other

supporters had been involved with the schoolwork pioneered by Joseph Lancaster; Isaac Goldsmid represented Jewish support, while the Duke of Norfolk brought a Catholic presence to the project. Financial support was sought through shareholders organised into a joint stock company, and with the new buildings completed, the University of London opened in October, 1828. It was to have far-reaching effects on the shape and content of higher education in these islands; but more immediately it ended the anomaly of London, the populous metropolis and centre of a growing commercial empire, not having its own centre of higher education.

The inspiration for the new departure came three sources of university life outside of England; from the German universities, the Scottish universities and the recently-founded University of Virginia. Campbell's favourable impression of the new German universities at Bonn and Berlin provides a significant link between the origins of London University and of the Queen's College, Cork. Thomas Wyse was later to go on Campbell's pilgrimage and to specify many of the German features for the Irish institutions. For much of the nineteenth century progressives in the educational world were to point to the efficiency and thorough scholarship of Germany as models for imitation. Matthew Arnold's "Higher Schools and Universities in Germany", published in 1874,⁽⁵²⁾ was only the high-water mark in a steady stream of bedazzled comment. The German universities were state institutions, liberally endowed to do their work. But it was not so much that feature that stirred the chorus of

admiration in these islands as the demonstrated excellence of their scholarship and the fact that they specifically catered for a rising commercial and technological middle class. Their educational achievements were held to be peculiarly the product of their mode of instruction - the professorial or lecture system. This, it was argued, stimulated the professor to be a scholar in his field; he was open to public comment; he had to command student attention; indeed, part of his salary might come from class fees. This was contrasted with the languid Oxford or Cambridge tutor who might bury himself in the "Times" while a student went through the ritual of reading his weekly essay. Besides, the professorial method was more economical of money and time: what a tutor did for a handful, a professor's lecture could do for a hundred. The German curriculum was held to be what a nineteenth century curriculum ought to be: orientated to pure and applied science, to philology, modern language, critical studies in religion, history and literature. Finally, there was no religious exclusivism: it was held that a satisfactory "modus vivendi" allowed Catholics and Protestants to pursue higher studies without denominational wrangling.

Scotland prided itself on its devotion to learning at all levels from parish schools upwards: its four universities of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow were centres of active intellectual life when their English sisters drowsed in the period 1750 - 1850. V.H.H. Green states⁽⁵³⁾ "that while these universities were not free from the abuses seemingly endemic in the ecclesiastical and intellec-

tual life of eighteenth-century Britain, such as nepotism, patronage, factiousness and neglect of duty, as centres of learning and intellectual activity they could claim to be superior to Oxford and Cambridge". Because religious tests were not imposed it was to the Scottish universities that prospective candidates made their way from Presbyterian Ulster; a migration which was only marginally stemmed when Trinity College, Dublin, opened its doors to Catholics and Dissenters after 1793. It was from Scotland, too, that the English Dissenters associated with Warrington and Hackney, such as Priestley and Watt, got their inspiration. Adam Smith, whose "Wealth of Nations" 1776, was a seminal work, held the Chair of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, and was to refer witheringly to the English universities as "sanctuaries in which exploded systems and obsolete prejudices found shelter and protection long after they had been hunted out of every other corner of the world".⁽⁵⁴⁾ Glasgow University also gave a headline to London, as to the academies, in that it was closely involved in the industrial life of its district, especially linen, mining and heavy industry. The University of Edinburgh had a medical school with European reputation and in close touch with the Dutch institution at Leyden. The "Edinburgh Review" was a literary reflection of the enquiring and purposeful spirit animating not only the city's university but the general tone of Scottish higher education. In addition, the prevailing mental climate was liberal, with the Kirk having a decisive influence only in theological professorships; the intake was a remarkable contrast to that of Oxford, Cambridge or Trinity College,

Dublin, with students admitted from all classes of society, Glasgow, for instance, having a third of its students from labouring families. And as in Germany, the professorial system was established. In philosophy, medicine and industry, therefore, Scottish university achievements and procedures provided an acceptable model for London.

If Benjamin Thompson had injected American influence into the body of English education with the formation of the Royal Institution in 1800, a similar influence was to be injected into the thinking associated with London University. When Francis Gilmer came to London in 1824 to recruit staff for Thomas Jefferson's newly-founded (1819) University of Virginia, he met Thomas Campbell, Henry Brougham and George Birkbeck. Professor Armytage⁽⁵⁵⁾ points to the significance of that encounter. "There is no doubt that they were influenced by Jefferson's blueprint of a university free to students of all denominations. Up to Gilmer's arrival, most reformers had been content either to campaign, in a rather half-hearted way, against the religious tests which made Oxford and Cambridge preserves of the national church or to compromise with injustice by sending their sons to Scottish or European universities". The American Blueprint was outlined in the "Rockfish Gap Report" which was available in England in 1824. It was largely the fruit of Jefferson's philosophising as a member of a commission appointed for the establishment of the new University of Virginia at Charlottesville. It saw the role of the university as being to "form statesmen, legislators and judges; to expound the principles and structure of government; to harmonize and

promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce; to develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order; to enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences; to form habits of reflection and correct order".⁽⁵⁶⁾ Bellot summarises the Report as follows⁽⁵⁷⁾ "To these ends it proposed a university modern in the catholicity of its studies, which were to include physical science, medicine, modern languages, law, politics, economics, and history; wherein instruction was to be given by lectures; where there was to be no inflexible curriculum, but where the student was to be free to attend the courses of his choice; and where all sects of religion should be on an equal footing, and every sect should be left to provide, as it thought fittest, the means of further instruction in its own peculiar tenets".

The foundation of the University of London was, therefore, a synthesis of many disparate elements; it was a pragmatic response to needs created by religious, political, economic and social trends; it drew its inspiration from a wide cosmopolitanism of thought and action, from French Enlightenment, from Dissenting initiative, from Scottish vitality and from advanced projections coming out of the New World. Its opening was a major landmark in nineteenth century educational history. It was the prototype of the modern university. The compulsory core of subjects included the classical languages, mathematics, logic, philosophy,

the sciences, law, political economy, moral and political philosophy, with optional courses in English, foreign languages and science. Engineering was offered from 1833 onwards. But it was in medicine that earliest success was to come. Replacing the largely empirical and clinical training given by the London medical schools by a long and systematic course of scientific study, preceded by a general education, the Gower Street institution early established itself in the front rank. The other scientific disciplines also forged ahead, introducing laboratories for practical work and museums for first-hand study in natural philosophy. If London looked to Scotland and elsewhere for its initial inspiration, within a few decades the situation was reversed. Not only did all future academic foundations in these islands, including the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, look to London, but so did the growing number of such institutions in the English-speaking world outside of Europe.

However, in one respect London University in 1828 found itself enmeshed in the strands of a controversy that was endemic to higher education in England and Ireland - the religious issue. In fact the emotive epithet "Godless College" which was used unsparingly as a stick with which to beat the Queen's College, Cork, was first coined with reference to the "Godless College of Gower Street." Campbell in 1825 had seen the projected institution as catering for "that class of society whose incomes extend from £400 or £500 a year to nearly as many thousands". Its main support,

therefore, would come from residents of London with comparatively modest commercial fortunes. This would mean that the university would be non-residential, and by that means alone, as Bellot states,⁽⁵⁸⁾ were the founders able "to circumvent one of the most obstinate of the difficulties which stood in their way, the disputed question of religious instruction". The institution was based on the principle that there were not to be⁽⁵⁹⁾ "any religious tests or doctrinal forms which would oppose a barrier to the education of any sect among His Majesty's subjects," and the founders had to resist pressure from Dissenters on the one hand and Church of England supporters such as William Wilberforce on the other, who were seeking a modification of this principle by introducing optional religious courses of lectures. The Council in 1827 insisted that licensed boarding-house keepers should, however, require their boarders to attend places of worship; but by 1828 this requirement was abandoned. But decision to provide only secular education did not mean that the authorities envisaged an exclusively secular upbringing for the young people coming into the University; the declared intention was that religious and moral training would be left where it primarily belonged - with parents or guardians. The Council stated that they "found it impossible to unite the principles of free admission to persons of all religious denominations with any plan of theological instruction, or any form of religious discipline; and they were thus compelled by necessity to leave this great and primary object of education, which they deem far too important for compromise, to the

direction and superintendence of the natural guardians of the pupils".⁽⁶⁰⁾

The outlook implicit in that statement was certainly not rabidly irreligious nor even positively indifferentist; rather it represented a pragmatic response to existing circumstances, a response which was held to be basic to the success of the new enterprise. Yet the crescendo of abuse which arose about the head of the University of London on the matter of religion was as understandable as it was inevitable. If the Benthamites, the Mills, the Dissenters, the radical liberals, the Humes, the Broughams, the "Edinburgh Review" felt justified in raising a hue and cry over the clerical exclusivism of Oxford and Cambridge, those very foundations and the mainstream of Anglicanism were standing on intellectually respectable religious and traditional ground when they assailed an educational institution which as a matter of principle excluded religion and theology from its halls. From medieval times the prerogative of the Church as the educator of the nation's youth had been scarcely questioned; after the Reformation both Catholic and Protestant Europe had maintained that principle and that practice. London University was an outrage on what was held to be basic to the very fabric of State and Church - the public profession of Christianity. England was still predominantly committed as a religious nation; the new University was the first such institution of tertiary education to break the tradition of centuries. The Anglican opposition was inspired not by mere pique or factiousness, but by a conviction that a profound principle was at stake.

Indeed, much of the opposition to London University from Anglican spokesmen was couched in terms remarkably similar to what the Catholic Hierarchy would be using in reference to the Queen's Colleges. J.P. Potter⁽⁶¹⁾ in a "Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Peel" pointed out that "it was the boast of this nation" that she encouraged places of instruction where her "unvarnished religion" shone with "unsullied splendour"; in the new institution "every sect is to be mingled together indiscriminately". By one of the ironies of history Robert Peel, then M.P. for Oxford, was found expressing grave reservations to the London institution on the ground of the exclusion of religion; ironical in that it was a similar proposal by himself as Prime Minister in 1845 which led his Irish ecclesiastical critics to brand his Queen's Colleges as being lineal descendants of the godless pile on the erstwhile rubbish dump on Gower Street. Arising out of a motion in Parliament in 1825 whereby Brougham sought to incorporate certain persons for the establishment of a College in London, Peel wrote on the matter to the Dean of Christ Church.⁽⁶²⁾ It was rather a series of brief headings than a considered formulation of policy, but its import was unmistakably antagonistic. "---- Religious education to be excluded from the scheme. This must be opposed and rejected, but I have hardly time to give such an important subject all the attention it deserves".

A pamphlet from the Rev. T.W. Lancaster,⁽⁶³⁾ chaplain to the Lord Mayor of London, stated that "no civil society can, without the sanctions of religion, maintain the

obligations of morality among its members. It was necessary to provide "a national religious education; religion is the only part of education which is essentially needful to society". When the University applied for a Charter to grant degrees it met with spirited opposition from anglican interests, as well as from Oxford and Cambridge, and in the debate inside and outside Parliament the religious issue was in the forefront. Sir Charles Wetherell,⁽⁶⁴⁾ on behalf of Oxford, argued that the King could not legally incorporate a university other than such as should conform with the worship and doctrine of the Church of England. William Sewell,⁽⁶⁵⁾ Fellow of Oxford, who was later to join Whately and Newman in making a remarkable trinity of Oxford dons to make an impact on Irish education, wrote that "if any scheme of education, short of lectures in impiety, can tend to form a habit of irreligion, it must be one in which religion is set aside as an unmanageable, impracticable attainment". Anglican opposition was not confined to speech and pamphlet; it found shape in the bricks and mortar of King's College on the Strand. The influence of London University was evident in that the College was non-residential and its range of studies reflected its early educational impact. When in November, 1836, the question of a Charter for London University was finally resolved it was by creating a new body, the University of London, empowered to grant degrees to students from University College, London, as the Gower Street institution was to be henceforth known, and King's College. When University College, London came to

celebrate its centenary, it was seen not as a maker of infidels, but as a lamp of enlightenment. In an address delivered in its Great Hall on 28th. June, 1927, G.K. Chesterton⁶⁶ paid the following tribute. "I think that in this connection one may go back with a certain amount of loyalty and gratitude, I had almost said affection, to those great Radical and Rationalist individualists who founded this College, and this great educational experiment.... they are well worth reading, the men of that time, Bentham and Mill and the rest, because they believed profoundly in the independence of man. They were chiefly asserting it against old feudal or episcopal or other schemes with which they disagreed."

Indeed, even before the onset of the present century, much of the understandable suspicion centred on the religious dimension in higher education had softened or vanished. After the heady liberalism of the 1850's and 1860's there was a swing of the pendulum away from hostility either to clericalism or revealed religion; if a benign indifference characterised intellectual life, at least it put few personal obstacles in the way of young people at universities seeking their salvation with the reservoir of faith carried from their parents and their pastors. Both the Anglican and Catholic Churches came to abandon their defensive stance in regard to Oxford and Cambridge. The long tangle of move and counter-move in regard to Catholic attitudes, more specifically involving Newman, the Jesuits and Cardinals Manning and Vaughan, has been perceptively detailed in Professor V.A. McClelland⁶⁷'s recent study. In Ireland a similar shift of

attitudes was about to come, and the claim of Cardinal Cullen for a denominational Catholic University was formally dropped by the Church. What did not change was the concept formulated in the early century, that of "useful knowledge". Increasingly, it was accepted as being in keeping with the needs of the times, both in social and economic terms. It became the guiding spirit of the new civic universities springing up in provincial centres, where education was needed more in the market place than in the cloister. These universities, largely modelled on London, were to be undenominational, largely non-residential, often hampered by a scarcity of suitably-prepared undergraduates, frequently at loggerheads with local magnates. While the old humanities were not neglected, the emphasis was on professional preparation for an active life. Priestley, Bentham, Mill, Bonn, Berlin and Virginia and London University had made the mould, had generated the climate. That academic climate had no small influence on the activities and thinking of men in Cork who set themselves the exciting task of the pursuit of learning. Who those men were, and how they set about their task will form the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER I

1. "University Discourses". Delivered at the Rotunda, Dublin, May and June, 1852. See: "Newman's University: Idea and Reality". F. McGrath S.J. Pub. Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1951.
2. Select Committee on Education (Ireland) 1835 -38. Minutes of Evidence, paragraph 3721.
3. "Inaugural Address Delivered at the Opening of the Queen's College, Cork by Sir Robert Kane. With an Account of the General Proceedings, November 7th, 1849". Published: Dublin, Hodges and Smith; Publishers to the University, 1849.
4. Pain brothers, trained by Nash in London, responsible for classical and Gothic architecture in Cork, 1820-1850.
5. "History of England". Macaulay. Everyman's Library Edition. Vol.11 p.344.
6. "Illustrated London News". 17 November, 1849.
7. "Freeman's Journal". 9 November, 1849.
8. See: "Portrait of a University, 1851-1951". H.B. Charlton. Pub. Manchester University Press, 1951.
9. Sir Robert Kane, first President, Queen's College, Cork. Resigned 1873.
10. Munster Provincial College Committee, founded in Cork, 1838, to promote establishment of a university College.
11. "My Life in Two Hemispheres". Charles Gavan Duffy. Vol.1 p.106. Pub. Fisher and Unwin, London, 1898. Duffy was a member of the "Young Ireland" group who supported the Queen's Colleges. Later Prime Minister of Tasmania as Sir Charles G. Duffy.
12. "The Nation". Weekly newspaper edited by Thomas Davis. Generally supported O'Connell in his Repeal movement. Welcomed Queen's Colleges as a means of uniting young men of differing religious beliefs.
13. President's Address. op. cit.
14. Text: Report of Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission, 1857. Vol.11. Documents, p.388.
15. Text, ibid.
16. President's first Annual Report to Parliament, 1850. see later

17. "Synodal Address of the Fathers of the National Council of Thurles to their beloved Flock, the Catholics of Ireland". Text as Appendix.
18. "The British Academies". A.H. Halsey and M.A. Trow. p.32. Pub. Faber and Faber, London, 1971.
19. Quoted: "The Universities". V.H. Green. p.56. Pub. Pelican, 1969.
20. "A History of the University of Oxford". C.B. Mallet. Vol. III. p.163. Pub. Methuen, London, 1927.
21. "A History of University Reform". A.I. Tillyard. p.63. Pub. Cambridge, Heffer and Sons, 1913.
22. "The Older Universities of England". A. Mansbridge. p.151. Pub. Longmans, 1923.
- 22a. "Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University". J. Sparrow. p.81. Pub. Cambridge University Press, 1967.
23. "Sir Robert Peel". C.S. Parker. Vol.1. p.21. Pub. John Murray, London, 1899.
24. *ibid.* p.28.
25. "Life of Gladstone". J. Morley. Vol.1. p.49.
26. *ibid.* p.53.
27. *ibid.*
28. *ibid.*
29. "Edinburgh Review". Vol. XXXVI (1821).
30. "The Imperial Intellect". A.D. Culler. p.17. Pub. Yale University Press, 1965.
31. *ibid.* p.39.
32. *ibid.*
33. "Reminiscences of Oxford". W. Tuckwell. p.18. Pub. Smith, Elder. London, 1907.
34. "Edinburgh Review". Vol. XV. 1809.
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a "Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth", 1805.
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50. "Westminster Review". Vol.1. January, 1824.
51. "University College, London". H. Hale Bellot. p.14.
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53. Green. op. cit. p.88.
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56. Bellot. op. cit. p.10.
57. ibid.
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59. ibid. p.56.
60. ibid.
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62. ibid. p.216.

- 63. **ibid.**
- 64. **ibid. p.233.**
- 65. **ibid. p.234. Sewell was in 1842 to be the founder of St. Columba's College, near Dublin, designed to give a superior education to Protestant boys, and with the Irish language being given a central place in the curriculum.**
- 66. **"Centenary Addresses: University of London; University College". Pub. University of London Press. 1827.**
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CHAPTER TWO.

PORTRAIT OF POLITE LEARNING IN A PROVINCIAL CITY.

If the Queen's College, Cork, was the child of the general climate of academic thought and movement outlined in the previous chapter, it was more specifically the embodiment of the genius of the city within which its Gothic outlines arose. Leaving aside, therefore, the wider horizons of Oxford and Cambridge, of London, Bonn and Virginia, this chapter will be unashamedly provincial in its terms of reference; but it will demonstrate that in the case of Cork provincialism need not be a synonym for triviality. Nestling in a valley of wooded hills, watered by its river which has its source in that place of austere splendour where St. Finbarr had founded his first monastic settlement in the seventh century, the city had vividly reflected the varied procession of Irish history. Its ample harbour and long stretches of tidal river had brought Dane, Norman and Elizabethan to mingle with native Irish and so create that polygot civic persona whose distinctive blend of vital energy, manifested in a business flair and in a marked richness of speech and expression, has been frequently remarked upon by observers of the Irish scene. Royal charters dating from Henry II bear witness to the early creation of an ordered civil society, while the appearance early in the thirteenth century of brown-robed and black-robed friars within its sheltering walls attests to its being well within the mainstream of European influence. Extant records reveal the

extent of trade not only with Bristol but with France, Spain and Portugal all during medieval times. The seat of a bishopric since the seventh century, with its great monastic school of St. Finbarr maintaining an Irish tradition of scholarship, with all the appurtenances of a developing medieval city, its charters, its walls, its sheriffs, its poundage and tonnage and legal delineation of rights of water and of land, with friars and canons and nunneries, and with its due share of martial encounter and marital intermingling between native and settler, the city was a microcosm of burgeoning civic life as the middle ages gave way to the troubled times of Irish history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Elizabethan days left two bishops claiming the patrimony of St. Finbarr; they also saw Spenser visiting the city as High Sheriff and returning to his nearby country seat to write the "Fairie Queen". Cromwell stalked the main street, proclaiming alike Catholic Irish and Anglican English. At the South Gate the legendary Irish hero, Patrick Sarsfield, welcomed James II who sojourned briefly on his way to change the course of Irish history at the ill-fated Battle of the Boyne. In a Quaker Meeting House beside one of the numerous canals which suggested Holland more than Ireland, William Penn saw the light and went off to bring it to America. The eighteenth century saw Penal Laws but sporadically enforced by a Protestant oligarchy; John Wesley rode in on horse-back having come all the way from Dublin, and he left an inscribed bible to his threatened flock. Huguenots, fleeing from repression in France, had brought their frugal industriousness to

a street still bearing their name. Rebels, too, had appeared; the Sheares brothers were caught up in the 1798 Rebellion, and the poignancy of the most famous romance in modern Irish history touched the city when Sarah Curran came to mourn Robert Emmet and to marry an English officer. With such communal memories the citizens knew themselves to belong to no mean city. At the opening of the nineteenth century historic pride was buttressed by a very tangible mercantile progress to create a middle class that was enterprising, confident and disposed to bestow patronage on the refinements of gracious living and the pursuit of cultivated taste. Between 1800 and 1850 there were periods of marked commercial prosperity, a great deal of it centring round the provisioning of the British fleet in the Cove of Cork; much of it arising from the flourishing butter trade through which Cork merchants grew prosperous with their far-flung trading contacts extending across Europe, to America and the Indies. Brewing, distilling, and their ancillary offshoots provided a scarcely less lucrative source of prosperity. There arose, much of it Catholic, a class referred to locally as the "merchant princes", and for the embellishment of their Georgian mansions rising along the sloping parkland by the riverside they brought stucco artists from Italy and architects from London. The Paine brothers, having worked under Nash in London, came to Cork, and in competition with the architect of the Queen's College, Sir Thomas Deane, they were responsible for enriching the city with a goodly number of fine pieces of civic, commercial and ecclesiastical architecture.

In the matter of the cultivation of polite learning the city exhibited a remarkable similarity to the pattern set by the Lunar Society, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society or the Royal Institution of London. Obviously the personalities were not as eminent or the impact as profound; but there was a repetition of that spirit of middle class intellectual curiosity, strongly leaning in favour of the exploration and application of natural philosophy, which characterised the more prestigious exemplars of early nineteenth century intellectuality. Not only was the activity similar in type to that being pursued elsewhere - attending evening lectures, reading learned papers, watching scientific experiments, assembling collections of specialised books and museums of botanical and other specimens - but the seekers after knowledge, and of congenial company with which to share that quest, were drawn, as they were in Manchester, London, Bonn or Charlottesville, or Belfast or Birmingham, from the commercial and professional middle classes. The medical profession, the law, local manufacture, the county squirearchy - it was from such sources that the siren of useful knowledge drew her devotees. Equally characteristic was the fact that denominational barriers were crossed, and at a time when religious feeling was heightened for perfectly understandable historical and immediately relevant reasons, Cork saw Catholics, Anglicans, Unitarians and Quakers wooing the Muse in scholarly fellowship. Fortunately, it is not necessary to deal in generalities to connect those who were pursuing "useful knowledge" in Cork in the early decades of the century both with similar

activity abroad and with the eventual establishment of the Queen's College.

The focus and fertilising agency of organised intellectual life in the city in the decades before the founding of the Queen's College was the Royal Cork Institution. Founded as a result of a series of lectures given on natural philosophy in 1803, it was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1807 and continued in existence until 1861. Between 1807 and 1830 it received an annual State grant in the region of £2,000 - 2,500 per annum. Modelled consciously on the Royal Institution of London, the R.C.I. presented a remarkable early example of a civic centre of public education, directly funded from Parliament, and offering a wide range of theoretical and practical knowledge. It had a fine scientific library, a museum of natural history and mineralogical specimens, scientific apparatus, an astronomical observatory, a botanic garden. It mounted courses of public lectures on natural philosophy, natural history, chemistry, astronomy, agriculture, art, archaeology and literature; it brought to the city many distinguished guest lecturers from other centres of Irish scholarship such as Dublin and Belfast, including, for example, the then Dr. Robert Kane, in addition to personalities from London, Edinburgh and Glasgow. It gave annual premiums for the encouragement of improved agricultural methods in the hinterland of Cork and published one of the earliest agricultural journals to appear in these islands, "The Munster Farmers' Magazine". This chapter, accordingly, will make a detailed study of the origins, aims and achievements of the R.C.I. This would be

pertinent to a work on the origins and early history of the Queen's College simply on the grounds that it would illumine the state of local learning which provided the environment for the College; it becomes even more pertinent in consideration of the fact that the great majority of the local personalities who brought pressure to bear on the Government and on public opinion for the establishment of a provincial academical institution were actively engaged in the R.C.I. It is only stating the obvious to say that the R.C.I. was the cradle of the Queen's College, Cork. The sources used will be some of the R.C.I.'s own annual reports; the Seventh Report of the Commission on Education in Ireland, published by Parliament in 1827; incidental local reference extracted from the files of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society and, most interestingly, the surviving manuscript Minute Book of the Institution for the years 1826 - 1851, which forms one of the most valuable items in the Archives of University College, Cork.

Attention will also be given to a second learned body which was an off-shoot of the more prestigious Institution, and which largely shared the same membership with it. The Cuvierian Society flourished from 1835 to 1878, taking its name from the distinguished French naturalist, Baron Cuvier (1769 - 1831). Though lacking the external fitments of the Institution, and not in receipt of public funds, the Society in great measure had the same aim of promoting science and literature; when the Institution ceased its activities it was the Society which maintained them; indeed, many of the early professors at the Queen's College were among the

guest lecturers after 1849. The city is fortunate in that two volumes remain which give a full contemporary account of the Cuvierian Society. Firstly, there is the manuscript "minutes of the Cork Cuvierian and Archaeological Society, 1835 - 1878", and secondly, the "Transactions" of the Society from 1853 to 1875. Some reference to other manifestations of the zeal for learning will also be made in this chapter - to the Society of Arts and Sciences, founded in 1782, the Library Society, founded in 1792, and the Literary and Philosophical Society which evolved into the Scientific Society in 1813. These societies, even by their very titles, in addition to the Academy of Fine Arts founded in 1822, gave evidence of a great deal of enthusiastic concern for scientific knowledge and polite learning. They form a very obvious pattern of what was happening in other civic centres which were later to become university cities in these islands.

Not less striking than the learned bodies in the city, both in reflecting a wider climate of interest and as having obvious links with the future College, were some of the leading personalities. If Joseph Priestley, Dissenting minister and chemist, was one of the seminal minds associated with the Lunar Society and the more progressive Academies of Warrington and Hackney College, and if Priestley found inspiration in the Scottish universities and himself was an inspiration in the founding of London University, so, too, was the Rev. Thomas Dix Hincks, (1767 - 1857) Dissenting minister of the Unitarian Chapel in Prince's Street both as a generator of scholarly enterprise and as an influence in the establishment of the College.⁽¹⁾ Born in Chester, Hincks

had studied at Hackney College before coming as minister to Cork. Though a classicist himself, it was specifically arising out of a course of lectures on natural philosophy which he gave in his own home in 1803 that the Royal Cork Institution was formed. Having gone from Cork to teach at the Belfast Academical Institution, he was awarded the degree of Ll.D. by Glasgow University in 1834 in recognition of his services to scholarship. The connection of Hincks with the foundation of the College becomes more marked when it is recalled that his son, William, was to be its first professor of Natural History, having previously held a similar post at Manchester College, York. Not less significant was the coming to Cork in 1813 as professor of Chemistry to the R.C.I. of Edmund Davy, F.R.S. (1785 - 1857). Davy, who was to become a scientist of international recognition, was a cousin of Sir Humphrey Davy and had served as an assistant with him at the Royal Institution in London. Davy published many scientific papers during his period in Cork from 1813 to 1826, while his principal practical work was concerned with the catalytic action of platinum and with a study of the fulminates.⁽²⁾ For a time before going to Dublin as professor of Chemistry to the Royal Dublin Society, Davy acted as secretary to the R.C.I., his last signature in the Minute Book appearing on the 26th of August, 1826⁽³⁾. The R.C.I. figured fleetingly in connection with William Thompson (1775 - 1833), the pioneer Socialist, described on the publishers' blurb of his biography⁽⁴⁾ as having "anticipated Mark in many of his theories and coined some of the definitions and terms which Mark subsequently employed; he

was also a pioneer in the struggle for the emancipation of women and a forthright champion of birth control".

Professor B. Simon⁽⁵⁾ observes that "Thompson's books and lectures had a very considerable influence on working-class thought in the formative period of the late 1820s and early 1830s. His ⁽⁶⁾'Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth most conducive to Human Happiness', a direct challenge to orthodox political economy, had a particular effect'. A proprietor of the R.C.I., he burst into print in the "Cork Southern Reporter" in 1818 accusing it of mismanagement of public funds, of being "a little sphere of private intrigue and favouritism", while its superintendent of the Natural History Museum was paid "for taking the trouble of going to bed, rising at a genteel hour, ornamenting the elegant room of the Institution-house --- -- and guarding moths, stones and Indian arrows." In 1822 Thompson took off from Cork to stay for several months with Jeremy Bentham at his home in Queen's Square Place, Westminster. It can, therefore, be assumed that the "Chrestomathic" sage himself got an account, however jaundiced, of the Royal Cork Institution.

The R.C.I. also impinged on the early life of a son of Cork who was to win a European reputation as an historical artist. An entry in the Minute Book⁽⁷⁾ of 21st of August, states that "the secretary informed the Board that students McO'Boy and MaClise, having by improper conduct in the Castroom, caused serious damage to one of the casts (group Silenus and Satyrs) he had suspended their privilege of attending the Rooms". Daniel Maclise's⁽⁸⁾ (1806 - 1870)

talent was first brought to the notice of the great when Sir Walter Scott, on a visit to Cork in 1825 with Maria Edgeworth, urged the young man to further his skill by going to London. Encouraged by Richard Sainthill, the well-known antiquarian and numismatist and a fellow-townsmen, and by another such, Crofton Croker, whose London home was the centre of a literary set which included Tom Moore, the author of the "Irish Melodies," Maria Edgeworth, Mr. and Mrs. C.S. Hall, Miss Landon and Father Prout, MacClise entered as a student of the Royal Academy. Success immediately crowned his efforts, and in 1829 he was awarded the Gold Medal for historical composition. By 1840 when he was elected a Fellow of the Academy he was the friend of Dickens, Macready and Thackeray. In 1833 he had exhibited his well-known work "All Hallows Eve", while his "Strongbow and Eva" came in 1854. In 1844 he was commissioned by Queen Victoria to join Sir C. Lake and Landseer in designing frescoes for the Summer-House at Buckingham Palace, while in 1846 he was selected by the Commissioners of Fine Arts, under the Chairmanship of Prince Albert, to paint a fresco for the House of Lords. The Great Exhibition of Paris in 1855 saw MacClise nominated as a juror for Fine Arts. His greatest fame derived from the masterly historical composition, "The Meeting of Blucher and Wellington" completed in 1861 in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords. The Arts Council Catalogue⁽⁹⁾ for the 1972 Exhibition of MacClise's works at the National Portrait Gallery, London, remarks as follows regarding what his native city gave him before he left for London in 1827. "MacClise was fortunate to have been born in

a city which then had an active cultural life, or he might never have managed to launch himself. His contact with literary and intellectual society stimulated his imagination, and gave him a life-long passion for books".

The casts which MacLise endangered while painting from them during a visit to Cork in 1832, found their way to the R.C.I. by a happy display of Regency inertia. At the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars Pope Pius VII wished to mark his appreciation of the fact that the British Government had managed to return to the Vatican Galleries a large number of sculptures looted by Napoleon. Accordingly he arranged to present to the Prince Regent (later George IV) more than a hundred finely made plaster casts from the more celebrated marbles of antiquity at the Vatican, including the "Apollo Belvidere", the "Medici Venus", the "Dying Gladiator". The Pope ordered Canova to superintend the making of the casts, and they were duly transmitted to London in 1818. However, the Prince Regent evinced no particular enthusiasm for the collection from the antique, and after they had languished forlornly for some time at the London Custom House they were transferred to Carlton Palace where the Prince complained they were taking up too much room. Lord Ennismore (later Lord Listowel) President of the Cork Society of Fine Arts, having heard of the Royal desire to dispose of the treasures, communicated with the Regent and the casts were duly delivered to Cork in 1818. The Fine Arts Society having had to dispose of their premises owing to financial difficulties, the casts were deposited in the R.C.I. Ultimately they found their way to the Queen's College.

This acquisition proved a great fillip to the promotion of art and sculpture in the city, and not only Maclise, but also such artists as John Hogan, the sculptor, and Forde gained expertise and inspiration from working with such classical specimens.

Lord Listowel's interest in cultural promotion in Cork did not end with the provision of plaster casts; when the Munster Provincial College Committee presented their complimentary address to Sir Robert Kane at the inaugural ceremonies of the Queen's College, it was signed by Lord Listowel as President. It was also signed by James Roche as chairman. Both of these had collaborated in securing the art treasures for Cork, James Roche typified in himself that blend of culture and commerce which brought such a very obvious excitement of polite and scholarly pursuit to the city. Described in the Dictionary of National Biography as the "Roscoe of Cork", and by the late Professor D. Gwynn as the "Father of the Queen's College, Cork,"⁽¹³⁾ he came to occupy a position of extraordinary eminence in the civic and cultural life of the city. Born at Limerick on the 30th of December, 1770, he lived a life of notable diversity and rich achievement until his death in Cork on April 1st, 1853, being then eighty three years old. It was Roche who presided over the pomp and circumstance in the Examination Hall at the opening on the 7th of November, 1849. When the Munster College Committee was formed in Cork in 1838 consequent on the publication of the Wyse Report recommending provincial colleges, Roche became chairman, and from then onwards was indefatigable in his efforts to have the College established.

As vice-president of the Royal Cork Institution for some years, and as first president of the Cuvierian Society he was at the heart of all that was most creative in the city. The Dictionary of National Biography points to the intellectual attainments of Roche. "He was well read in the ancient and principal modern languages, and his historical knowledge enabled him to assist inquirers on obscure and debatable points, and to detect and expose errors. He contributed largely, mostly under his initials, to the 'Gentleman's Magazine', 'Notes and Queries', the 'Dublin Review', and the 'Cork Magazine'. In 1851 under the title of 'Critical and Miscellaneous Essays by an Octogenarian' he reprinted for private circulation about forty of these articles". The two-volume edition of Roche's "Essays by an Octogenarian",⁽¹¹⁾ each running to over five hundred pages, came out as a limited issue for private circulation and the Library of University College, Cork, possesses the only known existing copies.

The articles deal mainly with literary and historical subjects, and show a wide grasp of contemporary men and affairs together with considerable erudition in the field of Irish, English and European history. Roche mixed easily and purposefully with a great variety of people outside his own Catholic faith, but his writings are informed with a sound grasp of Catholic principles in relation to current and historical problems. Professor Gwynn describes him as "one of the most distinguished figures in that last generation of Irish Catholics who, like Daniel O'Connell, received their education in France because they were forbidden as

Catholics to be educated at home",⁽¹²⁾ The obituary sketch published in the "Gentleman's Magazine"⁽¹³⁾ states that during his residence in London "he cultivated the acquaintance and enjoyed the friendship of several distinguished scholars and others eminent by their social or political rank, amongst the rest the late Mr. Charles Butler. The latter gentleman and Mr. Roche were then, in fact, the two most learned Catholic laymen in the Empire". Referring to the articles written by Roche, the notice continues "it is surprising with what ease, readiness and dexterity he exposed the mistakes, oversights, omissions and paralogisms of such illustrious scholars as Brougham, Hallam, Alison, Gibbon, Hume, Rousseau, Voltaire and others." It must be conceded that such a claim for certitude among the alleged flounderings of such a prestigious galaxy does sound rather pretentious even for a man from Cork - nevertheless the heap of hagiography must contain more than a grain of truth! Titles of Roche's "Essays" include reviews of "Lives of Men of Letters and Science" published by Henry Brougham in 1845; "Life of Edward Gibbon" by H.H. Milman, 1839; Hallam's "Literary History" in which review Roche deals in detail with the Council of Trent; Alison's "History". Replying to Roche's review of his "Literary History" in the November, 1840, issue of the "Gentleman's Magazine" Hallam wrote that "the criticisms of so favourable a censor carry with them a presumption of being well founded, especially when supported by so copious a display of authorities as we find in those of your correspondent".

In reviewing Brougham's study of Voltaire for the

"Dublin Review" Roche discoursed at some length on M. Thiers' policy in relation to university centralisation in France, and then went on to deliver a somewhat hefty blow to the learned lord on the issue of anti-Catholic prejudice. "In adverting to Voltaire's journey to England Lord Brougham dwells with special laudation on the liberty and tolerance then enjoyed in that kingdom ---- English Catholics must find in their domestic records and in published history, how far this encomium is justified; and still more their Irish fellow-sufferers have to repel the audacious fallacy. Bold, indeed, was the claim of tolerance for England at that period; but it is proof demonstrative of the learned peer's indifference to facts when adverse to his Catholic antipathies, though while in Parliament as Mr. Brougham his most ardent efforts were directed against the atrocious code of persecution which has so long afflicted the Catholics and, partially too, the other dissenters from the established communion". Two other vignettes will interest the student of Irish history. In his review of O'Neill Daunt's "Personal Recollections of O'Connell" Roche referred to the alleged statement of the Duke of Wellington's that the only misfortune of his life was that he was an Irishman! Roche stated "I can affirm that at a St. Patrick's charity dinner in London, where he presided, I heard the Duke most distinctly express the pride he felt in being an Irishman and glory in the achievements of his countrymen under his command".⁽¹⁴⁾ Reviewing the "Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry" Roche recalled that ⁽¹⁵⁾ "at the Dublin Library in Bustace Street I was witness in

1799 of a warm discussion on the Union, then approaching consummation, between him (Kirwan) and Curran, who vehemently apposed while Kirwan as zealously defended". John Philpott Curran was Master of the Rolls and one of the greatest orators of his day, while Charles Kirwan was a distinguished Irish Chemist, the friend of Scheele, Caven-dish and Priestly and President of the Royal Irish Academy.

Roche's family were connected with the wine trade at Bordeaux, and in 1785 fifteen-year-old James was sent to the nearby College of Saintes. With the outbreak of the Revolution the Roche property at Bordeaux was confiscated and James was incarcerated for six months in 1793. Released from prison he remained in Bordeaux until 1797 endeavouring to retrieve the family business. From 1797 to 1800 he lived mostly in London. In 1800 he and his brother George established Roches Bank in Cork, both having married two sisters related to the then Catholic Bishop of the city Dr. Moylan. With the economic slump following the termination of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 the Bank found itself in trouble, and by 1820 it had to close to meet the demands of its creditors. Roche had to sell the unique library he had assembled, though his creditors showed their respect for the dilettante scholar by allowing him to retain the most valuable volumes. Love of books formed a close bond between Roche and the successor of Dr. Moylan, Dr. Murphy, whose personal library was said to be among the best of its kind in these islands. Murphy and Roche had also collaborated in founding the Cork Savings Bank. However, in an effort

to rebuild his fortunes after his second experience of a business calamity, Roche took off for London where he acted as a commercial and political agent for various interests, including the Corporations of Cork, Limerick and Youghal. He was invited by Lord Dudley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to become his private secretary, but an unhappy combination of shortsightedness on Dudley's part and minute spidery handwriting on Roche's part made the association unworkable. After a sojourn in Paris Roche returned to Cork in 1832 where he was appointed by Daniel O'Connell as first manager and later director of the Cork office of the National Bank which O'Connell had founded to advance the commercial interests of Catholics. From then until his death in 1853 Roche blossomed as a promoter of charitable and civic improvement, as a *littérateur*, and especially as an advocate of the cultural and educational genius of the city.

Fortunately a piece of writing, or rather of reminiscence, remains which gives an altogether fascinating contemporary picture of the state of polite learning in Cork in the years from 1830 to 1850. It comes from the perceptive mind of a personality who achieved wide public recognition as a man of books and of scholarly acquirements, and whose name was mentioned in the published accounts of the opening of the Queen's College as one of the distinguished guests. In 1885 Denny Lane, M.A. of Trinity College, Dublin, gave the inaugural address of the fifty second session of the Cork Literary and Scientific Society. He entitled it "Now and Then", (16) and it was shortly published as a pamphlet. Born in 1818

Lane had been educated at one of the best-known academies in the city, Hamblin and Porter's in Queen Street, where he had as schoolmates the future Dr. Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, R. Bagley, later Professor of Greek at Queen's College, Galway, Sir James Willes and the writer, Daniel Owen Madden. After graduating from Trinity College Lane entered the Inner Temple, London, and was called to the Bar in 1842. Lane's "Then and Now" is a polished exercise in reminiscence, and the following edited version will be let speak for itself. "Before I left the school of Dr. Porter I had a tolerable knowledge of the literature that was then appreciated in our provincial circle. Of course I had no acquaintance with the literary progress of a capital; but when soon after I spent some years in London and Dublin I saw that in neither city did there exist the love of or acquaintance with literature which I found at home. I speak, of course, of the middle class of society, for we had no upper class in Cork; no peers or even baronets. A few civic knights were the only representatives of the nobility, and even these, I believe, had to earn their bread by honest industry.

There were no circulating libraries in our country towns in the early part of the nineteenth century; and instead of books going to the people, the people went to the books. When the 'Children of the Abbey', a popular romance, reached Youghal it was read aloud in one house to the largest number of people the largest room in it could contain. As soon as the story was finished the book was handed over to a messenger, to be carried, often in the dead of night, to

another house where another reader was ready amidst a throng of listeners to read the story over again. When Moore's 'Lalla Rookh' first appeared in an expensive quarto edition, a copy was sent as a present to a relative of mine; and, night after night, a throng of friends assembled in her drawing-room, and some in turn read out the poem and the connecting narrative, until the whole was finished. And here I may remark that reading aloud was more valued and cultivated than it is now. I am told that Mr. Martin Farrell who, before my time, conducted a celebrated school in Cork, was an admirable reader. At the preparatory school of Mr. Milliken, where I learnt my letters, reading was carefully attended to; and many a passage of Shakespeare and Addison was read, and well read, by boys not yet in their teens. This in itself sowed the seed of literary taste that was afterwards developed by excellent performances of the old Apollo Society. I saw so much to show that in those days the people of Cork breathed a more stimulating atmosphere than they inspire now - an atmosphere quickened by Father Prout, Dr. Maginn, J.J. Callanan, Daniel Owen Madden, O'Shea, and the many others who were trained here, and became foremost amongst the writers of the periodical literature of that time. One of the principal causes of this cultivation was the excellence of the schools which existed in Cork. The teaching was, perhaps, slow, but it was very sure, and the knowledge gained was not only extensive but accurate.

With this extensive classical course, science was not altogether neglected in our schools; but the names of physics, chemistry, botany and biology were never heard.

The students of the classics never learnt English history, and Irish history was absolutely banned. The school of Mr. Mulcahy was remarkable for the number of prizes in Science won by its pupils; and the son of its founder, afterwards a Professor at Galway College, contributed some remarkable works to modern geometry. A few pupils learnt French from Mr. Claude Morcel, an excellent teacher, but German no one knew of. The Protestant boys were taught the Church Catechism at certain hours in school, but the Catholic boys went for religious instruction to the private residence of Father Mathew,⁽¹⁷⁾ where theology was sweetly tempered with cakes and oranges. I will endeavour to give an idea of what we in the South of Ireland read at that time.

The author who had the largest number of readers was Sir Walter Scott. All Europe and America read his novels. His metrical romances were overshadowed by Byron and others, but his prose novels stood alone. In his painting of Scottish character no one ran parallel to him save Gerald Griffin,⁽¹⁸⁾ who painted southern Ireland, especially in the 'Collegians', with a master hand. Everyone read the 'Waverley Novels', and read them again. Shakespeare was the only other writer so manifold and so excellent. The 'Mysteries of Udolpho' and the 'Castle of Otranto' were perhaps read by a few; but outside these the only notable work of fiction was the 'Vicar of Wakefield'. Richardson no one read. A few read the 'Scottish Chiefs' and other novels by Miss Porter; and some read Miss Austen's novels, 'Pride and Prejudice' and so on. Next to Scott came Bulwer Lytton. Three Irish novelists were very popular, Banim, author of

'Tales by the O'Hara Family', William Carleton and Gerald Griffin. D'Israeli, as Lord Beaconsfield was then called, was only known as the author of the 'Revolutionary Epic', 'Vivian Grey', when published in 1828, was universally popular.

Among the poets Byron and Moore were the twin stars of our firmament. Moore was naturally a great favourite in his native land. Never was music more noble wedded to immortal verse. Everyone sang his Melodies. My old friend, James Roche, when I was a child, not only sang them, but in his singing read them with full appreciation not only of melody but of words. In Ireland Burns was not so popular as Moore, partly from difference of sentiment and partly from difference of language. Shelley was little read. His atheistic opinions excluded many of his works. Of Coleridge's poems only 'Christabel', 'Genevieve' and the 'Ancient Mariner' were familiar. A few read Keats, and many delighted in 'Percy's Reliques'. Pope, Goldsmith, Gray, and Collins still held their own, but of the elder poets Shakespeare and Milton only were much studied. In general literature the greatest favourite of all was Washington Irving whose 'Sketch Book' and 'Bracebridge Hall' were regarded as classics. Tom Hood's works provoked never-ending laughter. Of the other books most read at that time were De Tocqueville's 'Democracy in America', De Beaumont's 'Ireland', A new mode of writing history had just been invented. The work most familiar to us was Augustine Thierry's 'History of the Norman Conquest'.

About this time there gleamed above the horizon the

first rays of a new star; and certainly there never swam into our ken a stranger comet. In 1835 Carlyle's 'French Revolution' had not appeared; but in 1830 - 31 his 'Sartor Resartus' appeared in 'Fraser's Magazine'. I especially mention his early works because he himself told me that a Corkman was, he believed, the first to discover their power. When some years later Carlyle came to Cork I had the pleasure of introducing to him at my own table his first admirer, the Very Rev. Archdeacon O'Shea, for many years a Parish Priest in this city and an original member of the Literary Society. Father O'Shea was an indefatigable reader; and when I was a boy there was a tradition that he and Mr. James Roche had read every book in the Cork Library - then, for its time and opportunities, a wonderfully well-selected collection. In periodical literature the 'Edinburgh' and 'Quarterly' Reviews held the first place. The 'Quarterly' ran close on the 'Edinburgh', and between their two most powerful writers, John Wilson Croker (a Galway man) and Macaulay a mutual hatred existed. Another very able review was the 'Foreign quarterly' to which many articles, and often the annual résumé, were contributed by Dr. Jones Quain, the best educated man I ever knew, but of a singularly retiring disposition. He was the first Professor of Anatomy at the London University. Amongst magazines 'Blackwood's' would perhaps have taken the first place; but it was closely pursued by 'Fraser's' which first appeared in 1830 and had the co-operation of three most able Corkmen. Dr. Maginn, Father Prout, both not only able writers of prose, but authors of verse; and Daniel Maclise who, as a draughtsman,

stood unrivalled save by another Irishman, Mulready. The 'New Monthly Magazine' was in those days declining from the high level to which it had been raised during Campbell's editorship",

Having travelled with Denny Lane through the rich parklands of local culture in the earlier decades of the century, it may be permissible to have his assessment of the state of the Cork mind in 1885, the year of his lecture. "With respect to our literary status in Cork in 1885 I see no evidence of progress. With far greater aids to learning. I see less learning. We have now what we had not then, a provincial college, a school of art, penny papers instead of sixpenny ones; we have telegraphs, telephones, railways, swift steamers, penny postage, and many reforms in other matters. But with all these aids do we find in the middle class a mark of improvement? I regret to say I do not see it. Of the men who have emigrated from us within the last decade I can only name one who has made his mark in literature - Mr. Justin McCarthy. Our great schools exist no longer, partly from the fashion of sending away boys to English and foreign schools to get a thin varnish of French or an electroplated English accent. I have met a good many of them, and none have come up to the standard of the home-keeping youth of my boyhood, furnished with homely wit and homespun knowledge. So far as literary matters are concerned I am repelled by the baldness of conversation, which is for the most part confined to a repetition without variation of what I have read in the papers of to-day or yesterday".

Denny Lane's perceptive portrait of Cork in the 1830s

and 1840s is of a city whose middle class knew and relished all that was most polished and most stimulating in contemporary thought; the stated popularity of such critical journals as the "Edinburgh" and "Quarterly" Reviews would also indicate a local familiarity with the educational issues alluded to in the previous chapter in relation to the traditional/liberal debate focussed on London University and on Oxford and Cambridge. The names of Priestley, Brougham, Mill and Campbell were obviously known to the gentlemen who browsed over their newspapers and journals in the Cork Library on one side of the South Mall, or who crossed over to the other side to attend the morning or evening lectures at the Royal Cork Institution, to borrow from its extensive range of specialised reading, to watch Edmund Davy conduct a chemical experiment or to make an appreciate appraisal of its classical casts. Attention must now turn to a more detailed study of the Institution both as a potent clearing-house of scholarly pursuits and as a forerunner of the Queen's College. As no definitive account of the origins of the Institution yet exists, recourse must be had to a number of scattered sources to construct a pattern of the unfolding events. An article in the "Athenaeum"⁽¹⁹⁾ in 1807 stated that the Institution was begun in 1802, at which time "some respectable inhabitants of Cork subscribed the sum of four hundred guineas for purchasing various articles of apparatus, in consequence of a proposal made to them to establish a plan for the diffusion of scientific knowledge by lectures; and it was agreed that this apparatus should be the property of the subscribers. Lectures were accordingly given in the

years 1803 and 1804, which took in not only natural philosophy, but a general course of instruction. It was always the hope of the founders of the Institution that it might at some time or other be established on a more extensive plan. They were encouraged in this hope by the approbation of the Managers of the Royal Institution (London) and of the Dublin Society, as well as by that of the Right Hon. Mr. Wickham, who then filled the important office of Chief Secretary with honour to himself and advantage to the country. The Dublin Society (Royal Dublin Society) liberally passed a vote that any duplicates of minerals which should be found in their extensive collection should be given to the Cork Institution; in consequence of which above 300 specimens were sent. These were added to a judicious selection which was originally made for the Institution by a distinguished mineralogist in London. In the summer of 1806 the proprietors became anxious to establish a botanical garden and a scientific library, but these could not be established without the aid of government. Memorials were accordingly presented to the Lord Lieutenant and to the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, and received with that attention which might be expected from such characters as the Duke of Bedford and Sir John Newport. The Management of the Cork Institution is in many respects similar to that of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, which was taken as a model, though different circumstances led to many variations".

Mention of the guiding star in initiating the project came in the Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education

Inquiry.⁽²⁰⁾ This Education Commission devoted lengthy sessions in the years 1825 - 27 to an exhaustive survey of existing educational institutions and attitudes in Ireland; it was largely due to its recommendations that the Government embarked on what was the unprecedented step in these islands of establishing a nation-wide system of State-administered, undenominational elementary education.⁽²¹⁾ Aware of the impending Commission, the Royal Cork Institution in a Memorial signed by the secretary, Edmund Davy, dated 1st November 1824, requested that its affairs should be examined. The Commissioners duly visited Cork and took evidence relative to the Institution on Saturday, 22nd of September, 1826.⁽²²⁾ The Report states that "this establishment appears to have been originally founded by the Rev. Mr. Hincks, a highly-respected Schoolmaster of Cork, who induced a few gentlemen of that city to subscribe for the purchase of philosophical apparatus, with a view to illustrate lectures delivered by him to his pupils and others at his private residence. A Charter of Incorporation was granted to this Society on the 20th March, 1807, in the 47th year of George III on the petition of the principal Gentlemen of Cork, to the Duke of Bedford, at that time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland".⁽²³⁾ Thomas Dix Hincks (1767 - 1857)⁽²⁴⁾ was born in Dublin whereto his father had removed from Chester as a customs official in 1767. He went to school at Nantwich, Cheshire and Dublin. Originally intended for medicine he was articled in 1782 to a Dublin apothecary, but relinquished his medical ambitions in 1784 and entered Trinity College, Dublin, intending to make the Church his career. However, he did

not graduate and in September, 1788, he became a student at Hackney College under Price, Kippis and Rees. His association with Hackney brought him into the mainstream of what was most stimulating in the educational, social and political theories and practice of the Dissenting Academies, and in particular he was strongly influenced by the writings of Joseph Priestley.

In 1790 he came to begin his ministry at the Dissenting Presbyterian Chapel in Prince's Street, Cork. Keenly interested in education he opened an Academy in Patrick's Hill. Soon Hincks displayed in his adopted city something of the social concern and the zeal for the diffusion of useful knowledge as an instrument of intellectual stimulation and of practical amelioration associated with such institutions as the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, the Lunar Society in Birmingham and the Royal Institution in London (1799). If Priestley and many of his associates were found to be advocates of civil and political liberty, of the principles of the American Revolution, and of the more idealistic earlier philosophy of the French Revolution, Hincks, too, actively promoted social intercourse from which the bitterness and exclusivism of sectarian factiousness would be excluded. In 1791 he published a pamphlet in favour of Catholic Emancipation,⁽²⁵⁾ and his success in associating together a multidenominational gathering in the pursuit of knowledge was of significance in years which saw the passion and conflict of loyalties associated with the 1798 Rebellion and the passing of the Act of Union. Though primarily a classical scholar, yet doubtless influenced by Priestley

from whose writings he quoted in his "Letters to his Fellow Citizens in Answer to Paine's Age of Reason", published at Cork in 1795, Hincks began 1802 to give a series of lectures in his own house.⁽²⁶⁾ By 1803 he was a member of the Royal Irish Academy and first secretary of the Cork Institution - its designation of "Royal" had to await its Charter of Incorporation. He continued his association with the Institution until 1815 when he moved to teach at nearby Fermoy Academy. He opened another fruitful phase in his life when he went to Belfast in 1821 as classical headmaster of the Belfast Academical Institution⁽²⁷⁾ which had been founded in 1814 as a result of the local enterprise of middle class Presbyterians inspired by the liberal, even republican, spirit of the late eighteenth century, with Dr. William Drennan, an associate of the United Irishman, as one of the leading promoters. Belfast, alone of Irish cities, was already experiencing something of the thrust of the commercial and engineering expansion of the early Industrial Revolution, and its rising middle class, wealthy but moving in an atmosphere of lively intellectual engagement, was anxious to provide a practical education commensurate with the needs of the times and at the same time afford candidates for the medical profession local and less expensive facilities. Hitherto, the former had to resort to the theological faculties of the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The latter had gone to the medical schools of Scotland and Dublin. The Belfast Academical Institution was designed to stop this annual outflow of young men by affording both a secondary education for students designed for business and a university-

type higher course for divines and doctors.

The establishment of the Belfast Academical Institution (the title "Royal" was prefixed in 1831) was unique at that stage in the history of Irish education by virtue of its being undenominational in its constitution. As Professors T.W. Moody and J.C. Beckett state,⁽²⁸⁾ "the Institution was founded on the principle that secular education could be distinguished from religious education, and that students of different religious denominations ought to receive their secular education in common". The Faculty of Arts of the Collegiate Department had professors of divinity - but staff and students were recruited to the Institution without reference to religion. The then Catholic bishop of Down, Dr. William Crolly was invited to appoint a professor for divinity students of his faith, but though he declined to do so he allowed candidates for Maynooth to study at the Institution, and before the 1825/27 Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry he was to bear unstinted testimony of his esteem for it. The Institution opened with an annual State grant of £1,500, and its collegiate department had professors of classics, mathematics, logic, belles-lettres, moral and natural philosophy, anatomy, Hebrew, divinity and, significantly, of Irish. It was the forerunner of the Queen's College, Belfast; indeed when a later chapter of this work considers the politico/religious implications of the founding of the Queen's College, and particularly the considerations affecting Peel in the formulation of his Irish university policy, it will be seen that the Belfast Academical

Institution was seen as a trend-setter. Hincks was to remain as classical headmaster of the secondary department of the Institution until 1836, and was professor of Hebrew in the Collegiate Department until shortly before his death in 1857. An early example of his active involvement in the affairs of Belfast was the publication in 1823 of his pamphlet "A plea for the Academical Institution". In 1825 came his "An Introduction to Ancient Geography" and the "Rudiments of Greek Grammar". He wrote the article on "Ireland" for Rees "Cyclopedia", besides contributing papers to the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy". A member of the Belfast Library Society and of the Belfast Natural History Society, he became a recognised botanical authority. His wide-ranging and deep scholarship was recognised in 1834 by the degree of LL.D. from Glasgow University.

Hincks gave valuable evidence to two of the most important Education Commissions investigating Irish conditions in the first half of the nineteenth century, 1825/27 Commission of Irish Education Inquiry and the Select Committee on Education in Ireland (1835/38) under the chairmanship of Thomas Wyse, M.P. The Fourth Report⁽²⁹⁾ of the former of those Commissions gave a commendatory verdict on the Belfast Academical Institution, and Hincks in evidence taken on Wednesday, 12th October, 1825, gave a most interesting exposition of his religious opinions, of the operation of the Institution and of the texts and courses involved in the curriculum. One passage is worth quoting as throwing a revealing sidelight on the religious issue which was later to loom so largely in the foundation of the Queen's College,

Cork. Asked had any persons been educated at the Institution for the Roman Catholic priesthood, Hincks replied: "Most unquestionably, several; I have four boarders, and seven or eight Roman Catholic day scholars, of which three are looking forward to the priesthood; and there was one left me lately educated in my school, and who also attended my Hebrew class, with the knowledge I believe of his Bishop, and is gone under circumstances highly favourable to Maynooth College in the last year". Hincks gave a very penetrating analysis of educational attitudes and curricular content of existing schools to the Wyse Commission; those matters belong more appropriately to the next chapter, but some references deserve quotation here as they reveal something of the educational experience of Hincks in Cork between 1790 and 1815. Giving evidence before the Select Committee⁽³⁰⁾ on the 6th July, 1835, with Thomas Wyse in the chair, he stated of his school in Cork. "The course took in the whole range of school education; it commenced in some instances with the elements of the English language, spelling, reading and writing, but the greater number of pupils were learning the Greek and Latin languages. I instructed them also in Mathematics and geography, history, and in as many other branches of useful knowledge as circumstances would permit. From the first I was anxious to introduce a greater variety of subjects than had been usual, when I thought them calculated either to improve the faculties, or lay a foundation of useful practical knowledge for after-life". The words were the words of Hincks, but the plan was the plan of Priestley. He had begun teaching "within six months after my arrival in Cork in 1790" and his numbers attending fluctuated between

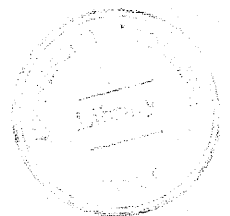
twelve and twenty, "on higher terms than schools in general".

Asked in regard to the middle classes whether he thought "if opportunities were given them for scientific study they would willingly embrace them", Hincks took the opportunity both to dilate on his pet theme and to pay tribute to Cork. "I am sure of it. In Cork, at the time when I had very high terms for day pupils, and introduced that class of instruction, many shopkeepers and persons in situations of life that I should have supposed would have prevented them from incurring the expense of four guineas a quarter for a day pupil, applied and were amongst the most eager to obtain admission for their sons. I had a very good opportunity of knowing that in the city of Cork, at least, there was a very strong disposition on the part of the middle classes to acquire such information. I have known instances of very considerable advance in science, especially in mathematics, in the very lowest schools. I have known persons procuring scientific books, and apparently able to make use of those books, who were in very great poverty, in the south of Ireland especially. I think there is much more of such taste for scientific acquirements in the south than in the north".

Hincks's concluding sentence would seem to throw a significant question mark over the received assumption that the emerging interest in scientific and useful knowledge necessarily presupposed an industrial environment; Belfast in the days of Hincks, as ever since, was a major centre of manufacturing industry, whereas the Cork that Hincks spoke of was largely making its living from agricultural exports

and the processing of agricultural by-products.⁽³¹⁾ It was, therefore, it could be argued a disinterested love for what Hincks called "scientific acquirements" which inspired him to give his first course of lectures in natural philosophy at his home in 1803, and enabled him to collect about him a group of middle gentlemen willing to subscribe towards the purchase of apparatus with a view to giving more scope and permanency to the project. Such was the origin of the Royal Cork Institution. The syllabus⁽³²⁾ for the first course of lectures was certainly "Chrestomathic" in its scope, although its preface modestly stated that "all that was aimed at was to illustrate and explain what has been taught by others, and to refer to those works where more complete information may be obtained". There was a progression through language, literature, logic and elementary mathematics to science. Science, or natural philosophy, was categorised into natural history, matter and its properties, sound, gases, alkalies and acids, earths, metals, fixed stars, planets, comets, electricity, hydrostatics, mechanics, history and the evidence of natural and revealed religion. There was description of simple mechanical instruments. The Leyden jar and the simple electric battery were referred to, while more serious students were alerted to "Mr. Davy's syllabus of lectures at the Royal Institution of Great Britain" and to a "short and clear account published by Dr. Meade of this city". The 1803 course was repeated in 1804 and 1805. By 1806 a wider and more specialised course was initiated in chemistry, natural history, natural philosophy and agriculture.

By 1806 a group of thirty gentlemen had associated themselves with Hincks, and the original funds for apparatus, secured by a ten guinea subscription from each member, had grown to £2,200. However, with more ambitious plans to establish a scientific library and a botanical garden it was felt that only government aid could adequately secure the project. Fortunately the Lord Lieutenant, the sixth Duke of Bedford, was himself a keen agriculturalist and Vice-President of the Agricultural Society. His support, together with that of Sir John Newport, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, resulted in the securing of an annual Parliamentary grant of £2,000. With the grant of a Charter of Incorporation on the 20th March, 1807, the society was truly launched under the title of the Royal Cork Institution. The Preamble to the Seventh Report of Irish Education Inquiry (1825 - 27) gives a crisp summary of procedures and purpose. "The Persons whose names were subscribed to the petition (for public funds) were by charter constituted a Corporate Body by the name of the Proprietors of the Cork Institution and were appointed Managers for the first year, with power to acquire property to the annual value of £500. A set of bye-laws was framed providing for the election of a President, Secretary and thirty Managers, of whom the two former, and one third of the latter were to be chosen annually at a general meeting of the Proprietors, to be held in the course of the autumn. Another General Meeting was also to be held in the spring of each year. A Proprietor's qualification was fixed at thirty guineas, the number of Proprietors being unlimited, in consideration of which they became en-



titled to a personal and transferable right of free admission to the different objects of the Institution, and to various other privileges. The subscription of a life-member was fixed at fifteen guineas, and of an annual subscriber at three guineas. Both of these classes enjoy the particular rights and privileges of Proprietors as are specified in the bye-laws. Soon after the establishment of the Institution Professors were appointed and lectures given in Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Natural History and Agriculture. It was provided by the bye-laws that the united salaries of the Professors should not exceed one third of the funds of the Institution, nor the salary of any one exceed £100 per annum. Sums were appropriated for the purchase of suitable Philosophical Apparatus, Models of useful Machinery in every Art and Manufacture, and the most improved implements of Husbandry. A Library was commenced, to be supported in part by public subscriptions and in part by grants from the Funds of the Institution. A collection of Minerals was purchased and a Botanic Garden established. These, with the appropriation of certain grants and subscriptions, not exceeding one third of the whole funds, to the purposes of Agriculture, under the superintendence of a Committee and Secretary, to act in concert with the several Country Farming Societies, constituted the objects of the Institution".

The Institution took a lease on premises on the South Mall, but these were regarded as only temporary, the government in 1810 agreeing to give it the more spacious accommodation of the Old Custom House. This proposal, however, did not materialise until after 1830. The subscriptions required

for proprietorship, and even annual membership, would indicate that the Institution consciously aimed at a membership drawn from the more moneyed classes of society, the only ones at the time with leisure and means to pursue polite learning at a more advanced level. William Thompson was a proprietor. The vocational aspect was early stressed when in 1811 the Institution began to publish "The Munster Farmers' Magazine" with the object of promoting scientific farming. Premiums were offered for agricultural experiments among farming societies in Cork and Waterford; agricultural implements were on display at the Institution. Hincks himself edited the magazine from April, 1811, to April, 1820, and always the imprint of his fertile mind can be detected as he prodded and encouraged and quoted lengthy extracts from journals detailing agricultural progress elsewhere. In the first issue⁽³³⁾ he stated that "from the very commencement of the Cork Institution in the year 1802, it was the wish of its founders to promote the interests of agriculture --- amongst the common purposes of life to which science was considered applicable, Agriculture was always deemed of peculiar importance". The significance of the lectures and publications in the sphere of agriculture can be measured by the fact that by 1830 it was stated that outside of Scotland the situation as regards professorships of agriculture was that "there is one in Dublin supported by the Royal Dublin Society, one in Cork, and one is destined to be established at some future date in Oxford"⁽³⁴⁾

An indication as to names, funds, apparatus and other general business of the Institution is provided by the printed "Account of the Proprietors of the Cork Institution, from the 20th Day of March, 1807 (when they were incorporated) to the 5th Day of January, 1808, both days inclusive."⁽³⁵⁾ A sum of £477.15.0 had been received from forty-five original proprietors, headed by Rev. Thos. D. Hincks. From seventy-eight additional proprietors, including Wm. Thompson, Esq., came £1774.10.0, each paying twenty guineas.⁽³⁶⁾ This total subscription of £2,252.5.0 was augmented by the first Parliamentary Grant of £2,000, paid through the Dublin Society, plus "£5.13.9 cash for an orrery which was superfluous"; the grant total in favour of the Institution, having deducted "£60 for calls and poundage", was £4197.18.9. How it went about its educational housekeeping in buying bottles and jars and furnaces, and crystals of potash and sulphur gems, gives an interesting cataloguing of the material underpinning of the pursuit of useful knowledge. Under the title, "the Discharge", the Account proceeds as follows.

Paid Thos. D. Hincks, for the original proprietors of Philosophical Apparatus, and for a complete transfer of the following articles, viz. :-

Globes, Telescopes, Microscope, Airpump,

Optical Instruments, etc., £ 160.17. 6

1145 sulphur gems, with cabinet and cata-

logues, £ 18.18.0

Minerals, at sundry times purchased from Mawe, Binns,	£ 52.17. 0½
Sundry chemical articles purchased from Messrs. Knight.	£ 26.13. 7
A small galvanic trough,	£ 3.10.10
Apparatus for mechanical powers, and other articles,	£ 56. 5. 0
A gazometer, made by our townsman, Mr. Fitzgerald,	£ 22.15. 0
Sundry chemicals procured from M. Accum	£ 22.19. 6
Ditto	£ 9. 3. 0
Ditto	£ 3. 9. 3
A galvanic trough with zinc plates,	£ 5.13. 9
Sundry articles from Cork Glass House,	£ 10. 3.10
A pair of large copper scales,	£ 1.11. 8
Sundry articles for the lecturers,	£ 3. 8. 7
Sundry articles of chemical apparatus - tests etc.,	£ 14.14.10
Prussiate of potash in crystals,	£ 0.12.10
A second-hand chemical chest, with tests,	£ 11. 1. 3
36 lb. of mercury at from 6s. to 6s.6d. per pound,	£ 11. 0. 4
A spirit of wine barometer by Feroni,	£ 2.16.10½
The first syllabus, with sundry articles of printing,	£ 41.13. 2
A black furnace,	£ 7.19. 3
A botanical press and large book for plants,	£ 1.14. 1½
Sundry articles through George Aickin,	£ 4.13. 8½
Glasses and sundries,	£ 4.14.10½

A stone mortar and various other articles,	£	4.11. 0
A new conductor for an electrical machine, and repairs,	£	1.14.11½
An electrical machine conductor etc. by Mr. Fitzgerald,	£	10. 4. 9
Charts of history and biography	£	1.11. 6
Cash paid at Waterford Glass House,	£	3.16. 2
Sundry articles for fitting up Lecture Room, Library, Laboratory,	£	66.10.10½
Books bought for the Institution, which are in the Library,	£	206.13. 8
Freight, duty, etc., at sundries, as per book,	£	11. 9. 9
Paid to the original proprietors for philosophical apparatus,	£	806. 0. 5½
Thos. D. Hincks for expenses to London etc., on account of the Institution in January, 1803,	£	28. 8. 9
Expense of advertising Institution at sundry times, from November, 1802 to January, 1807,	£	8.13. 4
A plate for tickets, printing, etc.,	£	5.19. 9
Philosophical apparatus purchased from original proprietors, and other expenses previous to the incorporation,	£	849. 2. 3½
Jas. Lynch and Son, for spring and ivory ball for compound impulse syringe, ball stop-cock for fountain,	£	5.16.10½

Jer. Joyce, for an astronomical magic lantern, purchased by him for the society,	£ 17. 9. 7
Books, stationery and advertising,	£ 86. 8. 2½
Rents - Rev. A. Hyde, half-year's rent of the present house of the Institution to 1st November, 1807,	£ 45. 0. 0
Wages - John Henry and Wife, 12 weeks' wages to 24th December, 1807, at 7s.7d. per week,	£ 4.11. 0
Thos. D. Hincks, a sum voted to him by the proprietors for his zeal and attention to the objects of the Institution for the preceding year,	£ 113. 5. 0
More paid by him for a box of minerals,	£ 0. 5. 5
For £2,641,6,6, 3½ per cent stock at 72 per cent,	£ 1901.15. 0
138 days' interest due thereon,	£ 34.18. 9
Commission,	£ 3. 6. 3
Total discharge,	£ 3062. 8. 4½
Balance in favour of the public,	£ 1135.10. 4½

In a comment on the Account it is stated(see Note 36) that "the Charter was of vellum, and measured 32 by 24 inches and had an emblematic border, the initial letter containing a portrait of King George III. Among the endorsements upon it were those of the Earl of Granard and the Right Hon. John Philpot Curran, Master of the Rolls, and suspended from the Charter by a white silken chord was the great seal of Ireland, which measured six inches in diameter".

The first Annual Report⁽³⁷⁾ (1809) of the Managers and Auditors gives a list of Visitors: these were the Rt. Hon. Lord Manners, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, His Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin, Vice-President of the Dublin Society, the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, the Hon. and Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Cork, the Rt. Hon. John Foster, Chancellor of the Exchequer, M.R.I.A., Vice-President of the Dublin Society and President of the Farming Society of Ireland, Richard Kirwin, Esq., President of the Royal Irish Academy, Fellow of the Royal Society, the Rev. George Hall, D.D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, M.R.I.A., General Vallancey, Vice-President of the Dublin Society, the Rev. Wm. Magee, D.D., M.R.I.A., Senior Fellow, Trinity College, Dublin. Academic Visitors are nothing if not distinguished, but obviously some are more distinguished than others, and through its association with Richard Kirwin (1733 - 1812) the Institution was connected with the most distinguished Irish scientist of his day, or, indeed, of any time. He achieved an eminence not reached by any of his fellow-countrymen since Robert Boyle (1626 - 1691) who was one of the founders of the Royal Society and the pioneer of the experimental method. Boyle's work had inspired the foundation of the Dublin Philosophical Society (1683) whose versatile secretary, William Molyneux, was not only a scientific experimenter, but also a political polemicist who achieved the distinction of having his "The Case of Ireland Stated" burned on the grounds of sedition. Molyneux joins Jonathan Swift as the harbingers of that flowering of Irish colonial nationalism later so finely exemplified in Henry Grattan.

The Dublin Philosophical Society was the mother of two later learned bodies who have ever since maintained an international standard of scholarly enterprise over a wide field - the Royal Dublin Society (1731) and the Royal Irish Academy (1785). Kirwin,⁽³⁸⁾ of Co. Galway, abandoned his design of becoming a priest which had led him to Poitiers, and devoted his life to chemical research in Ireland and England. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1780, receiving in 1782 its highest award, the Copley Medal, and he was the friend of Priestley, Cavendish and Banks. In 1799 he was elected President of the Royal Irish Academy, retaining that position until his death in 1812. His "Essay on Phlogiston" (1787) and his "Elements of Mineralogy" (1784) won him a European reputation. The Kirwanian Society of Dublin was named after him; Trinity College, Dublin, awarded him the Doctorate of Laws, and he was an honorary member of the Academies of Stockholm, Upsala, Berlin, Dyon, Philadelphia and of the Mineralogical Society of Jena.

The 1809 Report named the Earl of Bandon as President, with the Earl of Shannon, Lord Carbery, Lord Ennismore, (later Lord Listowel, responsible for securing the Regent's Castle) and John Longfield, M.D., as vice presidents. Among the Managers were James Roche and Dr. Bullen, John Lecky of the family which produced the great historian, W.E. Lecky, Dr. Milner Barry who was later the founder of the Cork Fever Hospital, and William Beamish and William Crawford, local brewers, who were to be closely associated with the Queen's College. Humphrey Davy was named as an honorary member and Hincks as Secretary. The Report exuded an air

of confidence and eager enterprise. It noted the "liberal-
ity of Parliament" and the "anxiety to promote the progress
of useful knowledge in this country". Glowing tribute was
paid to the generosity of the Dublin Society, which through
the Rt. Hon. John Foster had supplied specimens for the
Botanical Garden; through General Vallancy⁽³⁹⁾ a "large and
valuable supply of minerals" had been obtained from the
Society. The University (Dublin) had been generous, and in
"almost every part of the United Kingdom" there were
correspondents interested in the Institution. Having grace-
fully noted the swelling tide of goodwill, the Report
detailed current activities. In the session 1808 an "exten-
sive course of lectures on Chemistry and Mineralogy" had
occupied the whole year, while the spring saw a course on
Agriculture. For 1809 extensive courses on Natural Philoso-
phy, Agriculture and Botany were already under way: the
"respectable attendance" giving ample evidence of much
benefit. To enable the Lecturers to illustrate their themes
"no expense has been or will be spared" in procuring models
and apparatus. A site for a Botanical Garden had been
acquired, and a person "recommended by a Botanist of great
celebrity" had been employed to lay it out; already there
were signs of the Garden uniting "elegance with utility".
The Curator referred to was James Drummond, of whom more
anon. It was proposed to build a Green-house "immediately",
and later a Hot-house and Conservatory to receive "rare and
valuable exotic plants" from friends of the Institution.

Of the Library it was stated that "there are very few
valuable works on Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Mineralogy,



Botany or Agriculture" which it did not hold, and it was increasing "almost every day". A Catalogue of the collection of Minerals was soon to be published. In the sphere of Agriculture the picture was not so rosy; the Managers "cannot yet say much of the services which the Institution has rendered". Premiums had often been offered without effect: the need was for "patient perseverance". Great stress was to be laid on promoting the cultivation of Hemp, and "a scutching machine of the most improved plan" was being made on order in Dublin. This would be "fixed to a water-mill so that every person may have his hemp scutched in the easiest and best manner at a very moderate expense". A quantity of "Red Clover seed" had been imported to encourage farmers to sow it; those who had done so "have been sensible of the advantage of it". Happily the premiums offered for the "cultivation of potatoes in drills" had all been claimed, and the Managers were co-operating with the Cork Farming Society. The Report of 1810 was again a story of robust growth. Twenty lectures on Botany had been given. Mr. Peall, Lecturer on the Veterinary Art to the Dublin Society had lectured with satisfaction to "many respectable and scientific gentlemen" as well as to "Farriers and Grooms". The cultivation of Hemp was more widespread, and the Journal would give valuable reports. Because of the "great importance of rendering the country less dependent on foreign supply for so necessary an article", seed was given out at the House of the Institution "at first cost". The Rev. John Fortescue, a Manager, had taken ground "for the purpose of making an experiment respecting the saving

of Flax-seed". The premiums of the Institution continued to bring success in the cultivation of potatoes in drills. The buildings at the Botanic Garden had been "very expensive" (£402.17.0½) and "a very extensive Shrubbery has been planted containing several rare shrubs, especially American, walks have been laid out and gravelled, and a Green-house has been erected". In an appeal for wider support it was stressed that the Botanical Garden or the Library could be separately subscribed to at one guinea per annum. The Auditors John Cotter, Dan. Callaghan and William Maxwell, gave the following breakdown of the establishment of the Institution.

Rev. Thomas D. Hincks, Lecturer on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, per annum,	£ 100. 0..0
Dr. Milner Barry, Lecturer on Agriculture,	£ 100. 0. 0
Rev. Thomas B. Hincks, Secretary and Assistant treasurer,	£ 150. 0. 0
Mr. P. Carey, Librarian,	£ 40. 0. 0
John Henry and Wife, Porter, etc.,	£ 29.11. 6
Samuel Tweedy, Gate-keeper at the Botanic Garden,	£ 11. 7. 6
Rent of House of the Institution,	£ 90. 0. 0
ditto of Botanic Garden,	£ 47.15. 6
ditto of Field for Aquatic Garden,	£ 10. 0. 0

The 1811 Report noted the acquiring of more extensive premises from Mr. Shinkwin on the South Mall, on payment of a fine of £500. Disappointment was expressed that the use of the Old Custom-house, promised by Parliament, was not likely to materialise. An Agricultural Committee had

been established, and as a result of the deficiency in the last hay harvest a "quantity of winter vetches" had been imported and sold. Sir John Sinclair, President of the Board of Agriculture, and Benjamin Hobhouse, President of the Bath and West of England Society, had been elected Honorary Members, and had promised co-operation from their respective bodies. The Botanical Garden had acquired "a collection of foreign oaks", and Mr. Drummond had been sent in July and August to west Cork and Kerry to collect "rare native plants". A collection of "Scotch minerals" had been received from Dr. Wm. Fitton, then studying in Edinburgh, accompanied by geological observations and maps. Thos. Allan of Edinburgh had similarly contributed. The Secretary had been permitted by the Trinity College Museum to take "duplicate specimens of the volcanic and other Italian minerals made on the spot by the late Rev. G. Graydon. A "large and curious collection of miscellaneous articles" had been presented by Benj. Wheatly, of His Majesty's Ship Trent, stationed in Cork Harbour.

If the scutching of Hemp, the setting of Red Clover seeds and of potatoes in drills seem to have occupied the headlines of the first three annual Reports it would be a mistake to see the Institution as merely providing an early nineteenth century course under some such modish title as "First Steps in Horticulture" or the "Compleat Farmer"! It can be assumed that Edmund Davy⁽⁴⁰⁾ did not leave his post as assistant to his cousin, Sir Humphrey Davy, at the Royal Institution in London in order to sit on sacks of Red Clover seed in Cork. There was the obvious attraction of exchanging his £70 per annum Royal Institution salary for that of

£100 per annum at Cork, but assuredly Davy's acceptance of the Professorship of Chemistry at the Institution was an indication of its worthwhile reputation as a learned body. Davy was to stay in Cork from 1813 to 1826 when he became Professor of Chemistry to the Royal Dublin Society in succession to William Higgins (1766 - 1825) who had been an assistant to the distinguished Dr. Beddoes whose lectures on Chemistry at Oxford had provided a light that relieved much of the prevailing academic shade. In addition to his Lectureship, Davy was Secretary to the Institution from 1817, following the departure of Hincks. Described as "a scientific Humphrey Davy in miniature",⁽⁴¹⁾ Edmund Davy, F.R.S., was a reputable scientist in his own right. His published papers on pure research amounted to thirty-three,⁽⁴²⁾ covering electro-chemistry, metallurgy, minerals, compounds of platinum and the fulminates, while a series of thirty public lectures in various parts of Ireland dealt with the application of science to agriculture. The giving of popular scientific lectures by distinguished scientists was as much a feature of Ireland as it was of Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century; attendances were good and fees were tempting. Sir Humphrey Davy gave a series of six lectures on electro-chemistry at the Royal Dublin Society in 1810, receiving a fee of five hundred guineas; understandably, he was back the next year to lecture on agricultural chemistry and to collect a honorarium of seven hundred and fifty pounds for six lectures. Edmund Davy's chief claim to fame is as the discoverer of acetylene after he had moved from Cork in 1826 to his post with the Royal Dublin Society.

During his thirteen years in Cork he maintained a steady standard of research publications, and at the same time was concerned with applying scientific principles to matters of local public interest.

His first paper from Cork was published in the "Philosophical Transactions"⁽⁴³⁾ of the Royal Society in 1817. Dated "Cork, December 20th, 1816," it appeared in print under the title "On a new Fulminating Platinum. By Edmund Davy, Esq., Professor of Chemistry, and Secretary to the Cork Institution. Communicated by Sir H. Davy, LL.D. F.R.S. V.P.R.I." (see Appendix for full text.) It is a lengthy and detailed study of the preparation, reaction and analysis of an explosive compound of platinum. His other Cork papers appeared in the "Philosophical Magazine"⁽⁴⁴⁾ in the years 1817 to 1822. This latter "Magazine and Journal" was edited by Alexander Tilloch, M.R.I.A., F.S.A., and was devoted to subjects "Comprehending the Various Branches of Science, the Liberal and Fine Arts, Geology, Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce". It carried accounts of the proceedings of such learned bodies as the Royal Society, the French Institute, the Royal Dublin Society and the Kirwanian Society of Dublin. In addition there were articles from private experimenters, inventors, and explorers. In 1814 Joseph Hume had an article on a "Description of a new Gazometer and Blow-pipe". Richard Lovell Edgeworth in 1816 published his "Report of the Committee of Natural Philosophy appointed by the Dublin Society on the Experiments upon Wheel-carriages", in which he discoursed copiously on a series of experiments carried out at Leinster House, Dublin, on April 22nd, 1815, involving "axletrees" and "wooden and steel springs". The

same issue carried a paper by the Irish scientist, William Higgins, "On the Origin of the Atomic Theory" and the "Report of the Select Committee on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Marbles". Davy's first paper in 1817 dealt with methods of improving flour and the making of bread. Bad harvests in Munster in 1816 and 1817 resulted in inferior grain, while overcrowding in the slums of Cork, added to malnutrition, had led to a fever epidemic. Davy's paper, dated "Cork Institution, Dec. 3, 1816" was, in fact, a reprint of an article in the Institution's "Munster Farmers' Magazine" in which he detailed experiments to improve the quality of flour. "The carbonate of magnesia of the shops, when well mixed with the new flour, in the proportion of from twenty to forty grains to a pound of flour, materially improves it for the purpose of making bread". The paper (full text in Appendix) conjures up the spectacle of the pursuers of useful knowledge in Cork diligently mixing grains of carbonate of magnesia with inferior flour, with "dough made up with water at the temperature of 100 deg. faht. and exposed before the fire for two hours at the temperature of 70 deg. to ferment". He understood that "a number in Cork and in the neighbourhood had been induced to repeat my experiments". He had used his carbonated bread exclusively for the last five weeks, without the least inconvenience". Davy's second paper in 1817 dealt with attempts to analyse the air in the Fever Hospital: in 1818 he recounted an examination of hard water from an artesian well; in 1821 he described the devising of a lactometer; 1819 saw his pure research paper on the excretions of the boa con-

strictor, and in 1822 came a paper on the action of iodine on oils.

From 1826 onwards it is possible to get a much fuller contemporary picture of the workings of the Institution owing to the existence of the manuscript Minute Book, 1826 - 1851.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The first entry, recording a meeting of Managers presided over by Wm. Beamish as chairman when a plan of expenditure was discussed, is for Monday, 29th May, 1826, and is signed "B. Davy, Secy." Evidence of the close connection between the Institution and the local Medical Schools is provided by the request of Dr. Woodroffe, M.D., who presided over one of the two such Schools,⁽⁴⁶⁾ that he be allowed to use the Institution's premises to give Anatomy lectures.⁽⁴⁷⁾ He had done so in connection with "sculpture and painting" before the Society of Fine Arts had merged with the Institution. Medical students had recently requested him to resume his lectures as "an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of what they justly esteem the Basis of their art --- but the Surgery at the South Infirmary is entirely too small for its intended purpose". By a happy juxtaposition Dr. Wm. Bennett was recorded as presenting "a Manual on Anatomy from the French of L.J. Boyle". On June 12th Dr. Woodroffe got his permission, and Dr. Bennett was again on the agenda, this time to receive rather than to give. He requested the "use of the Stable to prepare specimens in Natural History". Much administrative briskness and tidying up of loose ends characterised the meeting of 20th June, 1826. With the impending departure of Edmund Davy it was envisaged that the offices of Secretary Superintendent and Assistant

Treasurer should be coalesced on the 1st of October. The porter and charwoman, on weekly hire, "could be interfered with at pleasure." The Professorship of Chemistry would be vacant on September 1st, while the Agricultural Secretary's engagement was to expire on November 7th and could be coalesced with the Agricultural Professorship on November 8th. It was resolved that these adjustments be made; the charwoman escaped without interference until September 1st; a second occasional porter was to be hired, and the "Suite, the three front Rooms in the second story of the House on the South Mall be allotted to the general purposes of the Institution from and after Mr. Davy's departure from Cork". Mr. Davy was requested to lay before the next meeting of the Managers "the form of an advertisement to be inserted in the Cork, Dublin, Edinburgh and London newspapers for a Course of Lectures on Chemistry, not less than 24, to commence in the month of October or November next. Emolument £92.6.2." (Irish Currency, £100)

The meeting of 3rd July, 1826, approved that the following advertisement be inserted in all the Cork Papers, in "Sanders's News Letter", Dublin, the "Edinburgh Caledonian Mercury" and the London "Times". "Royal Cork Institution. The Managers of the Royal Cork Institution will give £92.6.3 for a Course of 24 Lectures on Chemistry, to commence in October or November next. The Lectures are to be delivered in the Mornings and repeated in the Evenings. Candidates are requested to apply by Letter to the Secretary of the Institution". The meeting acknowledged receipt from the Society of Arts, London, of copies of a pamphlet "Observa-

tions on the Culture of Silk", by Archibald Stephenson, in addition to the 43rd Volume of the Society's Transactions. The meeting had also before it a long letter of complaint from Dr. Thomas Taylor, Lecturer in Natural History, who was to succeed Davy as Secretary and assistant Treasurer. The bone of contention was the decision to deprive him as Secretary of the three-roomed suite hitherto allocated to Davy. "By depriving me now of the use of the Drawing Room I shall be precluded from a respectable intercourse of Society, or from seeing Scientific foreigners or Strangers to whom I have felt it my duty to show every attention and to procure from them in return a favourable consideration of our Institution". The 10th July, 1826, meeting had before it applications for the Chemical lectures from Dr. Apjohn, Dr. J.V. Thompson, Dr. Adam Neale and Dr. Robert Venables. It had appointed members to the following Committees: the Library, Botanic Garden, Accounts, Science, Fine Arts. Obviously hoping for an increase in the Parliamentary grant in what seemed to have been a period of financial strain, the Institution decided to request the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Ireland, who were in the years 1825 - 27 making an exhaustive study prior to the issue of their Report, to visit Cork and report on its work. The Minutes of 14th August, 1826, give the text of the Institution's Memorial. "The Memorial of the Managers of the Royal Cork Institution Showeth. That your Memorialists did on the first day of November, 1824, humbly request that you would inquire into and report upon the state of the Royal Cork Institution. That you were pleased through

your Secretary to reply that previously to the close of your labours you propose to extend your inquiries to various Institutions, when you would not omit to inquire fully into the state and condition of the Royal Cork Institution. That two years having nearly elapsed since the receipt of your communication your Memorialists beg leave to state that they are now most anxious for the inquiry, trusting that on the fullest investigation the Institution will be found worthy of your favourable Report previously to the next Session of Parliament.

Signed in behalf of the Managers,

Thos. Cuthbert V.P.

Cork 17 August, 1826. Edmd. Davy, SecY."

The last Minutes signed by Davy, for the meeting of 4th September, 1826, recorded the receipt of a letter from one of the five Commissioners, T. Frankland Lewis, intimating that the Institution would be examined that Autumn. If the meeting marked Davy's forewell to Cork, the coming of the Commissioners was, as will be seen later, in the nature of the tolling of the bell for the Institution.

The Meeting of 22nd September, 1826, had a letter from the Chief Secretary, Dublin Castle, in which at the command of the Lord Lieutenant he wanted "in triplicate" an "estimate of the sum that will be necessary for defraying the salaries and expenses of the Cork Institution for the year 1827, setting forth the cause of Increase or Decrease, if any, in a distinct statement, together with a Petition to be presented to the House of Commons". On 2nd October, 1826, Dr. James Apjohn was elected to give the course of lectures

on Chemistry, and Dr. Lardner was allowed the use of books from the Library for the giving of a course at the Cork Mechanics Institute. On 1st January, 1827, it was recorded that Thomas Jennings had been elected a Proprietor - a gentleman to be later associated with the Queen's College; but more dramatic news came from the quiet shrubberies of the Botanic Garden. The meeting was told that since the previous May there had been "a series of robberies of roots and plants" that threatened to annihilate that part of the salary of the Curator arising from the sale of duplicates. "On the night of the 16th of November last 40 young Apple trees were stolen, 11 of which were the sole property of the Institution as being plants of which there were no duplicates, and whose value may be estimated from their being raised from grafts which the Horticultural Society of London thought of sufficient importance to present to the Cork Institution for the purpose of disseminating superior fruit trees through the country". The Curator, Mr. Drummond, had employed a watchman, but owing to lack of funds he had shortly to dismiss him and on the night of the 17th November a robber was shot by Drummond accidentally, "the gun discharging itself as he rushed through a quickset hedge in pursuit of the thief. A Coroner's Inquest was held who brought in a verdict to this effect. These events drew upon him necessarily an expenditure of about £8."

The report of a shotgun amid the quickset hedges of the Botanic Garden had its dramatic short-term consequences, but the Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry issued in 1827 spelt longterm relative impoverish-

ment for the Institution. The meeting of 3rd August, 1829, had before it a letter from Dublin Castle in which Lord F. Levenson Gower stated: "I have to inform you that the Lord Lieutenant concurs in the recommendation of the Select Committee on the Irish Estimates in the following passage. 'That the Committee having fully considered the circumstances under which the Grant was originally sanctioned by Parliament cannot but advert to the fact that although the amount of subscriptions in the first instance may have justified the aid which has been afforded to the Institution, the amount of subsequent subscriptions has been utterly inadequate to the purposes for which the Grant was intended. They, therefore, recommend that the Vote be diminished by one half in 1830 and should cease in 1831, leaving to the Government to consider of the propriety of proposing limited Grants for a specified time in the case of other towns in Ireland, but not exceeding the private subscriptions which shall be actually raised for Scientific purposes'". This somewhat unexpected manifestation of Government parsimony crippled, but did not kill, the Institution. The stated policy of matching public Grants to private subscription could have been used at almost any time since 1807 to reduce substantially, if not completely, the annual Grant of £2,000. Yet no evidence of political or religious overtones has come to light to explain the decision as being other than a piece of civil service retrenchment. The same Commission also effected the withdrawal of annual subsidies to other educational agencies in Ireland, notably the Incorporated Society for Promoting

Protestant Schools and the Society for the Education of the Poor of Ireland.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In both of those cases the Commission had found evidence either of malpractice in financial administration or of proselytism, or of both. There was also the justified clamour of Catholic opinion objecting to State aid for educational agencies which, though claiming to serve the nation, were in principle objectionable to the Catholic majority. Perhaps the determining factor was that the Institution was essentially for devoted amateurs, that its courses, however praiseworthy, led to no recognised professional or vocational qualification, and, more significantly, the Report of the Commissioners called on the Government to put public money into a State-administered system of National Education; a system which materialised in 1831. With this latter significant scheme in mind it would seem not unduly harsh of the financial wizards of the Treasury to cut expenses in the matter of elegant dilettantes.

Not unnaturally, the withdrawal of the Grant provoked a mood of pessimism and the meeting of 7th September, 1829, had before it some gloomy propositions from a sub-committee appointed to consider the implications of recent events. Firstly, it was stated that interest from funded property and Library subscriptions would be "totally inadequate" to maintain the Institution. Secondly, because of high rent it was recommended that the South Mall premises "be given up as soon as possible". Thirdly, the Institution was at a "crisis" and the Proprietors would have to settle for one of three courses. 1. To make a further money contribution

and annual subscription. 2. "To sell all the Effects of the Institution at the end of the year 1830, and divide the produce among the 202 Proprietors. 3. To make a gift of the Books, Minerals, Casts, Philosophical Apparatus to "any other association of persons, in trust for the City of Cork, who will undertake under any other designation and upon any plan, subject to the approval of the Proprietors, to form a new Establishment for the advancement of Science and the diffusion of useful knowledge among the citizens of Cork". A meeting of Proprietors on 14th September, 1829, passed resolutions substantially in accordance with the findings of the sub-committee. One of them is highly significant in that it foreshadows the future Queen's College. "That the Proprietors will be happy to give effect to any arrangement embracing the foregoing objects (the diffusion of knowledge in Cork) by making a transfer of their property in the Institution, on terms to be hereafter defined, to any society of individuals who shall submit such a plan of an Institute as may be approved of, either Collegiate, Academical, Scientific or Literary, to be formed in the City of Cork in substitution of the Royal Cork Institution". The Secretary was directed to send the resolutions to Hincks at Belfast and to request his opinion and support.

The Proprietors meeting of 6th October, 1829, had before it a reply from Hincks in which his zest and optimism was in refreshing contrast to the state of semi-paralysis prevailing in Cork. He regarded the Proprietors' resolutions as implying criticism of the operations of the Managers, and trenchantly vindicated the procedure of the Institution

since its inception. "I was for twelve years the confidential, active, and I will say the disinterested servant of the Institution. I feel myself responsible for the Charter, bye-laws and expenditure of the Institution during that time; and I do not shrink from the responsibility. I am willing, on oath or otherwise, to vindicate every measure, and I feel confident that I can convince, by documents or statements, that the measures adopted by the Managers were adopted on good grounds, were the best under the existing circumstances and were designed purely and honestly for the diffusion of useful knowledge without regard for personal interest.

I do not say that wiser measures might not have been adopted; but I fearlessly say that more honest ones could not, greater zeal and diligence could not have been used, nor could stranger marks of approbation have been expressed than by persons of all parties not only in Cork, but by visitors from almost every part of the British Empire. I am sure the same integrity has continued but I should suppose not the same activity. I for my part cannot see why all that is attainable and really useful may not be procured under the present charter, obtained with great labour and at much expense. If the Proprietors, actuated as I trust they will be by a disinterested desire of advancing knowledge will give up their privileges, make some necessary alterations in the Bye-laws, and then with combined efforts lay before Government a true statement of past circumstances, I cannot help entertaining a hope that a portion of the Grant sufficient for useful purposes will be permitted to continue ---- The Resolutions appear to me to propose an

act of suicide which I do not yet see the necessity of - but if the Proprietors are selfish or indifferent, if the case is hopeless, and no other way presents itself of preserving the Collections ---- I shall rejoice in their being transferred to any other Body which, with energy, will promote the grand objects of a diffusion of knowledge. Let not, however, the Proprietors be too hasty in such a transfer. With best wishes for the great object all should have in view".

That the idea of enlarging the Institution into something in the nature of a university body was beginning to germinate is evident from a resolution of the Proprietors meeting of 20th November, 1829. Acknowledging that the idea was first suggested by Dr. Bullen (junior) the resolution was as follows. "That the principle of the plan of founding a system of Collegiate Instruction on the basis of the Cork Royal Institution as has been suggested, and as recommended by the sub-committee in their Report of the 11th Nov^r., appears to this meeting to be quite feasible, and that the Proprietors will be willing to give effect to the recommendation subject to such modifications in the Plan and Bye-laws as may hereafter, on full consideration, be deemed advisable". Though the Institution never, in fact, achieved academic status, the above resolution is vitally important in tracing the evolution of the Queen's College; it is the first official declaration of the desirability of having such an academic institution in the city, and a great many of those associated with it were to become the active protagonists in the movement of opinion which ultimately resulted in the establish-

ment of the College. Space does not permit a more detailed examination of the various moves made by the Proprietors, such as petitions to Parliament, to salvage some at least of the vital public Grant. They ended in failure, but the Institution survived, restricted but still fertilising the local scene. One grain of comfort was, however, suffered to fall from no less exalted a source than the royal table. The Proprietors meeting of 20th August, 1830, heard the text of a "humble address" presented to the new Sovereign on their behalf by the Earl of Shannon. The following letter was also read. "My Lord, I have had the honor to lay before the King the loyal and dutiful address of the Proprietors of the Cork Royal Institution, which accompanied your Lordship's letter of the 20th ult. and which His Majesty was pleased to receive in the most gracious manner. And I have the satisfaction to add that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify His consent to be the Patron of the Cork Royal Institution. I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Lordship's, Robt. Peel". By an intriguing quirk of fate the name of Robert Peel was associated with Cork at the time when an academical institution was first formally mooted for the city.

At this point it might be as well to interrupt the affairs of the Institution as reflected in the Minutes in order to look at the Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, ⁽⁴⁹⁾ whose Seventh Report, dated London, 18th May, 1827, dealt with the visit of Mr. T. Frankland Lewis to inspect the Institution and take evidence. The Report is divided into an introductory survey of activities,

and a verbatim presentation of evidence from witnesses called. The whole tone is appreciative of the work being done and supports the earlier contention that the decision to withdraw the public Grant was solely due to a bureaucratic tightening of the financial belt. A good deal of interesting information does emerge as to the general working of the Institution. The Report found⁽⁵⁰⁾ that "the delivery of the various courses of Lectures, which we have already noticed, appears to be at once the most successful and important part of the Institution; its good effects are described by all the witnesses whom we have examined on the subject. Dr. Taylor (Secretary and Lecturer on Natural History) says that 'his morning course is usually attended by persons of higher order, and the evening lectures by commercial persons or shopkeepers'. The same observation is applicable to the other classes, with exception of the agricultural. Some of the senior boys from the Schools in Cork attend the Lectures of the Institution". This piece of evidence would indicate that the Institution was an active educational force, not the preserve of a clique or a class; equally, it reflects the degree of active participation in education which was forthcoming not only from the elegant amateur dabbling in learning as a convivial interruption from attendance at the club or devotion to the port bottle, but also from shopkeepers and schoolboys. Dr. Taylor's evidence was reinforced by that of other witnesses. "In speaking of the results of the Lectures, Mr. Cuthbert, one of the original Managers of the Institution, 'thinks they have been attended with great utility in the town; they are very much

attended by ladies particularly, and by scientific men; in fact, every man that wishes to improve himself attends either morning or evening". He also adds that he considers this branch of the Institution 'as a place of education very much for the improvement of the younger inhabitants of Cork'. Mr. Lecky, another of the original promoters of this Society, gives his opinion 'that the Institution has done incalculable benefit to the city and neighbourhood of Cork, and has raised a spirit of inquiry among the middling classes, particularly with respect to science, that he thinks has been of great benefit to them and to the community at large". The attendance of ladies in good numbers at morning lectures in Science in 1827 would seem to contradict much of received opinion as promulgated in studies in the history of education in the earlier nineteenth century. Except for Quaker education, it is generally assumed that little provision was made for female education beyond the innocuous level of lace-making, of drawing-room gentility, of sessions at the piano, of knowledge of decorative flowers and scented herbs and of the elaborate refinements of dropping a curtesy. Yet the women of Cork foresook their knitting for formal lectures on Botany, Mineralogy, Geology and Zoology - these being the courses given by Dr. Taylor according to the Report!

However, the Report did ferret out a piece of information which throws some light on Hincks's letter as regards changes of procedure which might improve the financial state of the Institution. The Proprietors, numbering 204, were entitled to transfer their tickets to whomsoever they pleased either for morning or evening sessions; this meant that a possible

attendance of 408 was available each day for admission without charge. The number of those seeking admission without a ticket became "so very small that it was resolved not to take money for admission". The only fault the Report found was in connection with the Botanic Garden. The Curator, James Drummond, giving evidence⁽⁵¹⁾ on Wednesday, 27th September, 1826, stated that "we have about a hundred different sorts of grasses there. We have about five hundred native plants that are wanting for the lectures; the native plants are the most important parts for the study of botany; those we must have convenient to give samples of them. I have to supply specimens of different things, those that grow in the neighbourhood I need not cultivate for I can find them without. There are about 2,000 indigenous plants, including those in the twentyfourth class, or cryptogamia of Linnaeus". Asked how many resorted to his garden to study botany, Drummond replied. "There are not a great many that resort to it for the purpose of studying botany scientifically, but there are a great many that resort to it for the purpose of seeing the flowers. The garden is very badly situated⁽⁵²⁾ for visitors, there are four months in the year from November to February when the roads are bad and very few go there, but in the months of March, April and the following months there are a good many persons who visit it". Asked if specimens for the lectures could be procured if the garden ceased to exist, Drummond replied: "The specimens for the agricultural lectures might be procured because they are for the most part common, but the specimens for the botanical course of lectures could not possibly be procured. The most important plants introduced to the notice

of botanists are the native plants of their country. Now I venture to say that in any nursery in Ireland, or at all events in Cork, there are not fifty native plants cultivated at a time, and very few nurserymen know anything about them". Drummond, who stated he was a Corresponding Member of the Horticultural Society and an Associate of the Linnaean Society, was to be the only immediate victim of the Report. It found that the Botanic Garden "was a heavy burden on the limited funds of the Institution. From the general appearance of this Garden, its situation remote from the Institution and its difficult access, we were led to entertain great doubts as to the expediency of its being continued; and these doubts were materially confirmed by the testimony of persons whom we have examined. We are ourselves of opinion that the Institution would on the whole derive advantage from its discontinuance. If the Society wish to establish a Mathematical Professorship, the saving thus effected might perhaps enable them to carry it into effect".

Dr. Taylor's evidence⁽⁵³⁾ regarding his course on Natural History provides interesting details that bring the Institution to life. Attendances were better at the beginning than at the end of a course, "people seem to get weary of public lectures when they exceed twenty four" (in number); morning lectures were from two to three, evening ones from eight to nine o'clock; more than half the attendance was of females; more males attended at night "because the higher orders of females do not like coming out at night"; they had allowed about five or six senior boys from the principal schools of Cork to attend lectures, but the experiment was

abandoned "as we found the boys made a great deal too much noise". There was a very good collection of specimens for lectures on mineralogy; botany was catered for by the Garden, for zoology the specimens were deficient, but they had a "tolerable collection of native conchology and a few specimens of birds and fishes". Geology was included in the mineralogy lectures, "but the great object of each course of lectures is to present the practical application of the substances to the purposes of life, for a public class will not bear the mere going over the dry characters of individual substances". Thomas Cuthbert, one of the vice-presidents of the Institution, answering⁽⁵⁴⁾ a question as to whether it might be extended as a place of instruction, replied that it had been discussed a good deal, but the Managers were afraid it would interfere with the schools in Cork, and "likewise with the College, (Trinity) they did not wish on account of a jealousy with the College of Dublin to have a School within the place; and indeed, all the Masters here, who are Masters of very good academies, remonstrated against it, and said it would injure them". A matter of great import was touched on when Cuthbert was asked whether any reference was made to religious principles in the lectures. He replied: "None at all; the subject matter of the lectures must be approved by the managers". On the question of the religious affiliations of the managers, the reply was that "we have persons of all religions amongst us, Protestants, Catholics, Presbyterians and Quakers; in fact there is not a word ever mentioned about religion". The classes were composed of persons of a mixed character; in balloting for proprietors

religion was never a consideration, they generally took the person that was recommended. To the question "Does the same rule apply to individuals who are candidates for the Professorships?" the reply was: "yes; I do not think we have had an application from a Roman Catholic to fill any of the chairs". This exchange is significant in that it illustrates the spirit informing the Institution; because of the disparity in wealth and educational opportunity then obtaining in Ireland in regard to Protestants and Catholics it was to be expected that at least in the earlier decades the membership of the Institution would be predominantly Protestant; yet even at its inception, and increasingly as the years went by, Catholic members such as James Roche and Dr. Bullen played important roles. But the guiding spirit was that it was possible to combine in the disinterested pursuit of knowledge without on the one hand relinquishing personal religious principles, or on the other without allowing sectarian partisanship to disrupt a fruitful communal activity. Equally significant was the fact that until 1827 no Catholic had applied for a professorship; when the first one, Dr. Bullen, did so he was appointed, as will be later noted. These issues were later to vitiate much of the impact of the Queen's College; great play was made of the fact of how few Catholics were appointed to chairs; it was claimed that it was impossible, or certainly highly dangerous, to pursue scholarship save within the ambit of a denominational institution. Significantly, as will be seen, local opinion in Cork did not join in the anguished chorus of the prophets of "godlessness". The Institution had provided them with a working model where sanity was not seen as the enemy of

sanctity.

Dr. Thomas Tuckey, M.D.⁽⁵⁵⁾ felt that the lectures had been of especial benefit "to the young men, to the rising generation, I think it has given them a taste for science and literature in general. They read to prepare themselves to understand the Lectures, and the Lectures induce them to read afterwards; and I think instead of spending their evenings in taverns and elsewhere they are much more inclined to scientific subjects than they were in former days". In particular he felt it was of great benefit to the young gentlemen of the medical profession. "By their attending the chemical lectures and the lectures on natural philosophy and on botany, and there is a good library to have recourse to where there is a most valuable collection of medical books". Asked about a course on Moral Philosophy, he felt it might be learned sufficiently from books; yet he felt the more lecturers they had the better, "under the restriction that they would not enter into theological subjects". A set of financial returns will conclude this necessarily abbreviated version of the 1827 Parliamentary Report; as something in the nature of a shop-window on the Institution it has value in giving a public assessment of aims and achievements. The Report found⁽⁵⁶⁾ that the total expenditure of the Institution in the years 1803 to 1825 was £50,346.11.1; the Parliamentary Grant amounted to £43,896.1.5; the Proprietors had paid for shares the sum of £4,999.6.3; Annual Subscribers had given £881.7.6.

In returning to the Minutes of the Institution it is of interest to note that a Proprietors meeting of 26th October,

1832, found good news to report: the Lords of the Treasury had granted the use of the Old Custom House as a permanent new home for the Institution, and especial thanks was expressed to the then Secretary and Treasurer, William Clear, for his exertions in the matter. The names of Proprietors significantly include such as R. Burke, Jer. J. Murphy, Jas. Mc.Carthy, Nicholas Murphy, Daniel Madden, David Callaghan, M.P., Joseph Mc.Sweeney, M.D., David Meagher; also named were such prominent businessmen as Joseph Pike, the Quaker shipbuilder whose family was to be prominently associated with the commercial life of Cork until early in the present century, Thomas Jennings whose commercial pursuits are still maintained by his descendants and from whom the Board of Works were in 1846 to acquire the land for building the Queen's College, Dr. Caesar and Dr. Woodsrooffe, directors of the two Medical Schools in the city. Perhaps even more interesting was the appointment as Managers for the ensuing three years of three gentlemen who were to be closely associated with the College: Sir Thomas Deane who was to be its architect, James Roche who was to preside over the inauguration, and William Crawford who was to be an active member of the Munster College Committee. Roche's further involvement in the Institution was marked by his becoming a vice-president in 1834; and from 1834 to 1842 it is the miniscule signature of James Roche which is found on the Proprietors' Minutes, signed in his capacity of vice-president. Various jottings from the Minutes of Managers reveal the ongoing life of the Institution. On 17th March, 1828, it was decided to have lectures "on Geography, including a comparative account of the modes of life and of improvement

in Arts and Manufactures on different points of the civilised world". A most significant appointment was made on the 13th of October, 1828, when a vote of 18 to 1 confirmed the appointment of Dr. Denis Brennan Bullen⁽⁵⁷⁾ as Lecturer in Chemistry. Bullen was to bring vitality to his lectures; he was to be one of the leading links between the Institution and the Queen's College, firstly through the Munster College Committee, and then as first Professor of Surgery and Dean of the Medical Faculty at the College. On the 1st of December, 1828, there was a pathetic letter from the Curator of the Botanic Garden, James Drummond. News had come that the Government desired the abandonment of the Garden. Drummond wrote "that I must, therefore, expect that you will dismiss me from my situation. I have served the Institution for more than twenty years; I have spent in your service the best years of my life". He mentioned legal advice tendered by "Counsellor Connell", and asked that he be allowed to sell the plants in the Garden for his private purpose. However, the meeting of 5th January, 1829, was informed that Drummond's fate was looking distinctly more rosy; "he has obtained the permission of His Majesty's Government to proceed as a settler to the Colony about to be formed at Swan River on the West Coast of New Holland". So, leaving behind him the corpse he shot as he rushed through the quick-set hedge, his grasses, his oaks, his cryptogamia of Linnaeus, and the heartbreak of his stolen apple trees, the Curator sailed away to a land of unclassified specimens.

The role of the Institution in fostering community activity and in aiding other societies is clearly demonstrated from numerous permissions granted by the Managers to use

its Lecture-room - which seated two hundred. For instance, the above-mentioned meeting sanctioned a request to have Dr. Bullen give a series of lectures on Chemistry at the Mechanics Institute, and to loan that body "the apparatus for exhibiting the properties of heat; the pneumatic and mercurial troughs; the vessels for exhibiting the gases; the old air-pump; the apparatus for exhibiting the formation of the mineral acids". In fact, the availability of its premises for public use led the Institution into added expense. The Managers on 12th January, 1829, resolved "that two pounds per annum be paid for the charwoman of the Institution in addition to the weekly allowance in consideration of increased labour in preparing rooms for the accommodation of charitable committees". Meetings of the Governors of the North and South Infirmaries, and of the Fever Hospital, are frequently mentioned. On 7th December, 1829, it was resolved that better provision be made for members of the legal profession, "the entire of their subscriptions for the year ending 29th September, 1830, which subscriptions (to the Library at £1 per person) must amount at the least to forty pounds, to be expended on Law books, and that in future years half their subscriptions be so expended". The shrewd gentlemen of the legal profession, now guaranteed of good value for money, mounted something in the nature of a take-over at the meeting of 1st February, 1830, when thirty six of them applied to be admitted as subscribers to the Library - including such well-known local names as Besnard, Exham, Atkin, Beamish, Coppinger, Noblett, Morrogh, many of which still adorn the brass plates on the South

Mall. On the 8th December, 1830, when negotiations were still proceeding with a view to acquiring the Old Custom House from the Treasury, it was resolved to send letters soliciting support to Lord Brougham, Lord Grey, Lord Melbourne, Lord Althorpe, Mr. Stanley and Mr. Thomas Spring Rice. Access to this kind of influential patronage was obviously a factor in the Institution's success on the particular matter; it also indicates the kind of respect it felt itself entitled to command. On the 7th February, 1831, a meeting presided over by William Crawford⁽⁵⁸⁾ expressed its appreciation of the action of the students of the Academy of Fine Arts in laying before them specimens of their work. Requests for permission to draw from the Casts occur frequently, perhaps the most notable being that in connection with Daniel Maclise already alluded to. That the infirmity of human nature sometimes intruded into the somewhat rarefied atmosphere of useful knowledge is evident from an entry on 7th November, 1831. "The Secretary stated that notwithstanding the repeated cautions given to George Ramsey, the Porter, against drunkenness that he still continued to transgress, and that the property of the Institution was not safe in his care. It was ordered that he be discharged and that we advertize for a person to fill his situation". The matter was resolved on the 12th November, 1831, when out of twenty seven applicants, William Cunningham was elected Porter by eleven votes to five, at a wage of eight shillings a week with the prospect of an annual gratuity equal to one shilling a week dependent on good behaviour.

The meeting of 30th September, 1832, reported a significant visit from an important personage. The Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, Thomas Spring Rice, M.P., was in Cork and was invited to attend the Institution to receive an Address thanking him for his efforts in finally securing the Old Custom House as permanent premises. In his reply Rice made interesting observations on the withdrawal of the Parliamentary Grant. "He assured the deputation that its withdrawal from the Institution and from the other Establishments in Ireland which had been totally or partially deprived of it, was not caused by a parsimonious spirit of the part of His Majesty's Government, but solely by the feeling that something was wanting on the part of those several bodies to entitle them to its continuance. He instanced the Belfast Institution which had its grant renewed and increased, and he stated that he had little doubt that if our Institution was made as useful as it might be, by the extension of practical education not only to its immediate neighbourhood but also to the whole of the province of Munster, or South of Ireland, that the Government would be found ready to aid its well-directed efforts". The implication was, seemingly, that useful knowledge had gradations of usefulness; had the Institution offered a more formal and defined school or collegiate course it obviously would have qualified for continued State aid. It fell a victim to creeping specialisation. A not less interesting airing of views took place in the course of informal conversation subsequent to Rice's speech. The Minutes state "that in the course of a conversation which then arose, Mr. Maziere (one of the Managers)

having suggested the desirableness of establishing a College at Cork, it was pressed upon Mr. Rice by several of the deputation that without the power of conferring Degrees our Institution was comparatively useless, and that contrasting the circumstances of Ireland with the public provision for the higher branches of education in England and Scotland, it was just and reasonable that eight millions of people should no longer be restricted to one University, and that University containing only one College. This extraordinary anomaly was admitted by Mr. Rice, and the deputation are not without hope that as an Irishman and an enlightened statesman his powerful aid will not be wanting to the accomplishment of an object of such vital importance not only to the inhabitants of Cork but to the population of the South of Ireland generally". In this exchange in the Institution's Lecture room might be seen the setting of the seed of the Queen's College, Cork; indeed of the Queen's Colleges at Cork, Belfast and Galway. The Institution was putting its views to a high official of Government, and it was using the basic argument of the disparity between Ireland and England and Scotland which Thomas Wyse was to make a cardinal point in his advocacy of extended academical education for Ireland. The views of the Institution clearly indicate its active acceptance and pursuit of the concept of a university institution conferring Degrees and providing the full range of higher studies. As regards this present work it justifies the contention on which this present chapter is based: that a study of the aims and achievements of the Institution is basic to an understanding of the origins of the Queen's College, and that the eventual

establishment of the College was as much a response to informed local opinion as it was a reflection of central government policy.

This pursuit of facilities for higher education had earlier been manifested by the Institution in a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Anglesey, dated 29th August, 1831, and read at a Managers' meeting on that date. The Memorial petitioned that the Institution should itself be the nucleus of a proposed Collegiate establishment. Two paragraphs are worth quoting. "That the Cork Royal Institution is the only incorporated body, south of Dublin, consisting of persons of every sect and denomination, without any invidious distinction whatever, which could serve as a basis for erecting such Collegiate Establishment; that Cork, the principal City of a Province whose population nearly equals that of all Scotland, presents peculiar advantages for such Collegiate Institution, not only as being remote from the Metropolis, and surrounded by a number of large and populous towns, but being besides provided with most of the requisites essential for giving immediate effect to its operations". Here was a telling argument based as much on sociological as educational grounds; here, too, was an implicit request for a collegiate establishment that would be what the College was eventually to be, a non-denominational centre of higher education. It is not stretching the bounds of fair argument too far to claim, despite the barrage of propaganda that was to cloud the university issue from 1845 onwards, and which has been uncritically peddled by most of the published work on the is-

sue ever since, that whatever may have been the merits or demerits of the Queen's College, Cork, its statutory undenominationalism was not designed as an outrage on the conscience of a predominantly Catholic city, or country, neither was it a dangerous manifestation of insidious liberalism; it was, as this Memorial indicates, in harmony with the kind of activity which middle-class patrons of learning in Cork had created for themselves over half a century.

The second paragraph worthy of note from the Memorial stated that "your Memorialists hope speedily to be enabled to establish Professorships of Ancient and Modern Languages, Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, Mathematics and Civil Engineering, in addition to the Professorships of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Natural History, Mineralogy, and Agriculture. That they particularly call your Excellency's attention to one branch of instruction, Civil Engineering, for which there is no school professedly in the Empire. In the opening of Roads, forming Railways, Cutting Canals, Draining Bogs, and developing in every way the Agricultural resources of this country a knowledge of Civil Engineering generally diffused amongst the resident middling classes would be found of the highest practical benefit". This enlarged curriculum was, obviously, something in the tradition of Priestley and of Jeremy Bentham's "Chrestomathia", as outlined in the first chapter; its promulgation by the Institution in 1831 takes on added significance in view of the fact that London University, then in its early infancy, was offering a similar range of new studies. The point to be

recorded is that the Institution can be seen as having a twofold significance - as so very pointedly the precursor of the Queen's College in its demand for an academic establishment, and as reflecting what was then developing as the most advanced kind of academic thinking and practice in these islands. One final extract from the Managers' Minutes relative to a Collegiate establishment in Cork deserves quotation. The meeting of 18th March, 1833, informed that James Roche was going to London where he hoped to meet Spring Rice (M.P. for Limerick as well as Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer), drew up the following statement which Roche was requested to lay before Rice. "They would fain hope to the ultimate establishment of a higher description of Collegiate Body for the promotion of science and literature amongst the middle orders, who are more scantily provided with public means of instruction in this portion of the Empire than probably any other civilised community of a similar population on the face of the Globe.----- Mr. Roche will, therefore, exercise his discretion in submitting such a statement as shall not only express his own views of the subject, but will also exhibit the sense of the Managers as to the anomaly of calling upon individuals in an impoverished and devoted country to come forward with private subscriptions in aid of a public establishment, which except to a very few offers no prospect of pecuniary reimbursement; and it is directly opposed to the policy of every other country in Europe, England and Scotland included, which endows with a full public fund sufficient means of general instruction, at all events for the upper and middle

orders, and gives a proportion especially in Scotland, of a vastly more liberal character than of only one University for no less than eight million people. ---- Without enlarging on the claims of the North of Ireland, which are to a limited extent provided for by Belfast, the Royal Cork Institution at once offers the nucleus for a suitable establishment for the southern portion of the Kingdom. Private enterprise has done its utmost already, by demonstrating the utility of a more restricted form of Public Education, and it is not surprising that hereas well as in London it should not altogether have met with the success which its generous and liberal projectors so fondly anticipated".

Four comments suggest themselves in relation to that exposition. Firstly, the note of peevishness was somewhat out of place considering the comparatively substantial State grant the Institution had until recently received. Secondly, the assumptions about State subsidy to middle class education in Scotland and England were not only naive, but positively misinformed. The recent establishment of London University owed not a penny to public funds and in 1833 was still struggling valiantly against vested interests for the basic right of granting Degrees. Thirdly, while the Institution was admittedly concerned with the provision of education for the middle and upper classes, its assertions about the lack of public funds for education in Ireland took no account of the major distinguishing factor relative to education in Britain and Ireland - that since the foundation of the Incorporated Society for the Promotion of Protestant Schools in Ireland in the 1740s there was a continuing tradition of public finance for elementary education in

Ireland, whereas it was not until 1833 that the first annual grant of £20,000 was provided in England for first level schooling. Fourthly, granting that much of the public funds allocated to elementary education in Ireland had been found by the 1827 Commissioners to have been applied in ways other than acceptable to the majority of the population, yet by 1833 that objection had been largely overcome by the setting up of the State-financed National System. Roche's mission did not succeed in the matter of a renewal of the Grant, but some crumb of comfort was contained in a letter from him to the meeting of 3rd June, 1833, when he conveyed the news that the Treasury was giving the Institution the use of the Old Custom House free of rent.

It is possible to gain some impression of what exactly was being dispensed at the Institution in the name of natural philosophy by consulting some of the original syllabuses preserved in the Archives Office of the Cork County Library.⁽⁵⁹⁾ A course on Botany delivered by Thomas Taylor, M.D., F.L.S., and Honorary Fellow of the Natural History Society, Leipzig, beginning 19th April, 1823, covered "introductory observations on Botany - its history; peculiarities of the inorganic kingdom of Nature; division of living beings, their resemblances and points of apparent union. Anatomy of plants, the root, its physiology, varieties and use, the stem and leaves, buds, various appendages. Flowers, uses and structure of the calyx, corolla, stamina, pistilla and receptacle, inflorescences. Importance of the study of the fruit in its different stages of growth; the structure of the seeds. Artificial and natural systems

considered and compared and their peculiar provinces pointed out. Observations on Irish Botany. The actual orders of Jussieu explained. The formation of Genera elucidated. Vegetable chemistry. Distribution of plants over the earth's surface". A Course on Natural Philosophy (60) given by Richard Greene, A.B., M.D., which stated on 2nd February, 1829, was to cover "1. Somatology, or the natures and effects of bodies. 2. Dynamics, or the laws of forces acting freely or unrestrained. Statics, or the equilibrium of forces. The laws of action considered, and illustrated by various experiments and the ballistic pendulum. Accelerating forces exemplified with Atwood's machine. Collision of non-elastic bodies. Of elastic. On projectiles. Experiments with the whirling table. Doctrine of inclined planes and pendulums, with the centres of oscillation and percussion. Application of compensation pendulums to horology. 3. Mechanics, or the doctrine of the laws of forces, when their motions are regulated and constrained contrary to their inertia. Lever, Wheel, Axle, Pulley, inclined plane, Wedge, Screw. Application of these to the common purposes of life, exemplified by an analysis of machinery in general and illustrated by models. 4. Hydrodynamics, divided into Hydrostatics and Hydraulics, with a minute consideration of water-wheels, both overshot and undershot. Barker's mill. 5. Aerostatics. Toricellian vacuum. Various pumps. Fountains and jets. History of Ballons. 6. Pneumatics. Wind-mills. Air-gun. Steam-engine, with sectional and working models. Musical sounds. 7. Optics. Light, colors, vision, optical instruments. 8. Electricity. Theories of Franklin, Epinus, Coulomb. Various experiments. 9. Magnetism and its relation

LECTURES

ON THE

SCIENCE OF EDUCATION,

TO BE DELIVERED IN

THE ROYAL CORK INSTITUTION,

COMMENCING

On Monday, the 28th Day of December, at One o'Clock,

BY THE REV. R. J. BRYCE, LL. D.

Principal of the Belfast Academy.

DR. BRYCE, well known as the Author of a system of Education founded on the science of Mind, has been invited to Cork by some of those who are anxious for the advancement of every real improvement in a branch of Intellectual Philosophy of such universal importance; and they feel happy in being able to announce that this distinguished philosopher has consented to deliver in this City, a course of Lectures which has been so favourably received in London and Dublin.

The following Gentlemen having read the accompanying Prospectus approve of the object of the Lectures, and agree to Subscribe to the Course:—

JAMES ROCHE,
SAMUEL LANE,
WILLIAM CRAWFORD,
FRANCIS B. BEAMISH,
THOMAS DEANE,
WILLIAM BENNETT, M. D.
JAMES LANE,
J. R. HARVEY, M. D.

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ROBERT O'C. NEWENHAM,
REUBEN DEAVES,
JOHN BALLARD,
ROGER ADAMS,
JAMES WILLES, M. D.
DANIEL LEAHY, Shanakeil,
THE MAYOR,
W. W. HALLOWAY,

DR. BRYCE's Prospectus is now submitted to the friends of Education and of Literature in Cork.

To the success of any operation, nothing is more necessary than a knowledge of the nature and properties of the thing to be operated upon. An artisan must know the nature and properties of the materials and instruments of his trade; a medical man must be acquainted with the structure and functions of the human body, and the effects produced on it by different substances;—accordingly, the mechanic must submit to a regular apprenticeship, and the physician to a long course of study. Now, in education, the thing to be acted upon is the HUMAN MIND; and he who would act on it with success, either in communicating knowledge or in regulating the passions, must know something of its nature and operations.

Yet this principle, obvious as it is, has been generally neglected. Those who have hitherto excelled in the instruction and management of children, have owed their skill rather to the intuition of genius, than to scientific views of the nature and properties of the mind.

But, as genius is the lot of few, it is obviously desirable, that, from the known laws of the human mind, there should be deduced *fixed principles*, by observing which, any person of average abilities and diligence, might be educated into a skillful teacher. A complete set of such principles, in other words a SCIENCE OF EDUCATION, has been spoken of, as a great desideratum, by some of the most eminent philosophers of modern times;—it is sufficient to name Professor Dugald Stewart, and his successor, Dr. Thomas Brown, who both urge, as one of the chief inducements to the study of Mental Philosophy, the hope that it may lead to the formation and improvement of this science.

To supply this desideratum is the object of the proposed Lectures: they will unfold precise and comprehensive general principles, which lead to good methods in each particular department of education; and will furnish the means of varying those methods, to correspond with the endless varieties which occur in the minds of children.

The Lecturer is fully aware, that, in an undertaking of such magnitude and difficulty, the first attempt must necessarily be imperfect. But the kindness and co-operation with which his exertions have hitherto been uniformly met by the enlightened and philanthropic, assure him, that sincere endeavours, though humble, towards such an object, will in all places excite a deep and friendly interest in every benevolent and intelligent mind.

To Parents, especially to mothers,—to persons of both sexes engaged in the profession of teaching,—and to all who interest themselves for the education of the poor, the information conveyed in the Lectures will be found to be of great practical importance.

SYLLABUS OF A COURSE OF LECTURES

ON
CHEMISTRY,

TO BE DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL CORK INSTITUTION,

Commencing Monday Nov. 3, 1828,

BY

D. B. BULLEN, M.D.

Part I.

RADIANT OR IMPONDERABLE MATTER.

Light — Heat — Electricity — Magnetism.

Part II.

INORGANIZED BODIES.

Chemical Affinity—Laws of Combination—Definite Proportions
—Oxygen—Chlorine—Iodine—Bromine—Fluorine.

SIMPLE COMBUSTIBLE BODIES. 1. Not Metallic. 2 Metals.

COMPOUND COMBUSTIBLE BODIES. 1. COMBINATIONS of Simple
Combustible Bodies not Metallic. 2. Of Metals with each other
or Alloys. 3. Of Simple Bodies not Metallic with the Metals.

BINARY CONFLAGRATED BODIES. 1. Oxyds—Chlorides—
Iodides—Bromides—Fluoride—not Metallic. 2. Acids not
Metallic. 3. Metallic Oxyds, &c. 4. Metallic Acids.

COMBINATIONS OF BINARY CONFLAGRATED BODIES with each
other.

Part III.

ORGANIZED BODIES.

VEGETABLE CHEMISTRY.

ANIMAL CHEMISTRY.

SYLLABUS

OF A COURSE OF

LECTURES ON NATURAL PHILOSOPHY,

TO BE DELIVERED

AT THE IMPERIAL CLARENCE ROOMS,

Commencing **FRIDAY** the 1st of October next,

BY ROBERT KANE, M.D., M.R.I.A.

*Professor of Natural Philosophy to the Royal Dublin Society; Professor of Chemistry to the Apothecaries' Hall;
Member of the Pharmaceutical Society, &c. &c. &c.*

The Morning Course will be continued on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at Two o'Clock, P.M.

The Evening Course, on the same days, at 8 o'Clock.

MORNING COURSE.

- LECTURE 1, *Friday, October 1st.*—Nature and objects of the study of Natural Philosophy—its importance as a branch of general and professional Education—Laws of Motion—of Inertia and Momentum—Principle of reaction—Various forms of Matter.
- 2, *Monday, October 4th.*—Of the composition and resolution of Forces—Equilibrium of Forces—General nature of Machines and laws which regulate their action—Of the Mechanic powers—The Lever, in its various forms, the pulley, the wheel and axle—The inclined plane, the wedge, the screw.
- 3, *Wednesday, October 6th.*—Of the practical materials of Machines—Their weight and friction—Of Gravity as the cause of weight—The centre of Gravity—Its properties—Mode of determining its position in bodies of various forms.
- 4, *Friday, October 8th.*—Of the motion of falling bodies—Path of Projectiles—Motion on inclined planes—Theory of the Pendulum, as a measure of Time and of Gravity—Correction of the error of expansion in Pendulums—Laws of centrifugal force.
- 5, *Monday, October 11.*—Of Gravity considered as a central force—Principle of universal gravitation—Figure of the Earth; how derived and modified—Structure of the Planetary System—Laws of Kepler—Hypothesis of the Constitution of Sidereal and Nebular Systems.
- 6, *Wednesday, October 13th.*—General character of liquid bodies—Their pressure equal in every direction—Effects of this principle in nature & in the arts—Laws of Fluid pressure—Of the Centre of Pressure—Of the Floatation of Solids in liquids—Principle of Archimedes—Determination of specific gravities.
- 7, *Friday, October 15th.*—Of the Laws regulating the motion of liquids, and of Solids moving in liquids—Formation of Waves—Principle of the interference of Waves—Of Water as a source of motion to Machines—Of the various forms of water wheels, and mills.
- 8, *Monday, October 18th.*—Of the properties of Atmospheric Air—Its elasticity and compressibility—Weight of Air—Pressure of the Atmosphere—Construction of the Barometer—Action of Syphons and of the various kinds of Pumps—Of air as a moving power for machines.
- 9, *Wednesday, October 20th.*—Of Sound—Its origin and propagation—Interference of Sound—Of Musical sounds—Laws of Harmonic sounds—Of resonance—Construction of Instruments, with vibrating cords or vibrating columns of air—Of Temperament.
- 10, *Friday, October 22nd.*—Of the Formation of Steam—Principle of latent Heat—Relation of the boiling point to pressure—Properties of high and low pressure steam—Construction of the Furnace and Boiler—The steamways and safety valves.
- 11, *Monday, October 25th.*—Mechanical construction of the Steam Engine—Low pressure Engine; the condenser, air pump, governor, &c.—Of the fixed high pressure Engine—Construction of the Locomotive Engine, as formed for rails or for common roads.
- 12, *Wednesday, October 27th.*—Of Electricity—Its various forms—Of the Electrical machine—Attraction and Repulsion—Of Induction—Of Atmospheric Electricity—Theory and properties of the Leyden Jar.
- 13, *Friday, October 29th.*—Properties of Electricity as evolved by Chemical action—Relation of Electricity to Magnetism—Electro-magnetic phenomena—Motive power of Electricity in its various forms—Of Electro-magnetic Machines.

to Electricity".

The Managers meeting of 2nd November, 1835, approved of three courses in the Institution's Lecture-room - Dr. Caesar was to give a six-month course to medical students; the Literary and Scientific Society was permitted to hold its meetings there on payment of a fee of £5, and "Dr. Bryce of Belfast was to deliver a Course of Lectures on Education". Dr. Reuben John Bryce, LL.D., a Presbyterian minister and Principal of the Belfast Academy, was widely known as an authority on education⁽⁶¹⁾ ; uncle of James, Viscount Bryce, he had specially devoted himself to a serious study of Ireland's educational needs, and was of the belief that education should be provided firstly where it was most demanded, rather than where it was most needed. His pamphlet "Sketch of a Plan for a System of National Education for Ireland", published in London in 1828 brought him into contact with Thomas Wyse, and both men corresponded over the setting up of the Queen's Colleges. Bryce appeared before the Wyse Select Committee on Education in 1836⁽⁶²⁾, and his wide-ranging views on education, in particular on the provision of adequate teacher-training courses associated with universities, marked him as an authority who combined practical wisdom with prophetic insight. The Syllabus⁽⁶³⁾ for the course of twelve lectures stated that "Dr. Bryce, well known as the Author of a system of Education founded on the science of the Mind, has been invited to Cork by some of those who are anxious for the advancement of every real improvement in a branch of Intellectual Philosophy of such universal importance; and they feel happy in being able to announce that this distinguished philosopher has

consented to deliver in this City a course of Lectures which has been so favourably received in London and Dublin". Among those stated as subscribing to the course were James Roche, William Crawford, Francis Beamish and Thomas Deane, the architect. The course was directed "to parents, especially to mothers - to persons of both sexes engaged in the profession of teaching, and to all who interest themselves for the education of the poor". The material was as follows:

1. Introductory Remarks on the Application of the Science of Mind to Education. Intellectual Moral and Physical Education. Principles of the Human Mind which must be attended to in Education - Imitation, Assimilation, Association, Curiosity; facts concerning the principle of Curiosity that have been overlooked in Education; ruinous consequences of this neglect.
2. Of Attention. Distinction between voluntary and involuntary. Means of forming a Habit of Attention. Short and popular account of the faculties of the Mind. General rules for communicating knowledge.
3. Particular rules for communicating the different kinds of knowledge, to receive which the faculties are fitted, and for the improvement of those faculties.
4. The same subject.
5. History of a good intellectual education - before the child begins to speak, cultivation of the senses, learning mother tongue. Articulation, explanation of words, reading and spelling, grammar, natural history, geography, civil history. Foreign languages, sciences, arithmetic etc.
6. Education of different ranks and professions. Of the Poor. Of the Female Sex. Physical Education.
7. Moral Education, nature of right and wrong, means of influencing children to do right and avoid wrong.

7. Same continued. 8. Rewards and Punishments. 9. Same continued. 10. Practical details of Moral Education, method of treating different offences, and managing different dispositions. 11. The same continued. 12. Principles of domestic and school government".

A course of Lectures very much linking the Institution with the Queen's College was announced jointly, on September 9th, 1841, by its secretary, William Clear, and the secretary of the Mechanics Institute, William Keleher. They stated that the Royal Dublin Society, "allocating a portion of the Government Grant for that purpose", was sending "their Professor, Doctor Kane, with the necessary apparatus, to deliver a course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy in this city, commencing 1st Prox."⁽⁶⁴⁾ The future President's course will be dealt with in a later chapter devoted to him. A summary perusal of the Managers Minutes from 1835 to 1849 reveals many facets of an Institution which was certainly far from moribund. On 7th December, 1835, Mr. R.J. Lecky undertook to supply captains of ships seeking such information the "true Greenwich time", while Danl. Callaghan, M.P., was thanked for donating to the Library "valuable Parliamentary Papers and Reports". On 4th April, 1836, James Roche and the then secretary, Abraham Abell, were deputed to seek duplicate specimens and books from the British Museum. Abell, a Quaker, brought a note of colourful eccentricity to the learned scene. A memoir by John Windels,⁽⁶⁴⁾ himself a noted antiquarian, a member of the Royal Irish Academy and a donator of one hundred and seventy volumes of Irish manuscripts to its Library, recalled that Abell was one of

the founders of the Scientific and Literary Society and of the Cuvierian Society , was treasurer of the Cork Library, a manager and secretary of the Royal Cork Institution, treasurer of the Cork Dispensary and Humane Society, Managing Director of the Cork Savings Bank, member of the Royal Irish Academy, of the Irish Archaeological Society, of the Camden Society and of the South Munster Antiquarian Society. In company with his friend, Father Mat. Horgan, he was indefatigable in his pursuit of archaeological remains, and he was largely instrumental in putting together the collection of antique Ogham inscription stones which were first the property of the Institution and were later donated by it to the Queen's College. They still adorn the main corridor of the College. A bachelor, his personal life partook of an endearing eccentricity. Windele describes how he had rooms in the Institution "and here for some years he dwelt in undisturbed solitude, admitting, with rare exceptions, no one to cross his threshold. Here his walls and floors were covered with books and literary lumber. He had but one chair and this only served to bear a pile of folio volumes. The world shut out in his lone chamber, he would read far into the night, standing all the while lest sleep might steal upon him and interfere with his reading. At times when the approaches of the drowsy god were threatening despite his posture, he would improve his defences by strapping up one of his legs, and thus would he read on sustained by the other". On 5th September, 1836, thanks were extended to Sir William Becher for presenting eighty-eight dried skins of birds and animals from Van Damien's Land. On 3rd July, 1837, thanks were sent to the Royal Irish Academy for four

volumes of their Transactions "wanted to complete the set in our Library". A meeting on 1st January, 1838, granted free use of the Lecture-room to "a society of young men under the designation of the Cork Historical Society".

Flutterings in the halls of learning were recorded on 5th November, 1838. While Roche sat venerable and erudite in the chair, "the Managers having been informed that a living Heron had been presented by Mr. Foott of Grotroe, and a conversation having in consequence arisen on the expediency of purchasing food for living animals in the present very limited state of our funds, it was resolved that the Eagle which we have had for some years, and the above-mentioned Heron, be both presented to any Scientific body who may desire them; or that they may be otherwise disposed of as the Secretary may think best". On 6th May, 1839, the medical subscribers to the Library were given guarantees similar to those already obtained by their legal brethren; half of their subscriptions were to be spent on books chosen by a medical sub-committee. The meeting of 7th March, 1842, found Wm. Kelleher, secretary of the Mechanics Insitute, in attendance to secure the co-operation of the Institution "in an endeavour to get Cork fixed as the place of meeting of the British Association in 1843". Members joined the Committee which was, in fact, successful in bringing that prestigious body to Cork, in 1843 for its annual meeting.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The meeting of 4th July, 1842, granted Dr. Woodroffe's request to have Dr. Meyler repeat the course of Lectures he had given to the Royal Dublin Society on Respiration and Ventilation, as well as giving the Committee

for Promoting the Manufacture of Lace by Poor Females the use of a room. On 6th November, 1843, thanks was returned to "Edw. Walsh, Seaman, for specimens of Fossil wood and Sundries collected by him on his voyage with Capt. Ross to the South Pole". Entries in the Minutes for November, 1849, the week of the opening of the Queen's College have a special interest. On Monday 5th James Roche presided over a meeting of the Institution; on Wednesday, 7th he presided at the inaugural ceremonies at the College. At the Institution meeting a resolution by Richard Dowden was adopted giving a £5 gratuity to the Porter, William Cunningham, on his relinquishing of his duties due to his appointment by Sir Robert Kane as steward at the College. Dowden, a local businessman and sometime Mayor of Cork, was prominent in every cultural and philanthropic movement designed to promote the embellishment and welfare of the city. A Unitarian, he was treasurer of Hincks's former Dissenting Chapel in Prince's Street from 1823 to 1851. He was the intimate friend of Cork's most prominent citizen of the nineteenth century, Father Theobald Mathew,⁽⁶⁶⁾ the Apostle of Temperance; indeed, it was Dowden's insistence which largely inspired and financially sustained the friar's campaign. He had been Librarian at the Institution just prior to the 1827 Commission of Inquiry, and his brief statement of evidence is recorded in the Seventh Report. A keen botanist, his "Walks after Wild Flowers" was published in 1852. Uncle of Professor Edward Dowden, of Trinity College, Dublin, the noted Shakespearean scholar, he was a member of the Literary and Scientific Society, of the Cuvierian Society, of the Zoological Society of Dublin, and of the British Association.

Cynics might see some sinister connection between his ardent promotion of temperance and the fact that he was a mineral water manufacturer! Dowden was one of those who signed the Address of the Munster College Committee presented to the President at the opening of the College.

The opening of the College had its impact on the Institution: a meeting of 4th March, 1849, admitted as new subscribers to the Library one of the most brilliant of the earlier professors - the mathematician, Professor George Boole, together with two of his academic colleagues, Professors Fleming and Alcock. A meeting of 4th November, 1850, passed the following resolution in reply to "a request from Sir Robt. Kane relative to the apparatus of the Institution. That we are willing to lend it on the following conditions: that for each article a receipt be given; that the entire apparatus lent be at the disposal of the Institution for lectures at the Institution or other Scientific purposes, on giving due notice to the College that they will, for a time, require it, and that the College undertake to return each article in good order, and to put in good order all the Apparatus". The Minutes of 2nd December, 1850, record the reply of the College Registrar, Francis Albani, to John Humphreys, Librarian of the Institution. "I am directed by the President of this College, Sir Robert Kane, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th inst., enclosing a Resolution passed at a meeting of the Managers of the Royal Cork Institution, and to express on the part of the College authorities their acceptance of the proposal therein contained, and their thanks for the assistance

afforded by the Cork Institution to the College in carrying out the objects of Education. I am also directed to state that the Professor of Natural Philosophy will be requested to make arrangements along with the Officers of the Royal Cork Institution for securing the apparatus and removing the Instruments to the College". The Institution might justly claim that not only did it pioneer the concept of higher education that led to the establishment of the Queen's College, but that it was at hand to give practical assistance to its more prestigious infant offspring.

Two final extracts from the Minutes must conclude this extended assessment of the work of the Institution; they relate to its two outstanding figures, James Roche and Thomas Dix Hincks. The meeting of Managers of 4th April, 1853, had the proud and melancholy task of paying tribute to James Roche who had presided, aged eighty three, over his last meeting on 17th March, 1853. The following Resolution fittingly epitomised a long lifetime of devotion to scholarship and to Cork: "That by the death of our venerated and respected Vice-President, James Roche Esq., this Institution has been deprived of one of its oldest and most distinguished Members. Throughout a long, active and laborious literary career its interests were the objects of his unceasing care and attention. In connexion with this Institution he laboured assiduously for the establishment of the Queen's Colleges, and thus materially promoted the culture and improvement of the Youth of our native land. Gifted with a most tenacious memory, and living in an eventful period of the world's history, his mind retained all the results of long and matured experience, of deep observation and of extended

research into ancient and modern Literature. In him Learning and Science have lost a devoted friend. Deprived of the benefit of his sound judgement and large and liberal mind, we mourn his loss and feel bereaved of a faithful and beloved associate".

The Managers meeting of 2nd June, 1856, approved of an Address to the Rev. Thomas Dix Hincks, LL.D. In "entering upon the 50th year of their Incorporated existance they gladly avail themselves of the auspicious occasion to express to you the esteem and respect with which they regard the Venerable Founder of the Institution ---- to you Ireland is indebted for having excited attention to the want of Literary and Scientific Institutions easily accessible to all Classes, where means could be afforded of diffusing the knowledge and facilitating the general introduction of all improvements in Arts and Manufactures, especially Agriculture, and for teaching by courses of Philosophical lectures and experiments the application of Science to general pursuits. The local public of this City, and of the South of Ireland, roused by your appeal and stimulated by the publication of your varied school works which opened the treasures of Knowledge to the youthful mind, founded this Institution. Belfast followed the example and an impulse was thus given throughout the country for the encouragement of Scientific and Literary Associations". Hincks, then in his ninetieth year, replied with a letter expressing his gratitude and his philosophy. "I sincerely thank you for the very gratifying Address which you have sent me on the occasion of your meeting for the first time after having been for fifty years

a corporate Body. I have, indeed, witnessed with pleasure the realisation, to a great extent, of those plans which I formed in early life for promoting popular instruction in the sciences and the useful arts; I have also been gratified to think of the share which your Institution and others of a similar nature must have had as Elements in that great Educational Movement to which Ireland owes her system of National Education and her Queen's Colleges.

You speak of the Royal Cork Institution as owing its origins to me. The success which attended my efforts to establish it must be attributed to my having studiously avoided giving it even the appearance of being identified with any religious or political party, and to my having thus obtained a much more general support than I could possibly have had, if I had adopted a different course.

I thank you for what you say of my sons, ⁽⁶⁷⁾ whether they be serving their Country in a political or in a scientific department abroad, or are engaged in the duties of their professions at home, all of them enjoy the respect of those among whom their lot has been cast, and one of them has, indeed, been eminently successful.

Once more thanking you for the Address, and trusting that the very advanced period of life to which it has pleased God that I should attain, and the infirmities attendant upon Old Age will be my Apology for all defects in my answer. Wishing prosperity to the Institution and all those connected with it.

I now subscribe myself,

Your faithful and obedient Servant,

Thomas Dix Hincks, LL.D., M.R.I.A."

This chapter set out to describe the state of polite learning in a provincial city. Some of the material has appeared before, scattered in a variety of learned journals; some of the personalities mentioned are given a passing reference in relatively obscure, though learned, publications. Here an attempt has been made to give coherence, and, hopefully, a breathing vitality to men and movements. Except for one or two brief extracts, the great mass of the manuscript material relative to the Royal Cork Institution has remained firmly entrenched within the substantial covers of its Victorian binding. The chapter rather presumptuously, perhaps, began with the proposition that what is local need not necessarily be trivial. Men such as Hincks, Roche, Thompson, Maclise, Lane, Davy, Bryce, Wyse and Kane, and so many others, have flitted through these pages. They played their part in evoking an atmosphere and creating an instrument which made the Cork of the first half of the nineteenth century a place of noteworthy intellectual excitement. That intellectuality and the conscious desire to embody it in an academic institution surely justifies the claim that the material in this chapter forms an indispensable element in the birth of the Queen's College, Cork.

CHAPTER II

1. Dictionary of National Biography.
2. "The Royal Cork Institution". Margaret MacSweeney and Joseph Reilly. Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society. Vol. XLVII.
3. Minute Book, Royal Cork Institution, 1826-51. p.19.
4. "William Thompson". R.K.P. Pankhurst. Pub. Watts and Co. London, 1954.
"Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England". W.H.G. Armytage. pp.110, 132, 221. Pub. Lawrence and Wishart, London. Reprinted, 1968.
5. Studies in History of Education. B. Simon. op. cit. p.204.
6. "An Inquiry into the Principle of the Distribution of wealth, most conducive to Human Happiness; Applied to the newly-proposed System of Voluntary Equality of Wealth". William Thompson. Pub. London. Longman, Hurst 1824.
7. Minute Book R.C.I. p.214.
8. "Daniel Maclise R.A.". W.J. O'Driscoll, M.R.I.A. Pub. London. Longmans, Green 1871.
9. "Daniel Maclise 1806-1870". Arts Council of Great Britain. 1972. p.19.
10. "James Roche, Father of Q.C.C." Professor D. Gwynn, D.Litt. University College, Cork Record.
11. "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays by an Octogenarian". Vols. I, II. Printed: Cork. G. Nash, 16 Princes Street. 1850.
12. Gwynn. ob. cit.
13. "Gentlemen's Magazine". June, 1853.
14. "Essays". op. cit. Vol. II. p.102.
15. "Essays". op. cit. Vol. II. p.153.
16. "Now and Then". Denny Lane, M.A. Pub. Gill, Dublin. 1885.
17. Father Theobald Mathew (1790-1856). Founder of Temperance Movement. Gained active support of Catholics and Protestants in Cork for his varied social work. See: "Father Mathew". J.F. Maguire, M.P. Pub. London, 1899.
18. Gerald Griffin. Irish Writer. Entered teaching congregation of Christian Brothers. Buried North Monastery, Cork.
19. "The Athenaeum" 1st May, 1807.
20. Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry.
21. The Irish Education Experiment. Akenson.
22. Minute Book, R.C.I. 1826-1851. p.21.

23. Seventh Report. p.4. op. cit.
24. Dictionary of National Biography.
25. Memoirs of Sir Francis Hincks, son of Thomas Dix Hincks.
26. "History of Cork". C.B. Gibson, M.R.I.A. Vol. II p.318. Pub. London. Thomas Newby. 1861.
Seventh Report. op. cit. Evidence of William Clear. Appendix 3.
27. Royal Belfast Academical Institution Centenary Volume.
28. "The Queen's Belfast". T.W. Moody and J.C. Beckett. Vol. 1. p. X/vi. Pub. Faber and Faber, London 1959.
29. Fourth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry 1825/7. Appendix No.10. p.82.
30. Select Committee on Education, Ireland 1835. Minutes of Evidences. Paragraphs 157 et seq.
31. Economic History of Cork. W. O'Sullivan, M.A. Pub. Cork University Press. 1937.
32. "A Syllabus of a Course of Lectures delivered - the year 1803, by T.D. Heiner, M.R.I.A.
33. "The Munster Farmers' Magazine". Vol. 1 1811.
34. Quoted: "The Chemical Revolution". Clow and Clow. p. 292. Pub. Batchworth Press. London. 1952.
35. "The Account of the Proprietors of the Cork Institution". This was published in the journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, Vol. XII (1906) under the name of Robert Day, F.S.A. Day's contribution to local historical research was both deep and diverse. His original copy of the "Account", together with a great deal of other valuable material, perished when the Cork Public Library was burned by the Black and Tans during the War of Independence.
36. For List of Proprietors see Appendix.
37. The Annual Report of the managers and auditors of the Cork Institution. British Museum. Tracts. (Academies). 1809. Printed: Cork. James Haly, Bookseller, King's Arms, Exchange.
38. See: "Three Centuries of Irish Chemists". Pub. Cork University Press. 1941.
"Richard Kirwin, an Irish Chemist of the 18th Century".
"Isis", February, 1930. By J. O'Reilly and N. O'Flynn.
"History of the Royal Society". Thomson.
39. General Vallancy. 1721-1812. Army Engineer and Antiquary.
collected Irish language manuscripts.

40. See: "Proceedings of the Chemical Society". (1859), Vol. xi. p.184.
Dictionary of National Biography.
"Journal of Chemical Education". 1953. Article by J. Russell.
41. "Humphrey Davy" James Kendall. Pub. Faber and Faber, London 1953.
42. "Three Centuries of Irish Chemists". op cit.
43. British Museum. "Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London". Vol. 107. 1817. Ref. LR.292.
44. British Museum. "Philosophical Magazine". 1817. Vol.50.1818. Vol.52. 1821. Vol. 58. 1819. Vol.54. 1822. Vol.59. Ref. 252.K.1-32.
45. Manuscript Minute Book: Cork Institution. 1826-1851. Preserved in the College Archives, University College, Cork.
46. Cork Medical Schools.
47. Minutes. 5 June, 1826.
48. See this writer's unpublished M.A. Thesis: "Aspects of Protestant Schooling in Ireland, 1700-1850." The Library, University College, Cork.
49. Seventh Report (1827) Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry.
50. *ibid.* p.5.
51. Seventh Report. *ibid.* Appendix No. 9.
52. Botanic Garden. Later acquired by Fr. Mathew as a Catholic Cemetery. still locally known as "the Gardens".
53. Seventh Report. *ibid.* Appendix No. 1.
54. Seventh Report. *ibid.* Appendix No. 2.
55. Seventh Report. *ibid.* Appendix No. 6.
56. Seventh Report. *ibid.* Appendix No. 11.
57. Denis B. Bullen. First Dean of Medical Faculty, Queen's College, Cork.
58. William Crawford. Member of prominent brewing family.
59. Cork County Library. Archives Office. The Day Papers.
History Script, Leipsig. By Thomas Taylor, M.D., F.L.S.
Sat. 19 April, 1823, at the Royal Cork Institution, Syllabus on a Course of Lectures on Botany to be delivered.
60. *ibid.* "Course of National Philosophy, to be delivered at the Royal Cork Institution, commencing Monday, 2nd February, 1829, at 2 o'clock p.m. and at 8 o'clock p.m. by Richard Greene, A.B., M.D."



61. "The Queen's Belfast". Moody and Beckett. op. cit. p. Lxvii.
See also: "Belfast Literary Society - Historical Sketch", pp. 135/6.
"James Boyce" by H.A.L. Fisher.
62. "Report from the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland". 1836.
See also this writer's M.A. Thesis. op. cit.
63. "Lectures on the Science of Education to be delivered in the Royal Cork Institution commencing on Monday, the 28th Day of December (1835) at one o'clock. By the Rev. R.J. Boyce. Principal of the Belfast Academy." Original in Day Papers, Archives Office, Cork County Library.
64. Abraham Abell. John Windels. Reprinted. Journal of Cork Historical and Archeological Society.
65. See: "Proceedings of the British Association", 1843.
66. "Life of Father Mathew". J.F. Maguire, M.P. op cit.
67. The Hincks Family.
The youngest son, Francis (1807 - 1885), became prominent as a liberal in Canadian politics; Was Prime Minister 1851-54.
Subsequently knighted. Author of History of Canada.

CHAPTER III.

Seminal Thinking

The first chapter has dealt with the general movement of opinion in higher education which inevitably had a formative influence in the creation of new academic institutions such as London University in Britain, or the Belfast Academical Institute and the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. The second chapter has examined the state of educational enterprise and opinion in the city of Cork in an endeavour to determine to what extent a climate existed that would be congenial to the selection of the city as the seat of a university institution. This chapter will seek to explore the third source from which the origins of the Queen's College, Cork, may be traced - the ideas and activities centred round Thomas Wyse (1791 - 1862). Wyse has been one of the forgotten men in the history of Irish education. Yet all the contemporary evidence clearly indicates that in his own day he was, and was readily acknowledged as such, one of the seminal figures caught up in the public life of Ireland, and especially in the creation of the two great educational initiatives which characterised the first half of the nineteenth century - the National System of elementary schools and the Queen's Colleges, Whatever may have been the initial defects of those two pieces of English social engineering they were adopted and adapted by the native Irish genius, and despite the religious, political and social upheavals of a crowded century and a half, they

still form the basic structures of first and third level education in Ireland. However, the creation of the National System in 1831⁽¹⁾ and of the Queen's Colleges in the years 1845 - 49 involved many of the leading religious and political leaders of Ireland in a lively debate in which religious and political considerations entered largely into purely educational discussion. This was to be expected considering the enduring inter-relationship between education and the broader problems of human society. Nor was this kind of debate peculiar to Ireland, an expression of some peculiar Celtic perversity: the first chapter will have indicated the confrontations, the convolutions and the contortions which arose in England over the university issue alone; an even more prolonged and not less acrimonious tussle marked the sphere of elementary education, largely concerned with finance and denominational demarcations, right through to the end of the century.

It has been one of the vitiating aspects of much of the published material on the history of Irish education that this comparative element has been largely overlooked; much of the feeling of injured outrage, of the deep suspicion of motive, of the self-pitying sense of being the unique victims of alleged plots to rob Ireland of her faith and nationality proceeds from a one-dimensional view of the issues involved. Wyse was at the very centre of those issues both in Ireland and in England; possibly his subsequent eclipse may very largely be due to the fact that the philosophy of mixed education which he supported, and which was embodied in both the National System and the Queen's Colleges, was repudiated as something of a shoddy plot by fundamentalists

in the second half of the nineteenth century. This new wisdom, broadly dating from the Synod of Thurles in 1850, deserves consideration at once critical and sympathetic from educational historians; but to cast aside those who earlier struggled sincerely for a differing wisdom may well pander to a sense of cosy rectitude, but it falls short of those standards of informed objective scholarship and enlarged human sympathies which are the hall-marks of reputable historical scholarship.

In an article⁽²⁾ assessing Wyse's contribution to the foundation of the Queen's College, Cork, Professor Gwynn puts him in historical perspective. "Thomas Wyse also deserves much greater recognition than he has received. He became unpopular because he accepted ministerial office after a time, and eventually was the British Minister to Greece. But in his youth Wyse had been a brilliant and most interesting figure. His family had been concerned with the agitation for Catholic rights since the most difficult times. His great-grandfather, Thomas Wyse of Waterford, was one of the three Catholics (Charles O'Connor, Dr. Curry and himself) who formed the first Catholic Committee, long before any measures of relief from the penal laws had been conceded ---- the Thomas Wyse who played so large a part in founding the Cork College was brought up largely on the Continent, after being at school at Stonyhurst when the Jesuits had settled there after the French Revolution. He graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and then travelled in Italy where he acquired expert knowledge of the fine arts. He married a young niece of the Emperor Napoleon, and brought her back to Waterford in the last years of O'Connell's Catholic

agitation. Very few of the younger men, contributed so much as he did to the final stages of O'Connell's agitation and to the organisation of its triumph ---- Thomas Wyse wrote his full 'History of the Catholic Association', which has become the standard history of the whole movement. He had himself played a decisive part in the triumph of the movement in which his great grandfather had been one of the first brave pioneers. When Emancipation enabled Catholics to stand for Parliament, Wyse stood for Waterford and was elected. From that time forward he dedicated his whole life to social reform, and particularly to education. In time he became one of the most influential experts on all educational questions".

This assessment is in sharp contrast with a pamphlet on Wyse by Dr. R.J. Batterberry which undertook to examine the assumptions and conclusions found in the standard biography written by Dr. J.J. Auchmuty entitled "Sir Thomas Wyse, the Life and Career of an Educator and Diplomat".⁽³⁾ Batterberry's pamphlet,⁽⁴⁾ significantly entitled "Sir Thomas Wyse, An Advocate of A Mixed Education Policy over Ireland", cannot be represented as other than a selective attack on Wyse's reputation as an educationalist. The right to question, or to demolish, the proclaimed views of a man so much in public life as Wyse was cannot be called in question; what must be questioned is the fact that Batterberry's pamphlet attacks Wyse not for what he was, but for what he was not. Instead of probing and evaluating Wyse's concepts in terms of the man holding them, and in the context of the time in which they were expounded, the pamphlet purports to consider the wide range of Wyse's thought

and activity within the narrow focus of his support of the principle of mixed education. Batterberry refers to Wyse's⁽⁵⁾ "industrious incapacity for the task which he assigned himself, an incapacity due to his entire ignorance of Irish realities, above all, of Catholic education in Ireland". There are references "to the position of the misguided Catholic families that sought culture for their sons by sending them into Trinity College during Wyse's time there"; yet no mention of the fact that the Catholic Bishops at no time before 1870 expressed condemnation or disapproval of such practice. There is reference to the "pathetic cause"⁽⁶⁾ of mixed education, but no mention of the recorded statements⁽⁷⁾ of Daniel O'Connell and of the foremost educationalist among the Catholic Bishops of the day, Dr. J. Doyle, of Kildare and Leighlin, in which they viewed mixed education not as an uncomfortable necessity, but as a positive potential element in creating community harmony. The pamphlet's concluding paragraph⁽⁸⁾ confidently asserts that "on the university side, both Wyse and the English State for which he worked, were just an elaborated and persistent failure". Apart from the implication that the Queen's College, Cork, was solely the creation of Wyse and the English State, an assumption which it is hoped the last chapter has shown to have no validity, it is, indeed, questionable if any historian ought to be so rash as to write off the Queen's Colleges as an "elaborated and persistent failure" without presenting a due balance of evidence. The pamphlet does not encumber itself with any such evidence.

Obviously, therefore, Wyse's work for education must

be looked at critically; the existence of even a poorly mounted attack must serve as a corrective to an unduly adulatory presentation. It does not fall within the ambit of this work to detail or assess the whole span of Wyse's work in connection with Irish education: his involvement with the establishment of the National System in 1831 has been given extended treatment recently by Dr. D.H. Akenson in his "Irish Education Experiment⁽⁹⁾", in which, it may be noted, he undertakes to explode some of the more exaggerated claims made for Wyse in "Notes on Education Reform in Ireland⁽¹⁰⁾" being the hitherto unpublished memoirs of Wyse put together by his niece, Winifrede M. Wyse. Rather, attention will be concentrated on three aspects of his activities which specifically relate to the Queen's College, Cork, the Report of the Wyse Committee of 1835 - 38, his speech to the Munster Provincial College Committee meeting in Cork in 1844, and his writings and speeches as the Queen's Colleges Bill was being prepared and piloted through Parliament in 1845. From these three sources it will be possible to discern the kernel of Wyse's educational thinking, based as it was on an extensive personal study of continental developments, particularly, as with Thomas Campbell, his study of the workings of the Universities of Berlin and Bonn. Much of his reflection was embodied in his "Education Reform",⁽¹¹⁾ published in 1836, which, leaving aside altogether disputed issues in the realms of religion and politics, was the only extended educational treatise to come out of Ireland in the first half century of his era. It is a lucid pedagogical exposition of aims, attitudes and

achievements in education considered as a science, while its numerous and extended footnotes display a wide-ranging familiarity with, and an erudite assessment of, contemporary educational trends at all three levels in the Europe of the day. In their "Queen's, Belfast"⁽¹²⁾ Moody and Beckett state that "the impetus to Peel's decision to grapple with the university problem in Ireland came not from Ulster but from the south, where an agitation for educational reform in the interests of the Catholic laity had long been gathering strength under the leadership of Thomas Wyse, M.P." The distinguished authors further inform their readers that⁽¹³⁾ "in 1835, on a motion to bring in his second education bill, he so far impressed the whig government of Lord Melbourne that it appointed a select committee, with himself as chairman, to inquire into schools of public foundation, and into the possibilities of improving, extending and permanently maintaining academical education in Ireland". Much reference is made to the Select Committee of 1835 - 38 in educational publications, but detailed direct evidence has not been allowed to see the light of day. This chapter will offer a selection of such evidence in so far as it relates to the problem of higher education. Such alone would make a consideration of what became known as the Wyse Report worthwhile; but the Report gained added significance in the evolution of the Queen's College, Cork, by virtue of the fact that it was directly as a result of its publication in 1838, and of its advocacy of provincial academies, that the Munster Provincial College Committee was founded in Cork with James Roche as chairman. This Committee, with

which Wyse remained closely associated, dissolved itself only on the occasion of the opening of the College.

As was usual the Report⁽¹⁴⁾ was divided into two sections: the Minutes of Evidence and the conclusions and recommendations based thereon. The Minutes of Evidence give invaluable first-hand insight into the thinking of persons actually concerned with the problems of education in the Ireland of the 1830s. In this regard the evidence of Dr. Denis Brennan Bullen, M.D., given on the 13th and 14th August, 1835, has special relevance to the subject-matter of this work. Even though possibly superfluous, it may be well to reiterate that Bullen was a Manager and Lecturer in Chemistry to the Royal Cork Institution, that in 1833 he had been instrumental in presenting a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant seeking collegiate status for the Institution, and that he was to become Professor of Surgery and first Dean of the Medical Faculty in the Queen's College. A selection from his evidence⁽¹⁵⁾ is given which covers the Institution and proposals for a provincial college. Referring to lectures at the Institution, Bullen stated (par. 3696) that "they were very well attended because there was no charge. The consequence was the classes were very well filled when the lectures were attractive; the moment the lectures ceased to be attractive they became thinly attended. It required the lecturers to avoid dry details and to give brilliant experiments to make them interesting. I was attended by about 400. I lectured twice a day, and there were as many as the room could hold and many persons in the evening could not get in. Whenever I ventured upon dry detail, which was the most instructive part of the course, that moment I perceived the class would

get disinclined to attend; so that I was always obliged to look more to the brilliancy of the experiments than to the importance of the matter. I conceive opening lectures gratuitously to people that are able to pay for them is a very bad system; it makes the lecturer more a public exhibitor than a man of science. They (the public) are pleased as long as they are amused; they get a smattering knowledge of the science, but they do not acquire any deep or useful knowledge which could be afterwards applied. I conceive it to be the most useful of all public amusements, but I look upon it only as a public amusement". Having thus peremptorily disposed of "bread and circus" education,

Bullen stated that the greatest benefit deriving from the Institution was the provision of a Library. He did "not know any city where there is a greater anxiety for really useful knowledge than in Cork. I attribute it very much to the domestic habits of the people of Cork who are fond of staying at home in the evening and reading; and to the existence of the Cork Library⁽¹⁶⁾ which I think has been a great advantage; and also to the existence of the Cork Institution Library, so that they have therefore had a very ample supply of books, and made a good use of them". Asked did this arise from "an absence of more serious pursuits", Bullen replied: "No, the more reading classes are those that are most industriously employed during the day. The men that I know who have the greatest extent of knowledge, are men who are actively employed all day, and devote their evenings to intellectual pursuits".

Reading, however, was not the sole diet of the devotees of mental refinement. "There is a great turn at present

towards architecture among the young men; they are very zealous in the study. I consider that architecture and civil engineering are the two branches at present to which the minds of intelligent young men are more particularly directed". Nor was music neglected. "I would unhesitatingly say that in appreciation of the beauties of dramatic literature and of music there is more exquisite taste and a better appreciation on the part of the Cork audiences than most others I have seen; and in saying that I believe I am borne out by the expressed opinions of some of the most distinguished persons that have appeared before them". One of the great patrons of learning in the city was Dr. Murphy, the Catholic bishop. "The most valuable private library is that of Doctor Murphy, the Catholic bishop. He expends a considerable sum every year in buying the most valuable books in every department, including history and literature, and even the lighter departments of useful knowledge, besides theology and the deeper branches of severe knowledge. I should think that if he continues to purchase books he will soon have 60,000 volumes. He is most liberal in allowing the use of his library to every person that has a proper introduction to him, and who he thinks will take care of his books. And from what I can learn of his intentions he means at some future time to extend the benefits of his great library to the inhabitants of his diocese". Before moving on to give Bullen's views on a proposed university institution it is right to quote a final aside on reading tastes in the city. "The ladies of Cork have a great taste for scientific reading". (par. 3777)

Asked his views on "a proper system of Academical or Collegiate study", Bullen stated "I conceive that public lectures paid by Government and given gratuitously to the public would not be a judicious expenditure of public money; and that one half the sum expended in maintaining a system of severe study for young men, after they passed the elementary schools, would be one of the greatest advantages that could be conferred upon the country". He had no doubt it would be frequented most numerously, "in general arts, in classical literature and in the branches of the medical profession. And what is more, since this Committee was established, some of the law gentlemen in Cork have expressed to me their anxiety that a lectureship of law should be established to give lectures on common law in Cork". There was equal anxiety among the medical profession for a collegiate institution. "There has been a medical school in existence in Cork for the last 25 years, the particulars of which I can give to the Committee. The Cork school of physic and surgery has been established upwards of 25 years; it was established by a private individual, Dr. Woodroffe, and its existence at this moment without patronage or college recognition is a direct proof of its real utility and advantage. Its existence in defiance of the colleges that wanted to crush it shows what it would be in Cork if we only had fair play with other schools. Lectures are there regularly delivered during the winter season of six months upon anatomy, physiology, the theory and practice of physic and surgery, and upon midwifery, together with anatomical demonstrations and practical anatomy. The school is connected

with the South Infirmary and the House of Industry Hospital, at which institutions the pupils have ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with disease and witnessing surgical operations, where they are also instructed in materia medica and pharmacy and have the advantage of clinical lectures on medicine and surgery. Perhaps 28 may be esteemed an average class".

Bullen's statements relative to law and medicine obviously implied a demand for, and the existence of local facilities capable of supporting, the kind of specialised advanced work associated with an academic institution. Even the presence of largescale poverty, whatever its attendant evils, was pressed into service to buttress the argument. Bullen did "not know any city which would present greater opportunities for an extensive school of medicine than Cork. There is a large pauper population which enables us to cultivate the study of anatomy⁽¹⁷⁾ without having recourse to those unpleasant proceedings which other cities are obliged to do in order to procure a supply of bodies. There are also great advantages with respect to hospitals, especially since the new infirmary was built, which has been laid out especially for clinical instruction. The building is arranged for the classification of cases to promote clinical instruction and it will accommodate 120 patients. It is in the vicinity of the Cork Fever Hospital which contains nearly 200 beds, and between them both a quantity of clinical instruction would be given equal to that of any great hospital in Scotland or Dublin". Asked about a "Lunatic Asylum in Cork" Bullen, perhaps with unconscious irony, eagerly answered "there is one of the most extensive lunatic asylums in the country; in

short, there are opportunities for every branch of medical instruction in the best form, and there is besides that extent of disease which a pauper population presents in its most instructive form". Whatever Bullen may have been lacking in, and his later career at the College did raise certain question marks, it certainly was not the quality of assured salesmanship: Cork had everything - an industrious citizenry which passed its nights in assiduous reading; fashionable ladies with a distinct taste for scientific reading; eager lawyers and devoted doctors; an entirely satisfying incidence of disease; a bountiful supply of infected paupers; an abundance of bodies fresh on the anatomy table, and a veritable profusion of lunatics!

Dealing specifically with academic procedures in a proposed college, Bullen was "opposed to conferring upon any provincial school the power of conferring degrees which give a licence to practise. My own opinion is this, I am decidedly opposed to facilitating the acquisition of degrees; at the same time I would extend the facilities of acquiring knowledge. I would have one central body in each nation which would constitute an university". An exception to that position would obtain in the matter of a degree in Arts. "I would have in the provincial college the power of conferring bachelor of Arts (a degree equivalent to the French bachelier e lettres) at the end of three years of severe study, on passing his examination creditably. I would allow no man to become a student of medicine or a student of law, or allow him to matriculate in those higher branches, till he had first obtained his degree of bachelor of Arts". In view of later controversy on the religious issue Bullen's exposition

of his own views, and what he claimed to be the state of opinion among those favouring a college, deserves close consideration. Asked (par. 3804) would he "look for the establishment of a theological school in any college that might be established in Cork", he replied: "I would not look for it; but if there were a number of persons associated together capable of maintaining a theological class, if such theological class was not inconsistent with the generally received opinions of the community upon religious matters, I do not see what harm there would be in it; but I am afraid if we have anything whatever to do with theology, dissension will ensue". The next question was: "Would it not be better to exclude it altogether?" To which Bullen replied: "I think it would be safer". Would he not look for the power of conferring theological degrees? "I would leave theological matters to their respective communions", he replied. As to the authority by which a proposed college should be established, Bullen wanted the State as the organ of institution and support. "My principle would be that Government or the Central Board should provide the whole of what I would call the machinery of the establishment; that is, the building and the apparatus and the material. Having done so, a local body should be created for the local moral control. The whole of the academical discipline and the courses of lectures should be vested in the senatus academicus, to consist of the professors, and the Central Board should exercise an immediate control to see that the professors discharged their duty, and that the local Board discharged theirs. Government should provide for the perma-

nent expenditure, and the salaries of the professors should depend entirely on fees". In a later passage (par. 3868) there was a modification on the matter of professors' salaries. "I wish to correct the word 'wholly' dependent. What I wished was to avoid the creation of sinecure professorships, or giving such a salary as to make it worth a man's while to take the situation for the sake of the salary alone. I should certainly have some fixed sum that they might look forward to, but it should be so small a sum as would not satisfy a man or induce him to relax his exertions to increase the number of his pupils". As regard appointment of professors to be rested in a body totally unconnected with the district in which the professors were to be located, "I should propose that the professors should be nominated by a central body in Dublin, or learned men appointed by the Central Board, which learned men should examine the several candidates in public, and the candidates should be selected solely from the proficiency which they exhibited".

Again returning to the place of religion in a college, Bullen was asked (par. 3907): "Do you think the professors ought to be laymen or clergymen, or intermixed? He replied: "In a provincial college where they had no theological faculty, I would give no man superior claim on account of his ordination, but I would not exclude him". Asked "practically, how do you think it would work if clergymen of all sects were eligible?", the reply was, "I should dread the effect of bringing together clergymen of opposing sects in an establishment". To the query "even supposing no real objection should exist to the introduction of clergymen of

different religious denominations, would you apprehend that the influence upon the public at large would perhaps produce a want of confidence in the institution if such a circumstance were to take place?", Bullen replied (par. 3909) "I think it would not serve the institution to give it in any way a religious character". The probing on the religious issue was sustained and penetrating. The next question (par. 3910) came as follows: "Inasmuch as there would be no religious instruction, specifically such, given in the institution, except where there was a theological branch, can you conceive any circumstances in which sectarian interference would be likely to be used by a professor, whether he was a Catholic, a Presbyterian or and Episcopalian?" The reply was: "Yesterday I stated that I was opposed to having any theological faculty in the provincial colleges, but to confine them entirely to the arts, sciences and medicine, and therefore no opportunity would occur". Asked would he make religious instruction "an essential portion of the collegiate system", Bullen elaborated on his views (par. 3916) "What I should propose in a college of this kind is that the students, on entering their names in the books, should mention what particular sect they were of, and that their names should be sent to the heads of their several congregations resident in the city where their college was, and that the heads of those congregations should provide for their religious instruction in a totally distinct and separate place from the college". The final question on religion (par. 3918) elicited a most significant reply. To the query "Have you any means of judging whether such an arrangement would be acceptable to the clergy of the different religious

denominations?" Bullen felt able to answer: "From conversing with clergymen of different denominations I think I feel myself authorised to say that such an arrangement would be highly satisfactory, and that in fact we cannot establish a college for all sects together upon any other principle than that of non-residence and non-interference with religious subjects". Bullen felt a salary of £150 would be adequate for professors and that they should reside in the town rather than at the college. Asked (par. 3931) did this imply that "the college would be merely a place consisting of lecture-rooms on the plan of London University?" he stated "yes, and the Scotch colleges. I would encourage the professors taking boarders as much as possible, as is done by some of the Scotch professors. Another principle I would be anxious to encourage is the aggregate principle, which Cuvier established in France of professors selecting any young men that may seem to have a particular genius towards a particular pursuit and taking them as pupils, and training them up accustoming them to give demonstrations upon the subject of the class, and training them up as teachers from their youth. I would endeavour to attach to those provincial colleges a special department for training teachers". He would prefer a course, or a professorship in the provincial college to a separate college especially dedicated to the purposes of training teachers. "I think teachers would acquire a greater extent of knowledge and more comprehensive ideas than they would if they were shut up in a school exclusively confined to teachers; they would then go out with very little knowledge of the world, and very contracted

ideas, and besides it would be more economical⁽¹⁸⁾".

Bullen's evidence, presented with fluency and cogency, was obviously the fruit of reflection allied to an understanding of university procedures elsewhere. From his last-quoted statements on teacher-training to the views on the role of the State, on the appointment of professors, on the issue of religion, on the college being undenominational and non-residential, his views were worthy of careful consideration. In so far as they were representative of local opinion, they reveal a remarkably informed conception of the function and possible structure of the kind of academic institution being sought in Ireland in response to the distinctive needs of the middle class. Bullen claimed to speak for that class - the doctors, the lawyers, the clergymen - and the principles and practices he formulated bore a significant resemblance to those embodied in the Queen's College, Cork - indeed, in all three Queen's Colleges - when the first major attempt was made to meet Irish demands for university education in modern times. Bullen's evidence, therefore, taken in conjunction with the activities of the Royal Cork Institution, reiterates a basic contention of this work that the Queen's College, Cork, was a response to an active and informed local demand. In advocating this contention, and supporting it by evidence, this work is questioning the great body of received opinion which sees the Queen's Colleges either as an English governmental initiative designed by Peel to neutralise O'Connell's Repeal movement, or, in more alarmist terms, as simply an updated version of sophisticated proselytism. The chapter, however, will not seek to interpret in detail the views of Bullen

or of other witnesses before the Wyse Committee. If there is no history, but only evidence, this chapter sets out to present for the first time primary evidence relating to a significant and controversial movement in Irish education; that evidence is best left to speak for itself.

One of those who was to become prominently associated with the campaign for a Provincial College for Munster was the aristocratic Protestant landlord from Clare, William Smith O'Brien, who as Member of Parliament first for Clare and later for Limerick, played a very active part in promoting social reform, especially poor relief, in Ireland. After the publication of the Wyse Report in 1838 O'Brien collaborated with Wyse and with such prominent Cork personalities as Roche and Bullen in the formation of the Munster Provincial College Committee; O'Brien, however, pressed the claim of Limerick, in addition to Cork, as the possible location of such a college. Unlike Wyse, he became prominent in O'Connell's Repeal Association, and in the group of younger more nationalist intellectuals who formed a liberal wing of the Repeal Association under the name of "Young Ireland", with Thomas Davis as their chief philosopher and the "Nation" newspaper as their popular organ of expression. By a strange coincidence both Wyse and O'Brien were out of Ireland when their ambition was realised with the opening of the Queen's College, Cork; both were living at the expense of her Britannic Majesty, Wyse in the British Embassy in Athens as Minister Plenipotentiary, and O'Brien at the convict settlement in Tasmania to which he had been transported for his leadership of the abortive 1848 Young Ireland rebellion. Some original letters on the university

issue will later be used from the O'Brien Papers in the National Library of Ireland, but it seems appropriate at this juncture to give some of the evidence⁽¹⁹⁾ of Smith O'Brien before the Committee in relation to educational developments in Limerick. Having paid tribute to the work of the Christian Brothers and nuns in educating the poor, and having detailed a prospectus for a proposed "National Academy of Limerick" for the "diffusion of useful knowledge particularly amongst the working classes of mechanics in a wealthy, populous and improving city such as Limerick", O'Brien expressed the opinion that it would not be necessary to make education compulsory on all classes of the people. (par. 6611) "I do not think in Ireland it would be necessary to render education compulsory by legal enactments, so ardent and so universal as far as my observation extends, is the thirst for education, especially among the poorer classes. But, undoubtedly, if such an anxiety did not exist I should consider that measures of a compulsory kind, provided that they did not in any unnecessary manner or by any harsh proceeding, violate the liberty of the subject, would be perfectly justifiable. I may add that I regard the establishment of a school as at least as much the duty of society as the establishment of a goal". He agreed that the term "compulsion" was connected to a certain degree with a violation of the liberty of a subject. "And for one I should be reluctant to admit it as a part of our educational system, believing that it is not necessary. But I regard the education of the community as a matter of such vital importance that if I were driven to a choice of an alternative I should, under the qualifications that I have already expressed, not

regard compulsory knowledge as a worse evil than voluntary ignorance".

In regard to something in the nature of higher education O'Brien outlined the activities of the Literary and Scientific Institution in the city. It had been established about twenty-seven years previously with considerable zeal, but "as is very frequently the case in Ireland the parties began upon a very expensive plan; they took a house and purchased an expensive library and a costly collection of minerals, and I attribute its subsequent decline to the circumstance of adequate provision not having been made in the first instance for the permanent maintenance of the society in regard to funds". Since his joining three years previously there was a more vigorous restoration of activity, with "very large additions made to the library, and I may here mention that in the selection of works we have endeavoured to choose such as would be acceptable to all classes of readers, so that there are works of an abstruse and of a lighter character". There were also weekly meetings for the "purpose of familiar lectures upon different branches of science", which had been "productive of the greatest possible gratification, have been sustained with considerable vigour and zeal and have been most numerously attended". The lectures had been on chemistry, architecture, natural philosophy and upon other branches of science. "The greatest harmony has prevailed in the institution, although there is the greatest possible difference of opinion among members with respect to every question of politics and of religion". The society, however, felt that in order

to make its lectures available to the public of Limerick, and to the youth, that Parliamentary assistance ought to be rendered to provide regular courses of lectures each year, and for the erection of an adequate building. He had no hesitation in saying that if courses of lectures had been provided in the city of Limerick upon interesting branches of science twenty years before, the "whole condition of that community would at this moment have been materially different from what it is at present, and that probably active minds, which since that time have employed themselves in political agitation, or in the more dangerous pursuit of vicious amusements, would have before this time signalised themselves in the acquisitions of science". The bulk of the institution consisted of gentlemen connected with the professions of the church, the law and medicine, and there were several respectable persons in business. "But it was a most pleasing fact that there never arises anything in the society that can be offensive to the feelings of any one --- among the committee are persons of highest rank belonging to the institution; some dignitaries of the Protestant church and Roman Catholic clergymen and persons in professions. I should imagine that a considerable majority of the society is composed of Catholics". The Committee for 1836 was: Sir Aubrey de Vere, bart.; William Roche, Esq., M.P.; William Smith O'Brien, Esq., M.P.; Thomas Roche, Esq.; John O'Brien, Esq.; Surgeon Wilkinson; Viscount Adare; Rev. Mr. Cussen; John Horgan, Esq.; Cornelius O'Brien, Esq.; Right Hon. Thomas Spring Rice, M.P.; Doctor Brodie; Surgeon Kane; David Roche, Esq., M.P.; William Monsell, Esq.; Doctor Geary; Captain Sabine; Rev.

Mr. Pinkerton; the Dean of Limerick; Robert Potter Esq.;
Rev. Mr. Keating.

Following on the evidence of Smith O'Brien the Committee heard from Joseph H. Jerrard, LL.D., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and then Principal of Bristol College. Jerrard's evidence dealt largely with pedagogical principles, with the mixing of young people of differing denominations in the same school, and likewise with the mixing of differing social classes. However interesting such material is in the general history of educational development it cannot find a place in this work. The Committee also heard a long and detailed submission from Sir R. Ferguson, M.P., on agricultural education and on comparative conditions in Scotland in connection with the Templemoyle Agricultural Seminary in Co. Derry. William Knight, LL.D. discoursed long and eloquently on the systems obtaining at the Scottish Universities, delving into history to compare them with Oxford and Cambridge, and answering detailed questioning on the problem of the moral supervision of young men away from home. Robert Rickards, Esq., an Inspector of Factories for Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, explored the questions of factory hours, of the proper age for learning Latin and Greek, of the suitability of the Lancasterian system of elementary school, and of the desirability of the middling classes learning something of the physical sciences. The Rev. Richard Jones was sounded out on his estimation of the moral dangers to young men at Cambridge and at Haileybury. He volunteered the opinion that the state of "moral science was high nowhere, except in Trinity College, Cambridge, and

then through the fellowship examinations". As regards Scotland being reputed to "rank much higher in mental science", he blandly replied: "It has more lectures, but as to the efficiency of those lectures I know nothing, nor, in fact, anything whatever of the actual state of the Scotch Universities". The Rev. Charles Mayo, D.C.L., principal of his school at Cheam gave first-hand evidence of his observation of Pestalozzi at work during a three-year sojourn at Yverdan. John Bowring, LL.D., M.P., gave evidence based on his "having visited several countries, under different forms of government, in which the business of popular instruction has been an object of special attention". He spoke of developments in Denmark, Switzerland, the minor German States, France and Holland. He was questioned particularly on how the differing religious denominations adapted themselves to popular education. In Germany he had often seen the same church "applied to the use of different sects. When I was at Amsterdam a few years ago so much had instruction brought with it a spirit of tolerance that when the Catholic church was burnt down, the different established sects, one after another, lent their places of public worship to the Catholics in order that they might carry on in them Divine service".

Having heard from Bowring an itemised account of what might be termed the technical aspects of education in the Swiss cantons, the Committee pressed him to the question of provision for the differing religious groups. His answers are worth recalling as helping to provide a climate of informed opinion which ultimately determined the final recommendations of the Committee. The question was put to him

(par. 5621) that as to the Catholics and Protestants the practical point would be how religious was managed in those schools where Catholics and Protestants came together. He replied: "I confess it is a question I never asked, because I am in the habit of disassociating inquiries of this sort from any investigation into religious opinions. I have looked through the law of public instruction in the canton of Thurgovia, which I have now before me, and I do not see from beginning to end, any reference to the religious opinion either of children or parents. The 20th article of the constitution declares that the instruction of youth is the duty both of parents and of government, and requires that it shall be universally provided for". Asked did the constitution of the canton of Thurgan make any mention of provision whatever for religious instruction, the reply was: "Yes, the second clause goes on to say that the object of education is instruction, both moral and religious, and that it should be destined to the development of virtuous conduct, and to the formation of religious men. They make no distinction between the sects; and in fact, that distinction which we have constantly present to our eyes in this country happily exists very little in many other countries. I have again and again known individuals of high standing who had not the slightest notion of the religious opinions of those with whom they were in constant communication in the intercourse of society. The religious questions do not embitter the relations of life in many parts of Europe as they do in ours. It does not appear to me that religious knowledge necessarily implies sectarian instruction". Asked if reli-

gious education was in consequence neglected in those schools, Bowring replied (par. 5629): "I should say less there than anywhere else; for it appears to me to be the fact that where a school does not make sectarian religious instruction an object, the parents of the children and the clergyman of the sect to which they belong generally take a much greater interest in the subject, and consider it more specially their duty to give that religious instruction which represents their own opinions and which is not provided by the public school, while the really higher and nobler points of religious teaching, those on which all religious sects agree, may be conveniently and successfully taught to all. There can be no doubt that Switzerland is one of the most religious countries in Europe".

Dr. Rueben J. Bryce, LL.D., principal of the Belfast Academy, the educationalist whose course of lectures at the Royal Cork Institution was referred to in the last chapter, gave a rich and considered exposition of Irish educational trends and possibilities which has been surprisingly neglected by Irish historians. He advocated teaching Latin as a spoken language; he had had experience in the matter. "For nearly two years of my childhood I spoke Latin almost constantly, my father and mother would speak nothing else to me, and I found it of the greatest advantage afterwards". The Latin was not classical, admittedly, but it gave him a "readiness in Latin composition". He believed in the association of ideas as a factor in learning a second language. "At a time when I was paying a good deal of attention to Spanish, I found myself dreaming in Spanish in a state of

not very sound sleep when recovering from sea-sickness on board a steam-boat". Dealing with the kind of education for the poor then spreading across the country through the National System, Bryce noted a deterioration in the educational standards of the new teachers and a regrettable tendency to classify the schools as being specifically for the poor. (par. 1051) "In Ireland I think the results have been very injurious; the brand of pauperism has been fixed on all the schools at which the country people are educated. Twenty-five or thirty years ago Ireland had many country schoolmasters of superior education, men who were studying for the Presbyterian ministry or the Roman Catholic priesthood. Schoolmasters of this class have of late been entirely swept away, and though there are some honourable exceptions, yet generally speaking in the schools in remote country places, and even in some towns, are men of no education at all; men who are not fit for any sort of intellectual employment, and who are particularly deficient in that knowledge which is necessary for the management of the mind". He wanted every person to receive such an intellectual education as would make him "intelligent, that is, capable of thinking. I conceive that all attempts hitherto to promote the intellectual education of the people have been fatally deficient in this respect; we have been too anxious to teach them to read and write, and too little anxious to teach them to think".

Not unnaturally a great deal of Bryce's testimony dealt with teacher training; he ranged over the Training School of the Kildare Place Society, of procedures in England, in Prussia and in France. However, he felt able to state

(par. 1040): "My beau ideal of a training establishment is a Scotch or German university, in which there is a professor of the art and science of education, and attached to which there is a school conducted upon the principles which this professor expounds in his lectures. Such a school would do the same thing for the student of the art of teaching that a hospital does for students of medicine. It would furnish something analogous to what are called chemical lectures in medical education, in which the lecturer goes to the bedside of the patient, examines his symptoms and not only prescribes but also explains to the students who stand by the reason of his mode of treatment. The great advantages of this arrangement of educating teachers in a general seminary are, first, that while they were going on with their strictly professional studies, namely mental philosophy and the science and practice of teaching, they could obtain at a trifling expense in the other classes of the university such a general education as would cultivate and refine their minds. And, secondly, that by associating with persons destined for other professions, their minds would be liberalised and freed from that narrowness which is apt to be contracted by persons of a particular profession living altogether by themselves". He would assign three or four years to the university education of a teacher, including his general education and his professional, but this pre-supposed a good elementary or school education. Turning to education for the middle class, he felt it had to be considered in conjunction with that of the lower and higher classes, and that "arrangements

should be made so that, if possible, there should be an avenue opened to the ambition of literary men from the very humblest village school up to the richest literary station in the country. I should wish to see the whole education of the country so arranged that the most elevated stations in universities should be generally filled by men who had distinguished themselves in the higher schools, and that the situations in the higher schools again should be filled generally by men who had proved their competency in schools a little less lucrative, and so on, forming one chain for the education of the whole community from the very highest to the very lowest. So far as I understand the position of the middle classes of society in this country it appears to me that their education is less provided for than either the higher classes or the lower, and that, therefore, it would be well to encourage the formation of schools in which the mercantile and professional classes of the population should receive an enlarged general education".

Even as an aside, some few lines must be found to mention some of the points made to the Committee by Mr. Francis Place. He told (par. 872) of an "attempt by Mr. Bentham, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Mill, and myself and others in 1816 to set up a superior school in which all the valuable modes of teaching of Bell and Lancaster might be introduced and practised. "Circumstances had prevented its establishment". He had been a member of the committee of Lancaster's Borough Road school. "I worked hard with it; I saw the children of the most dissolute people on the face of the earth brought into order, and taught as much as the school professed to teach them. At one

time there were punishments for disobedient or neglectful behaviour; it was a system of humiliation which it was found might be dispensed with and it was dropped. There was not an instance of a boy remaining at the bottom of his class for any considerable time. Mr. Lancaster had a notion if he could allow boys to make a noise they would never consider it a drudgery to be taught. I believe he was correct; there is in the school a perpetual noise. Strangers think it confusion, but it is perfect order. The boys get the power of abstraction so as to go on with ease, notwithstanding there is noise from the process going on." Thomas Dix Hincks gave a lengthy submission ranging from a call for the establishment of Infant Schools to the need for Trinity College, Dublin, to raise its standards of classical education. In view, however, of the extensive treatment hitherto given to Hincks, his evidence mainly dealing with standards and methods in teaching Latin and Greek, will have to be passed by. Two questions put to him were, however, as significant as anything he had to say. In respect of the "intellectual progress and dispositions of the west of Ireland, he was asked was he aware that in the town of Galway there was scarcely a bookseller's shop? Further, was he aware that in the whole county Leitrim there was not a single bookseller's shop? The evidence of James Simpson, an Advocate at the Scottish Bar, would seem to have questioned the basic suitability of the classics in any sphere of education at all. Asked to favour the Committee with a statement of his views on the question of the "engrossing claims of the dead languages," he stated (par. 3218): "I am

humbly of the opinion that these languages having so long been permitted to engross from six to ten years of the most valuable period of life, and that indiscriminately, in the male sex of the middle and higher classes, is an enormous social evil. The advocates of these languages always avoid the true view of this question: they urge the absolute merits of classical literature - which, though not to the extent, is cheerfully admitted - but never consider what it excludes. I have readily conceded its value as an elegant accomplishment, excepting always where it is tainted with a vicious grossness, and an absurd and most anti-christian mythology. I grant, for I have enjoyed, the taste, the polish, the genius, the poetry and the oratory of the classics; but I cannot shut my eyes to the gloomy fact that not above one in a hundred whose years are wasted in Latin and Greek reap those advantages, or make even an approximation of them. Nay, that in afterlife ninety-nine in a hundred lose the languages and all their taste, poetry and oratory in one general oblivion. If forgotten in this, or anything like this proportion, it is a standing solecism to teach them for years to all and sundry, even were their absolute merits tenfold what they are. Morality is placed up on a false basis of selfishness by the ancient classics; while religion is so utterly opposed to their whole character that to find them approved and even taught by Christian ministers can only be accounted for by the habit of not inquiring into long-established customs. The talent, health and life wasted on classical studies at college, under the selfish stimulus of college honours, has often been deplored;

but the moral consequences are yet worse; there is a familiarity with selfishness and injustice, to which is given the name of patriotism, a disposition to think lightly of war, and an appetite for martial glory arising from the lessons and intercourse of our public schools. A different standard of morals and rule of right is, without inquiry by teachers, applied to the ancients than to the moderns, so that sensuality, selfishness, injustice, rapacity, cruelty and crime are not only excused to the former, but pressed upon the opening faculties of youth as the constituents of moral grandeur and practical virtue".

One of the longest submissions of evidence to the committee came from the Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D., who stated that he was "head of the English College and also professor of Hebrew in the University of Rome, the Sapienza". Wiseman was destined later to make a considerable public impact on English opinion with his Pastoral Letter, dated 7th October, 1850, which flamboyantly issued "from out the Flaminian Gate of Rome", and which announced his own appointment by the Pope as Archbishop of Westminster and the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy to England. If Catholic euphoria saw the restored Hierarchy and the flow of Newman converts as heralding the "Second Spring", a great deal of English Protestant opinion saw it as a sinister foretaste of what was termed the "Papal Aggression". Professor Gwynn in his biography of Wiseman⁽²⁰⁾ concedes that the Pastoral was "so provocatively jubilant that it could not fail to intensify the public anger". The "Times"⁽²¹⁾ was outraged: "Is it, then, here in Westminster, among ourselves and by the English throne, that an Italian priest is to parcel out the

spiritual dominion of this country - to employ the renegades of our National Church to restore a foreign usurpation over the consciences of men --- Such an intention must either be ludicrous or intolerable, either a delusion of some fanatical brain or treason to the Constitution". The stormy days for the future Cardinal lay well ahead when he appeared before the Select Committee and in a massive submission running to over sixty pages⁽²²⁾ gave what can only be termed as a minor treatise on education in the Papal States. He covered the whole spectrum from elementary, secondary and university education to the Index, the Jesuits, and the English colleges at Ushaw, Oscott, Prior Park and Stonyhurst. With a full realisation of how "ludicrous" and possibly "intolerable" it is to do so, only material bearing on Ireland and on higher education can be fleetingly glanced at here. Asked whether from his experience and judgement he thought "it desirable or not that the Catholics and Protestants should be educated in the same places of education," he replied (par. 6023): "I think that in this country (England) and in Ireland such arrangements might be made that both Protestants and Catholics could attend anything in the form of an university or public school without any harm ensuing; on the contrary, good perhaps might be done. I think also that in the lower branches of education it might be easily managed to give them a common education, reserving the religious education of their respective classes to their own pastors. But with respect to colleges in which all must board, and must be subject to a certain discipline, I do not see how it is possible to make arrangements that would suit both classes". As to whether he considered there

was "any decided objection to an arrangement which should annex to any University a Catholic theological college and a Protestant theological college, putting out of the question altogether the consideration of boarding", Wiseman stated (par. 6024): "The college to which such a course would apply would, of course, be equivalent to an establishment having the forms and the power of a university, inasmuch as having a theological college attached to it implies that it has the power of an university. Now there are examples in Germany of a double faculty, for instance at Bonn where there is a Protestant and Catholic faculty, and I am not aware that they ever interfere materially with one another, or that they cause any unpleasant feeling".

To the question (par. 6025) "And do you not fancy that it would be a necessary consequence, as the adoption of a similar system in Ireland, that any unpleasant feeling should arise?" Wiseman answered: "I cannot say that I am sufficiently acquainted with the state of Ireland to answer that question, which I think refers to a matter very much of a local nature. I can answer in general from the analogy of the example I have given of Bonn, that such a thing is practicable, but how far the peculiar feelings existing in Ireland would allow such an establishment is, of course, a question for those that are more experienced". In regard to the system of Mental Philosophy pursued in the Collegio Romano, Wiseman was able to inform the Committee that the philosophy of Locke and Bacon was rather recognised than rejected. (par. 6065) "I think Bacon is almost more esteemed in Italy than in England, among a class of persons with whom you would not expect it. I recollect once when travelling

being at the little town of Asti, and not being able to find my way to the hotel I asked the first young man I met in the street if he would be so kind as to direct me. He offered immediately, with Italian politeness, to accompany me. I accepted his invitation, and we had not been three minutes together before he began to speak to me about Bacon, and to express the enthusiastic admiration which not only he, but many others, entertained for him". There was no indisposition to admit works on Political Economy such as Adam Smith's. Bentham was not allowed, and the "reason is I believe, not so much on account of his political principles, as of his principles regarding religion in his works". The Committee devoted some time to a consideration of attitudes to history lecturing in the Collegio Romano. Was Wiseman aware that any particular course of historical reading was prescribed in those colleges with the same view that had been ascribed to the Prussian government, namely in order to produce a tendency among the students to admire and attach themselves to the existing institutions of State? He did not think (par. 6075) that "in the whole course of education there is the slightest political bias, nor that the books chosen for the students are chosen with any view to give them any particular learning. Certainly, the influence of ecclesiastical government must naturally be felt throughout every part. It is natural as a principle of self-preservation that they would not put ideas or opinions into people's heads which would go towards calling to question their rights. I should say it would not only be exceedingly foolish to do so, but it would be very wrong in any person who conceives that he is lawfully constituted". There

followed the significant question: "You would not think it more judicious than for the English Government, or the National Board of Education in Ireland, to publish books setting forth the advantages of a Repeal of the Union ? Certainly not".

No historian could refrain from giving Wiseman's concept of how history should be studied, if only because it was a million light years ahead of much nineteenth century practice. (par. 6561) "The spirit of history, I think, is more important than its facts, and if there be any method of grouping or classifying the character of facts of an age so as to make the student have a clear idea of the spirit which prevailed, not only in the course of historical action, but also in everything else connected with the age, I think it would facilitate the retention of history very much, and at the same time make it a great deal more useful. This sort of study may be exemplified by the view which Schlegel has given of the history of literature, and by the power which he seems to have of bringing under one view a general collection of the writers of a particular period, by analysing the spirit or the peculiar methods which they followed. As long as you go through history by simply giving the names of persons that lived and their respective actions, you are burdening the memory and a great deal will be forgotten. But if, when you are giving an account, say of the age of Pericles, instead of stringing together partial facts you make the student acquainted with that age, as an age, and the remark would apply to the Augustan or any other age, for every century has its peculiar characteristic features,

you will give as it were pictures of history rather than the chronological series of events. They would be retained much more easily, would be a matter for a great deal more reflection, and would certainly influence the conduct and the moral feeling much more". While the concluding observation on history as something which not only engages the intellect but influences the moral outlook was in accord with much of traditional nineteenth century thinking, and as such was unexceptional, the whole tone of the approach was remarkably challenging for its age.

It now remains to give the main recommendations of the Select Committee. Even the foregoing necessarily condensed edition of some of the evidence of the more significant witnesses illustrates the wealth of informed opinion at the disposal of Thomas Wyse and his fellow-commissioners. They had heard local opinion reflected by Bullen, with his evidence of the kind of feeling clustered around the Royal Cork Institution and the professional classes of the city, with the desire for an academical course satisfying the wants of the middle class; they had heard his submissions on the state of existing co-operation between persons of diverse religious opinions, and of how he envisaged this ought to be incorporated into a collegiate structure. Hincks and Bryce had contributed their experienced insights into Irish conditions and possibilities; Powning had ranged widely over European thinking and practice; Simpson had argued over the relative claims of the classics and of what was termed useful knowledge; Francis Place had invoked the current high priests of educational thinking, Bentham and Mill; Smith

O'Brien had spoken of Limerick; Wiseman had discoursed learnedly and lengthily on education in Italy, and spoken significantly on the question of Catholics and Protestants being educated together. The Report proper gave detailed recommendations under the following six headings: 1. The existing state of Elementary Schools in Ireland. 2. Suggestions for an extended, improved and permanent system of Elementary Education in Ireland. 3. The existing state of the Diocesan, Royal and other Schools of Public Foundation in Ireland. 4. Suggestions for an extended, improved and permanent system of Academical and Collegiate Education in Ireland. 5. Suggestions for the extension of Literary and Scientific Institutions, Museums, Libraries, or for an extended, improved and permanent system of Subsidiary Education in Ireland. 6. Mode of carrying the preceding Suggestions into effect. Only the recommendations under the heading "Academical and Collegiate Education" concern this work. The underlying principles were stated as follows: "Your Committee are of opinion that a liberal, judicious and appropriate system of education for the middle class is the only means by which they may be enabled to acquire and maintain that proper position in society to which they are entitled, and by the maintenance of which the community can be fully protected from the chances of internal disorder. They are further of opinion that such system is not likely to be provided as rapidly and extensively as may be required by voluntary efforts; and that it thus becomes the duty of the Legislature to intervene, as in the case of the education of the lower classes, in order to secure its blessings. To

effect this it appears to your Committee that the following objects should be kept in view: The system should be in harmony with the real wants and position of the class for which it is intended; it should, as much as possible, accord with other portions of the education system; it should be of the most improved character; it should be general, common to all, without distinction of class or creed; and once established it should be rendered permanent". The outstanding feature of this blueprint for action was its declared middle class orientation. This was fully in accord with nineteenth century educational philosophy; the class stratification was implicit. Priestley and his later followers in the liberal radical tradition were attacking the bastions of class and religious exclusivism not as crusaders for the common man, but as protagonists of a rising commercial and professional middle class seeking its place in the sun. As late as 1870 Cardinal Cullen giving evidence before the Powis Commission⁽²³⁾ on education in Ireland, had this to say on the schooling of the great majority of the Irish people: "I think the requirements for the teaching in these National schools ought not to be too great. I would teach the children to read and to write and to cipher as far as the rule of three and practice, and I would give them a practical and well founded knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion, and some little account of the history of the Scriptures and the Church. I would not compel them to enter into discussions on grammar, of the Greek roots, or mammals or marsupialia and other classes of animals, and similar questions that are not necessary for the poor people.

Too high an education will make the poor oftentimes discontented, and will unsuit them for following the plough, or for using the spade, or for hammering iron or building walls, The poor ought to be educated with a view to the place they hold in society, in which it will be impossible for them to cultivate the higher branches of literature and science. There are several millions of poor people in Ireland, and out of these there will not be five hundred that will ever rise to any distinction in literature, and I would not render education unfit for the majority in order to give a very small minority a chance of getting on". Those sentiments would have been impeccably correct for inclusion in Bernard Mandeville's "Fable of the Bees" (1733), in which he poured plentiful buckets of cold water on the growing enthusiasm for Charity Schools for the poor⁽²⁴⁾ in the early eighteenth century. They must also be taken in the context of Dr. Bryce's evidence earlier quoted on the deterioration of standards in popular education in Ireland and on the stigma of poverty, if not pauperism, being applied to National schools. In England, no less than in Ireland, improved education was seen as a bulwark against social and political subversion. That educational institutions under the Pope held similar convictions can be inferred from the evidence of Dr. Wiseman. Even a future rebel leader of the calibre of William Smith O'Brien has been earlier quoted as ascribing involvement in political agitation to a lack of adequate educational facilities for young men.

In seeking to supply extended facilities to the middle classes the Committee recommended the establishment of County

Academies and Agricultural Schools. To provide an even higher facility it recommended the founding of Provincial Colleges. "Guided by the opinion of many of the most experienced witnesses of the necessity of such institutions, and the conviction that Proprietary Colleges will not supply the want, your Committee think that there gradually should be established and maintained, at the public expense, one College at least of the description just referred to, in each of the four Provinces of Ireland, under the name of "Provincial Colleges", and that it could be so established and maintained at no great charge either to the State or to the Province in which it was placed". This recommendation in a Parliamentary Report reiterated the plea made earlier by the Royal Cork Institution; it gave substance and status to local demand. The Report acknowledged the guideline already set by the Belfast Academical Institution as "approximating to the desired organisation". The course of instruction in the projected Colleges should "be modelled on that of Belfast, with such improvements as recent enquiries might suggest". The selection of the Belfast Academical Institution as a working model is explained by the fact that, unlike the Royal Cork Institution, it was offering full-time taught courses covering a standard scholastic curriculum at both secondary and collegiate level; whereas the Cork Institution never attempted anything beyond a series of public lectures. On the crucial matter of the conferring of Degrees, which neither Belfast nor Cork hitherto had the authority to confer, the recommendation was as follows: "Though it might not be advisable that the Colleges, individually, should

be authorised to confer Degrees, it might still be so that a Board, formed from members from each of the four, from the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and from the University of Dublin and other learned bodies, as might be deemed advisable, should sit in the capital, and after due examination, and certificates being produced of having gone through, in a satisfactory manner, the seven prescribed courses, should be empowered to admit to Degrees such candidates as presented themselves from the Provincial Colleges, excepting, however, Degrees in Divinity. "The remaining recommendations were: "Your Committee are not prepared to give an opinion how far such Degrees should confer all the privileges incidental to those given by existing Universities. It might be advisable to give a common Charter to the four Colleges, under one common name. The Board should be permitted to grant superannuations to the Professors on a special scale. Statutes for the regulation of the Colleges should be drawn up by the Board, but with the concurrence of the Body of the Professors; on the other side Bye-laws passed by the latter should not be valid until sanctioned by the Board. All situations in the College should be open to all religious denominations. No tests should be required. All bequests made to the Colleges should be in trusteeship and under the control of the Board". In broad outline the Select Committee outlined the statutory structure of the Queen's College, Cork.

Reaction in Cork to the Select Committee's recommendations was swift and decisive. The Report was presented to Parliament on the 9th of August, 1838; on the 27th of Sep-

tember, 1838, a Memorandum was circulated to members of the public in Cork city and county seeking support for the "Committee appointed in this City for the establishment of a College in the South of Ireland",⁽²⁵⁾ and signed by James Roche as Chairman and William Clear as Secretary. The names of the Committee of what became known as the Munster Provincial College Committee are worth recording. Sir William Chatterton; Daniel Callaghan, M.P.; F.B. Beamish, M.P.; Standish Barry, M.P.; Edmund Burke Roche, M.P. (later Lord Fermoy); Daniel Leahy; William Crawford; Samuel Lane; Sir John Jeffreys; John Woodroffe, M.D.; William Beamish, M.D.; Joseph B. Harvey, M.D.; Eugene Finn, M.D.; D.B. Bullen, M.D.; R.D. Beamish; Rev. W.J. Hart; Rev. M.B. O'Shea; Rev. William O'Sullivan; W.R. Osborne; Francis Walsh, barrister; Horatio Townsend; Daniel Murphy; Joseph H. Manly; Thomas Jennings; Thomas Lyons; Maurice Lane; William Kelleher; William Fagan; William Clear and Richard Dowden. Two of those gentlemen, Bullen and Walsh, were later to become Professors in the Queen's College; Lyons as Mayor was to receive the declarations of the President and professorial staff; Roche was to preside at the inaugural ceremonies; Crawford was to become a generous benefactor of the College, and of other cultural bodies in the city. At a meeting of the "Nobility, Gentry and inhabitants of the Province of Munster" held in Cork on Thursday, 25th October, 1838, a Memorial⁽²⁶⁾ to the Queen was approved setting out the sentiments of the citizenry consequent on the publication of the Report of the Select Committee.

"To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

We your Majesty's attached and dutiful subjects, residents of the Province of Munster, and assembled at a meeting duly convened in the City of Cork, approach the Throne with every sentiment of loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's person and dignity, humbly to solicit your Royal consideration to the wishes and prayers of the inhabitants of this populous and extensive Province, on a subject deeply involving the best interests of the Country - the securing to all classes of your Majesty's subjects in Ireland an enlarged and ameliorated System of Education.

Your Majesty's accession to the Throne of these Kingdoms was hailed by the people of Ireland with enthusiasm; they felt that an era had arrived in their history which justified the hope, that an enlightened and impartial policy guiding the Councils of their Sovereign, this country would receive a new and powerful impulse in its progress to improvement, and by the full and unimpeded development of its own resources be ultimately placed on an equality with the Sister Kingdoms in the enjoyment of the rights and privileges of the Constitution.

In this spirit of full reliance on your Majesty's well known benevolent intentions towards this Country, we your Majesty's faithful subjects, approach the Throne humbly to submit to your Majesty's consideration that while all classes of the people of England and Scotland have possessed for centuries, and are daily increasing the means of attaining high intellectual cultivation - while your Majesty's Government has provided for the Poor of Ireland opportunities

of Education, the middle and more affluent classes of this Kingdom, those which impress their own character on national habits and feelings, are in a great measure deprived of that higher form of mental instruction demanded, as well by their social position, as by the spread of knowledge among the people.

In England, four Universities and numerous Colleges flourish under the sanction of Royal Charters; Scotland with two millions of inhabitants has four Universities, and the intellectual character of her people, the order and industry of her population, are noble proofs of the wide-spreading and beneficial influence of these institutions. Ireland, numbering eight millions of your Majesty's subjects, has but one University, and it is obvious that at a period when a demand has arisen for an Education proportioned to the rapid progress of knowledge, a single Institution, even under the most favourable circumstances, unless aided by Provincial Establishments, cannot afford sufficient opportunities of instruction to the middle classes of an entire Nation.

In humbly soliciting your Majesty's most gracious sanction to the establishment of a Provincial College in Munster, we adopt the suggestions and general plan recommended in the Report presented during the last Session by a Committee of the House of Commons, we are influenced by no adverse feeling to any existing Institution, we only ask for the extension of the privileges of education to every class and denomination of your Majesty's subjects; we do not wish or intend to interrupt private enterprise, it is rather

to be expected that Provincial Colleges, by facilitating the acquisition of knowledge will increase the demand for education and give a new impulse to the lower schools, and a more useful direction to their studies. And, may it please your Majesty, we look forward to a still higher good, a still nobler result from this undertaking, excluding as it does in the first principles on which it is founded, all political or sectarian considerations, and uniting men of all parties and opinions in a great and National object we earnestly and confidently hope that it will be the means of softening down those irritating asperities which create so much misery, and so effectually retard the progress of improvement in Ireland.

When we reflect on the progress Education is making under Royal protection in other countries, where the principles of Constitutional Liberty are inoperative, we cannot but hope that in a Free Country, and under the auspices of 'your Majesty, this National object will be accomplished. Ireland already owes her only University to a Queen, and may it be permitted to us to hope that the commencement of the reign of another Queen, who has already manifested the most favourable dispositions towards this country, will be made memorable by the establishment of Institutions which will place an extensive course of Education within the reach of all - will satisfy the desire of knowledge that is springing up amongst your Majesty's subjects in Ireland - will tend to raise our Country to an equality with the other portions of the Empire, and will rally round the Throne of a beloved Sovereign during, as we trust, a long

succession of prosperous years, a grateful, happy and enlightened People".

Apart from the somewhat effusive protestations of loyalty - which must be seen in the context of the times, and which represented nothing more than would have been expressed by the undoubted contemporary spokesman of the great mass of the Irish people, O'Connell himself, or by representative Catholic and Protestant clerical figures - the tone of the Memorial, taken in conjunction with the evidence and recommendations of the Wyse Report, seems ample justification for the proposition underlying this chapter, that this latter document is basic to an understanding of the thinking which led to the creation of the Queen's College, Cork. It remained, however, nothing more than an exploratory statement; the Whig government which Wyse and O'Connell and his supporters saw as offering the best hope for the amelioration of Irish ills was in 1838 already tottering to defeat. Paradoxically it remained to the Tories, represented as the exponents of a hard-line Irish policy, to implement the demands for improved higher education for Ireland. More specifically, this was to be the task of Robert Peel.

CHAPTER III

1. See: "The Irish Education Experiment". D.H. Akenson. Pub. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1970.
2. "Sir Thomas Wyse and the Cork College". D. Gwynn, D. Litt. Cork University Record. Summer, 1949.
3. "Sir Thomas Wyse, 1791-1862, the Life and Career of an Educator and Diplomat". J.J. Auchmuty, M.A., Ph.D. School of Education, Trinity College, Dublin. Pub. London, King and Son. 1939.
4. "Sir Thomas Wyse, 1791-1862, An Advocate of A Mixed Education Policy over Ireland". R.P.J. Batterderry, M.A., Ph.D. Department of Education, University College, Dublin. Pub. Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1939.
5. *ibid.* p.29.
6. *ibid.* p.5.
7. Statements of O'Connell/Doyle on mixed education. Report of Select Committee on Ireland 1824. Quoted later.
8. *ibid.* p.32
9. *op. cit.*
10. "Notes on Education Reform in Ireland during the First Half of the 19th Century. Compiled from Speeches, Letters, contained in the unpublished Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Wyse, K.C.B. by his niece, Winifred M. Wyse". Pub. Waterford, Redmond & Co. 1901.
11. "Education Reform: on the Necessity of a National System of Education". by Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P. Pub. Longmans, London. 1836.
12. "The Queen's Belfast". Professors Moody and Beckett. *op. cit.* p.1 iii.
13. *ibid.* p.1 viii.
14. Report of the Select Committee on Education, Ireland, 1835-38.
15. Select Committee. *ibid.* Paragraphs 3696 et seq.
16. Cork Library, founded 1782.
17. Anatomy Act, permitted Asylums and Workhouses to give unclaimed corpses to recognised Medical Schools.
18. This chapter examines Bullen's evidence from par. 3696 to par. 3933. Minutes of Evidence, Select Committee. *op. cit.*
19. Select Committee. *op. cit.* Minutes of Evidence. Par. 6595 et seq.
20. "Cardinal Wiseman". Denis Gwynn, D. Litt., F.R. Hist. S., M.R.I.A. p.113. Pub. Browne and Nolan, Dublin. 1950.

21. "The Times". 19 October, 1850.
22. Select Committee. op. cit. Wiseman's Evidence. Par. 5854-6579.
23. Royal Commission of Inquiry, Primary Education, Ireland 1870 (Powis Commission). Minutes of Evidence. Evidence of Cardinal Cullen. par. 27150-51.
24. See: "The Charity School Movement." M.G. James. Pub. Cambridge University Press. 1938.
Also: "The Rev. Henry Maule of Shandon and the Charity School Movement". Article by present writer in Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society. pp. 107-116. Vol. LXXvii. (1973).
25. Printed Copy of Original. Archives Office, Cork County Library. Day Papers.
26. Printed Copy of Original, with autographed signatures, at Archives Office, Cork County Library. Day Papers.

